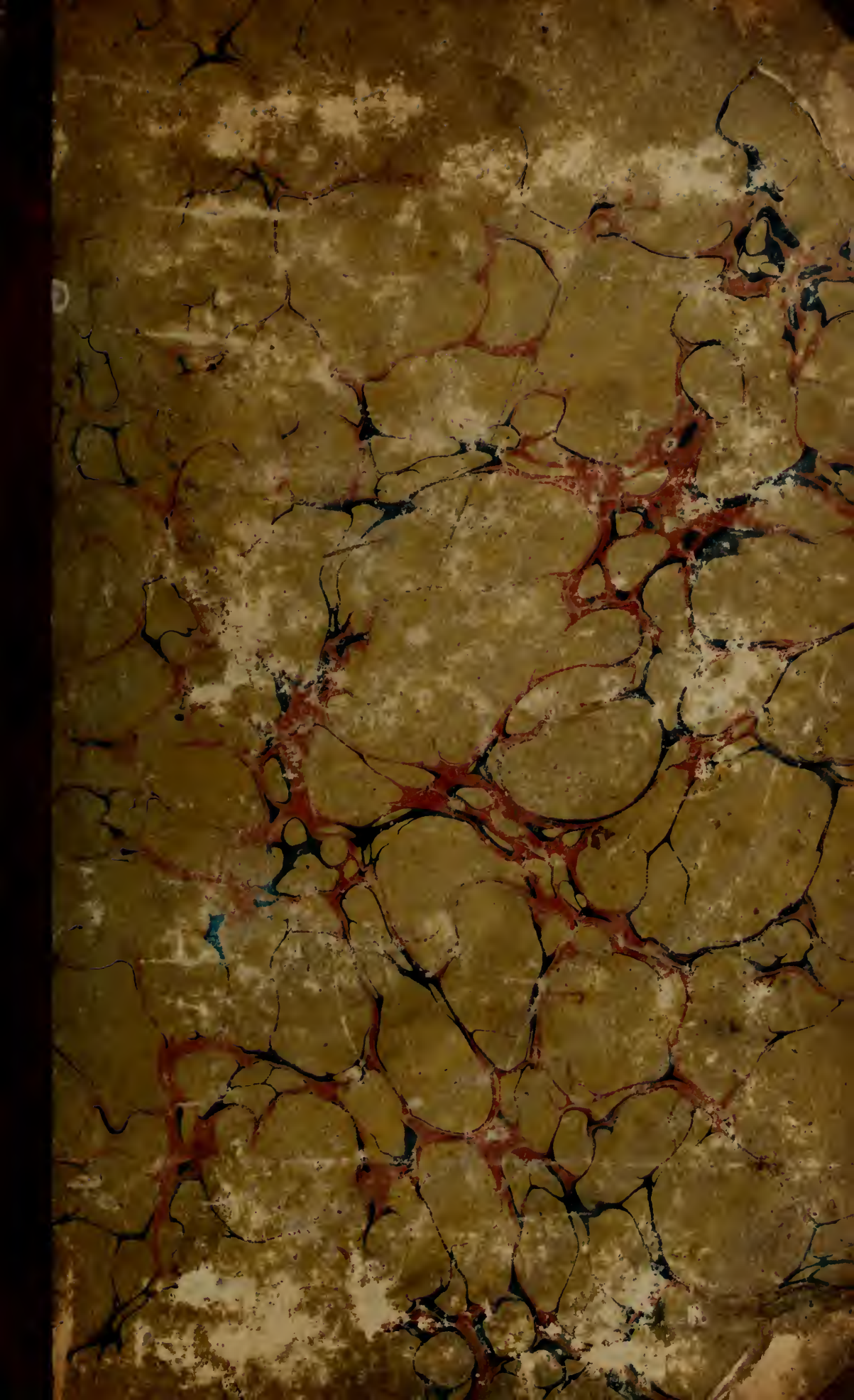
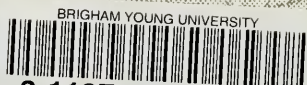




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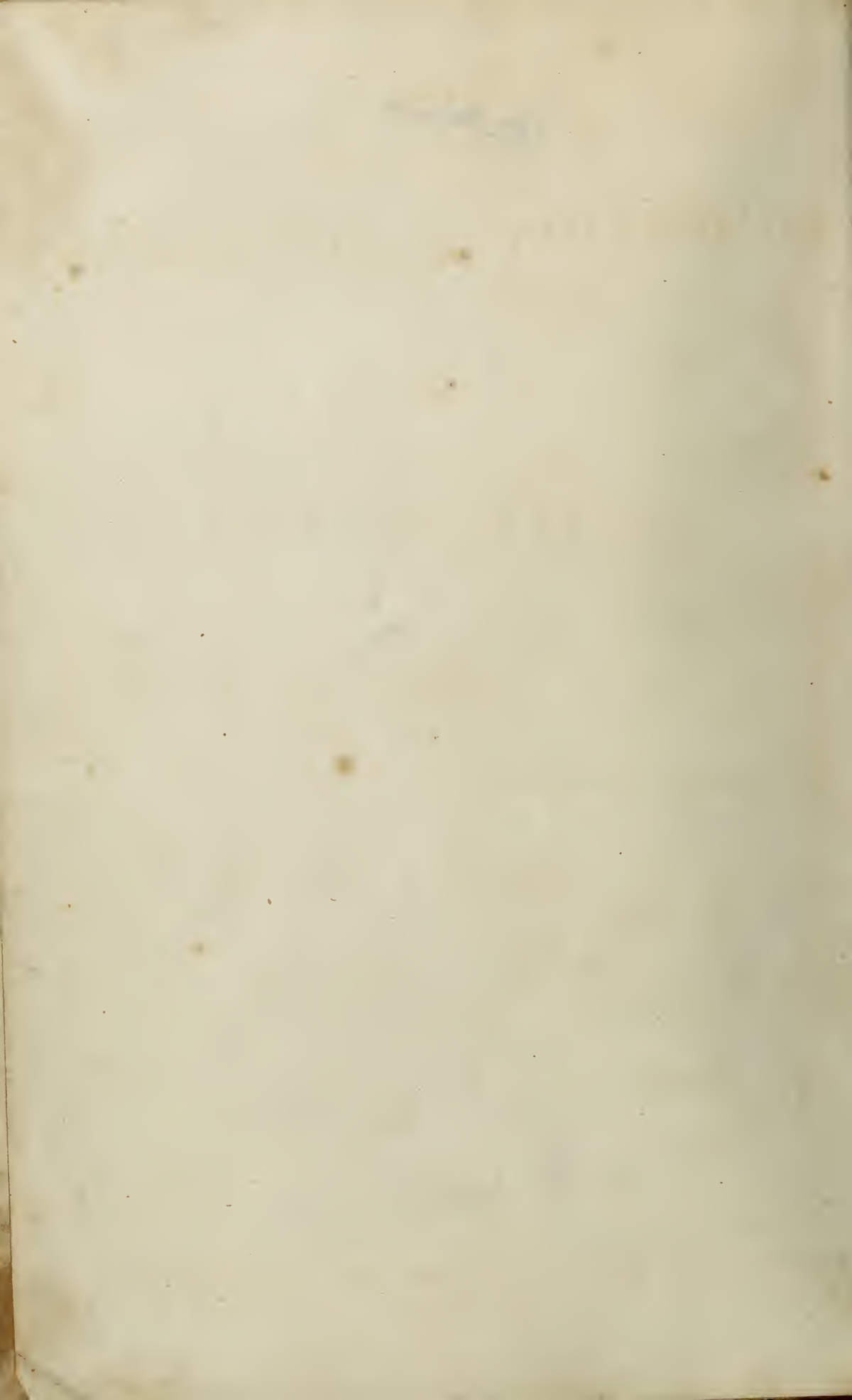
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THE
COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER;

AND

JOURNAL OF FACTS

IN

POLITICS, STATISTICS, AND PUBLIC ECONOMY.

1833.

LONDON:

CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET, AND 13, PALL-MALL EAST.

MDCCCXXXIV.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE First Volume of the COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER has been closed earlier than was originally arranged. The *Annual Retrospect and Chronicle of Events* which are now published, naturally determined the completion of the present Volume; and the arrangement allows a change in the plan of the Work, the expediency of which has been established by a sufficient experience. It is, for the future, intended *to discontinue the publication of Supplements*, which have been found inconvenient; and *to enlarge the size of the Monthly Publication*. The "Companion to the Newspaper" will, therefore, consist of 24 pages instead of 16; and the additional space thus gained will, for the most part, be devoted to a "JOURNAL OF FACTS," which will not only keep the most important *political events* more completely before the reader, and form a tolerably full record of the progress of *Statistics and Public Economy*, but be a Register also of such other circumstances as may appear to demand a place in a work calculated for future reference, as well as present information. The enlarged Number will be charged 4*d.* instead of 2*d.*; so that the annual cost will be 4*s.* for 288 pages. This advance of price, beyond the advance arising out of the increase of size, is rendered necessary by these circumstances. The expense of conducting this work has been greater than originally estimated, and the sale, though large, reaching to 20,000, is not a remunerating sale at the original price. The nature of the subjects treated on, interesting and important as they are, preclude the expectation that the work would attain the extensive circulation of others of a more miscellaneous nature issued by the same Publisher. To have lessened the literary expenses, would have been to produce a Journal of inferior quality. The small advance of price, founded upon the experiment which has been made, is the just and natural course; and one which will not be objected to by those who perceive that every literary undertaking must stand or fall, in proportion as the public demand makes a return for the capital and labour employed in its production. If the demand had been doubled, the price would have remained the same. The present demand, with the increased price, will enable the work to be continued without any sacrifice of the character which it has attained, and with new and strenuous attempts at higher excellence.

December 31st, 1833.

CONTENTS.

Page.	Page.	Page.
NUMBER 1.	Post Office Arrangements with	Public Petitions 127
Prospectus 1	France 64	Abstracts of Parliamentary Pa-
Constitution and Usages of Par-	Notice <i>ib.</i>	pers 128
liament <i>ib.</i>		
Parliamentary Terms 4	NUMBER 5.	NUMBER 9.
Belgium <i>ib.</i>	Crime in London—No. II. 65	The Session of Parliament 129
Bank of England 5	West India Question 69	Reduction of Taxation 131
East India Company 6	Proposed New Laws, relating to	Repeal and Reduction of Assessed
Irish Church <i>ib.</i>	Dramatic Literary Property	Taxes 132
Ireland 7	and Theatrical Performances 70	Places of Recreation for the Inha-
Revenue and Expenditure 8	Bill for the relief of the Jews 71	bitants of Great Towns 133
Parliamentary Petitions 9	The Banking System of Great	Duties on Tea 136
Quaker's Affirmation 10	Britain—No. II. 72	Apothecaries' Act and Royal Col-
Private Bills 11	Inquest on Robert Culley 76	lege of Surgeons 137
Election Petitions 12	Public Petitions 78	Reforms in the Court of Chan-
South Carolina and the Ameri-	Election Petitions 79	cery <i>ib.</i>
can Tariff <i>ib.</i>	Abstracts of Parliamentary Pa-	New Municipal Corporations 138
Newspapers 14	pers 79	Public Petitions <i>ib.</i>
	Council to Prisoners 80	Abstract of Parliamentary Pa-
	Notice <i>ib.</i>	pers 139
NUMBER 2.		Stamped and Unstamped Publi-
Parliamentary Reporting 17	NUMBER 6.	cations 143
Corporation Reform 21	State of Crime in Great Britain	
Office of King's Printer—Mono-	and Ireland 81	NUMBER 10.
poly of Bibles 23	Turkey and Egypt 83	Last Year's Emigration to the
Public Petitions 27	Proposed Change in the Law of	Canadas 145
British Museum 28	Libel 86	Public General Acts 148
Education in Ireland <i>ib.</i>	Corporation Reform 87	Private Bills of the Session of
Abstract of Parliamentary Re-	Local Courts' Bill 88	Parliament, 1833 150
turns 31	Juvenile Vagrancy 89	The New Beer-Houses 152
Notice 32	Abolition of Imprisonment for	Abolition of the Monopoly of the
	Debt 91	East India Company 156
NUMBER 3 (SUPPLEMENT).	Combinations 92	General Education 159
EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.	Public Petitions 93	
Introductory Remarks, and His-	Post-Office Arrangements with	
tory of the Company to the	France <i>ib.</i>	NUMBER 11.
present time 33	Abstracts of Parliamentary Pa-	Affairs of Spain 161
Government of India 36	pers 94	Slave Trade 164
Question regarding the propriety		Tea Permits and Surveys 165
of permitting Europeans to re-	NUMBER 7 (SUPPLEMENT).	Proposed New House of Com-
side in India 37	THE POOR-LAWS.	mons 168
Effects of the recent partial open-	Introduction 97	Savings Banks Annuities 171
ing of the Trade to India 39	Incidental Advantages of a Poor-	Public Petitions 172
The Question as to the propriety	Law 98	Abstract of Parliamentary Re-
of opening the Trade with	Provisions of the English Poor-	turns <i>ib.</i>
China 40	Laws 100	
Propriety of separating the Poli-	Defects in the English Poor-	NUMBER 12.
tical from the Commercial Cha-	Laws 101	Trades' Unions 177
racter of the Company 46	Proper Mode of Relief 104	A Table of the Prices of Imported
Papers respecting the East India	Necessity of an Improved and	Articles for the last Five years 185
Company's Charter, issued	Uniform System in the Admi-	Electoral Franchise of England
March 27, 1833 47	nistration of the Poor-Laws 106	and Wales 186
	Education 110	Report on the Vaccine Board 189
	Tabular Accounts 111, 112	Statistical Tables 190
NUMBER 4.		House of Commons' Offices and
The Banking system of Great	NUMBER 8.	Fees <i>ib.</i>
Britain 49	Scotch Burgh Reform 113	Abstract of Parliamentary Re-
Reform in the Law of Real Pro-	Factories Inquiry 116	turns 192
perty 54	Amendment of the Apothecaries'	
Courts of Local Jurisdiction 55	Act 119	NUMBER 13.
Crime in London 56	Warwick Borough Election 121	Retrospect of the Politics and
Private Bill 60	Official Tables of Revenue, &c. 123	Public Events of 1833 193
Public Petitions <i>ib.</i>	Portugal—Don Pedro and Don	Chronicle of Occurrences of 1833 234
New Patent Bills 61	Miguel 124	London Bill of Mortality 238
Election Petitions 63		
Abstract of Parliamentary Pa-		
pers <i>ib.</i>		

ERRATA.

P. 43, *for* Semapore, *read* Singhapore.

P. 159. The duties on East and West Indian Sugar are stated, by mistake, at 37s. and 27s., instead of 32s. and 24s.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 1.

MARCH 1, 1833.

Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Prospectus	1	Revenue and Expenditure	8
Constitution and Usages of Par-		Parliamentary Petitions	9
liament	1	Quaker's Affirmation	10
Parliamentary Terms	4	Private Bills	11
Belgium	4	Election Petitions	12
Bank of England	5	South Carolina and the American	
East India Company	6	Tariff	12
Irish Church	6	Newspapers	14
Ireland	7		

PROSPECTUS.

IN the United Kingdom there are now published 369 Newspapers, viz., 248 in England, 46 in Scotland, and 75 in Ireland. The total number of stamps annually issued for these Papers is about thirty millions. Should any material reduction of the Stamp Duty take place, there can be no doubt that the whole number of Newspapers circulated would be very largely increased.

The principal object which the conductors of Newspapers have in view is to excite and gratify curiosity upon the most recent topics. The subjects which they discuss are of the highest importance to every individual of the community; but it is rarely that the Newspaper can, consistently with its temporary nature, furnish the reader with the materials for a complete and impartial judgment. Detached portions only of great political questions can be considered, in the snatches of argument which are employed in stirring men's minds to adopt the opinions of the writer; and, too often, invective takes the place of reasoning, where the end is the triumph of party and not the upholding of truth. It would be difficult, certainly, to bring a calm judgment to the examination of passing events, while the necessity for presenting them in their freshest gloss is unavoidable.

The law demands a stamp upon periodical publications of a certain bulk, which discuss "any matter in Church and State," but exempts those which are published at intervals of twenty-eight days. It has therefore been thought that a MONTHLY COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER, published at that very cheap rate which can only be obtained by a large circulation, might be an important instrument in the diffusion of sound Political Knowledge. Politics, in the highest sense of the word, constitute a science which it is of great moment should be well understood by the people; for in this, as in all other matters, the uninformed will ever be the dupes of the designing and mischievous. The extremes of indifference and of violence with regard to public affairs are equally the result of want of knowledge.

The commencement of an undertaking like the present may be properly dated from the first Session of a Reformed Parliament; because the deliberations and acts of a representative body, fairly chosen by the people, must naturally call upon the public to examine all legislative proceedings with a diligent scrutiny, and to seek every assistance in forming a correct judgment upon matters which come home to each man's business and understanding. Passing occurrences are known, indeed, daily to many, and weekly to most persons. But as the readers of newspapers are much more numerous than the purchasers, there are thousands in the kingdom who, after having satisfied their curiosity as to the course of events, would be glad to possess a cheap Manual to turn to, which should, from time to time, present the principles and facts of most important public topics, in a clear and dispassionate point of view. The confidence of this large body of readers may, we think, be secured, by addressing them without regard to party, but with a desire to advance every measure of social improvement.

Endeavouring to furnish the materials for thinking, rather than urging a one-sided direction of the course of thought, the COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER will, in great part, be a storehouse of FACTS applied to practical

uses. There are a number of scattered materials necessary for the proper understanding of any political question, which are apt to be overlooked in the unavoidable hurry of newspaper controversy; and many details of the highest importance to Commercial Interests, are in the same way neglected. These materials are to be chiefly found in Parliamentary Reports, and in Foreign Journals; and it will be the duty of this publication to collect and simplify them, so that they may be easily referred to. The course of Legislation, too, upon matters which affect the daily actions of large bodies of persons, ought to be pointed out in a clear and untechnical manner, so that those who are called upon to obey any new law may know of its existence, before they incur its penalties or neglect its protection. This object will be here systematically attempted. Again, the great measures of national improvement, which are going forward in the shape of Private Bills, are very imperfectly borne in mind, except by the few who are directly interested in their success or failure; and it is of the highest importance that the mass of the people should understand the real nature of such measures, which, more than any other, indicate the advance of the country in civilization. This information will be found in the proposed work. Lastly—it has been shown, in several recent publications, that the science of Political Economy may be rendered intelligible and interesting to all persons, by pointing out its bearings upon the circumstances of individual life, and by selecting illustrations within the reach of every-day experience. To diffuse the knowledge of those principles of the science which are most capable of practical application, may do something for the correction of popular error and the advance of general happiness.

From this imperfect outline it will be seen that the COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER, treating of matters of universal and lasting interest, aspires to become an assistant to every newspaper reader, whatever may be his individual opinions as to particular measures of Government. It proposes carefully to examine those materials which the writer of the day has not always leisure to consult; and to bear in mind those comprehensive principles of political philosophy, by which every passing question must eventually be tried. In general, the work will contain a number of short articles on subjects to which the public mind is directed; but, occasionally, some matter involving a great many facts must be treated at length. To accomplish this, a SUPPLEMENT will appear, either quarterly or every second Month, also at the price of Twopence, which will, in most cases, be occupied by some complete question of Political Inquiry. At the end of the year, one of these Supplements will be devoted to a Retrospective Chronicle of Events, so that the entire Volume, which will not exceed the price of Three Shillings, sewed, may serve the purposes of an Annual Register.

CONSTITUTION AND USAGES OF PARLIAMENT.

THE meeting of the present Parliament, the first which has been called together since the passing of the Reform Bill, took place on the 2^d of January, exactly at the commencement of the period over which the review of public affairs attempted in this publication is to be considered as extending. We mean, therefore, to embrace the opportunity which the occasion seems to present, of laying before our readers such a brief notice of the leading particulars regarding the constitution of the two houses of the legislature, and their manner of conducting their proceedings, as may probably be found to convey, to many of them, some new and useful information on a subject of great interest. The limits to which we are confined must compel us, of course, to omit many things which might be properly included in a longer and more complete statement; but we shall at least be able to go over most of those points which a person reading the

reports of the debates, as given in the newspapers, ought to be acquainted with. Our paper may, therefore, be considered as an introduction to the debates.

The Parliament, in the language of the law, consists of the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. The consent of each of these three bodies is necessary to the making of every act of Parliament. In ordinary speech, however, the Parliament means only the Houses of Lords and Commons. The House of Lords, in its original constitution, is not a representative body; but since the union with Scotland, in 1707, the representative principle has been partially introduced into its composition. It now consists, in addition to the peers of Great Britain and the prelates of England, of sixteen peers of Scotland, elected by the whole body of the nobility of that country, and of twenty-eight Irish peers elected by the nobility of Ireland. The remaining Scottish and Irish peers, as such, have no seats in the House of Lords; but many of them have been made British peers, and sit in that capacity. An Irish peer, also, being regarded as a commoner in Great Britain, may be elected a member of the House of Commons on renouncing his right of voting for the Irish representative peers; but a peer of Scotland cannot. The Scottish representative peers are elected only for one Parliament; those of Ireland for life. A vacancy in the number of the former, therefore, may be occasioned either by the death of an individual, or by his elevation to a British peerage; in that of the latter, a vacancy can be occasioned only by death. The Irish bishops are also represented by four of their number, who serve only for a single session, and sit by rotation. At present the House of Lords consists of—

Princes of the Blood Royal, (all Dukes)	4
Other Dukes	21
Marquesses	19
Earls	109
Viscounts	18
Barons	181
Peers of Scotland	16
Peers of Ireland	28
English Bishops	26
Irish Bishops	4

Making in all . . . 426

Of the twenty-eight Irish representative peers, nine at present enjoy British titles.

The House of Commons is entirely a representative assembly, every member deriving his right to sit from the election of a larger or smaller body of the people. Since the passing of the late Bill of Reform it is composed of—

English	County Members	143	} 471
—	Universities	4	
—	Cities and Boroughs	324	} 29
Welsh	County Members	15	
—	Cities and Boroughs	14	} 53
Scotch	County Members	30	
—	Cities and Boroughs	23	} 105
Irish	County Members	64	
—	University	2	} 39
—	Cities and Boroughs	39	

Making in all . . . 638

The power of calling together, or summoning the Parliament, is lodged in the king; and the form is by a writ, or letter, issued out of Chancery, addressed to each peer individually, and to the sheriffs of counties for the election of the members of the House of Commons. We may here notice, that, at the same time with the new Parliament, the Houses of Convocation of the clergy still continue to be called together, and to go through the form of commencing their sittings; but since the year 1717, they have been uniformly prorogued before they could proceed to business. It is part of the royal prerogative to prorogue Parliament, that is, to put an end to its sittings, and also to dissolve it, at pleasure, as well as to convene it. But no Parliament can be continued longer than seven years; and few last nearly so long. If, however, the death of the king should take place between the dissolution of one Parliament and the election of its successor, the old Parliament again meets immediately, and may remain in being for another half-year.

The two Houses must be both prorogued and dissolved, as well as convened, at the same time. When the day appointed for their meeting arrives, the king either proceeds in person to the House of Lords, or empowers certain peers, as his commissioners, to open the parliament. This cere-

mony is gone through in the presence of both Houses, the Commons appearing at the bar, whither they have been summoned by the Usher of the Black Rod. They then return to their own House to elect their Speaker, while the Lords proceed one by one to take the oaths at the table. The Lord Chancellor is usually appointed by the Crown as the Speaker of the House of Lords, in which quality he takes his place on a seat immediately below the throne, commonly called the woolsack. His duties, however, differ considerably from those of the Speaker of the House of Commons. He is not in particular invested with authority to preserve order in the House, and he is accustomed to take a part in the debate, which the Speaker in the House of Commons does not. Formerly it was the custom for the person chosen to fill the high office of Speaker of the House of Commons, to manifest the greatest apparent reluctance to take the chair, and not to suffer himself to be conducted to it without the exertion of considerable force. A passage from the self-disparaging speech pronounced by Sir Christopher Yelverton, on his being elected Speaker in the year 1597, may amuse the reader:—"Your Speaker," said he, "ought to be a man big and comely, stately and well-spoken; his voice great, his carriage majestic, his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy. But, contrarily, the nature of my body is small, myself not so well-spoken, my voice low, my carriage lawyer-like, and of the common fashion; my nature soft and bashful; my purse thin, light, and never yet plentiful." Of late, however, this affectation has been quite discontinued; and although in case of two individuals being proposed for the office, each usually votes against himself, the one who obtains the majority of suffrages no longer either professes any reluctance to assume the chair, nor, after he has been seated, goes to anything like the old excess in underrating his own qualifications. After being chosen, he must have the approval of his Majesty: for which purpose the House is again summoned to the Bar of the House of Lords, where the requisite form (for it is nothing more) is gone through, and the new Speaker, on behalf of himself and his fellow-members, lays claim, by humble petition, to the free exercise of all their ancient and undoubted rights and privileges, more especially, freedom of debate, freedom of arrest for themselves and their servants, and free access to his Majesty whenever occasion may require. The Commons then return to their own House, when the Speaker assumes the chair, and the members take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy in successive groups at the table. This must be done between the hours of nine in the morning and four in the afternoon; and during that period of the day, whatever other business the House may be engaged with, must be suspended when any member presents himself to take the oaths. No member can vote on any question, except the election of the Speaker, before going through this ceremony, under severe penalties; and there have been even recent instances in which, members having done so by mistake, it has been found necessary to pass a special Act of Parliament to relieve them from the pains and disabilities they had incurred. In all other respects, however, except as to the privilege of sitting in the House and voting, a person returned to Parliament is a member from the moment in which his return is signed by the proper officer. He is no longer, for instance, liable to arrest, and (provided his election has taken place within forty days from the day appointed for the return of the writ) he may frank letters before he leaves the hustings. There is no introduction of members to the House at the beginning of a new parliament; the clerk merely, after each has taken the oaths, introduces him to the Speaker, who shakes him by the hand; but when a member is returned at any other time than at a general election, he must be led up from the bar to the Speaker by two other members, and must make three obeisances or bows on the way, that he may be the better known to all present.

After the swearing in of the members in both Houses has been completed, or nearly so, which generally takes several days, it is customary for his Majesty either to come down to the House of Peers in person, and, the Commons having been summoned to the bar as before, to deliver a speech from the throne to the assembled legislature, or to depute certain lords, as his commissioners, to read such a speech in his name. A royal speech is likewise delivered at the opening of every succeeding session. It is usual for both Houses to take this speech into consideration the same evening, with

a view to frame a reply to it, called the Address; but they are not bound to make it the first matter upon which they deliberate; and both Houses are accustomed to have a bill relating to some other matter previously brought in and read, by way of asserting their right. The address, which is usually an echo of the speech, is moved and seconded by two members, selected by the ministers for that duty, and who appear on this occasion either in full dress or in uniform. When the address has been voted, it is sent up to his majesty by a deputation, who, on their return, report to the House the terms in which it has been received, called His Majesty's Answer.

We shall now throw together a few notices (chiefly selected from Mr. Hatsell's great work on "Precedents") of what may be called the every-day forms of the House of Commons, many of which are matter of constant allusion in the reports of the debates. On the Speaker making his appearance a few minutes before the hour of meeting, as soon as prayers have been read by the chaplain, he proceeds to count the members present, until (including himself if necessary) he has reckoned to the number of forty. If that number be present, business proceeds; if not, the Speaker only takes the chair for a moment to adjourn the house till the following day. A House, as it is termed, having been once formed, business may be continued, though there should be fewer than forty members present; but any member may demand that the House be counted, and if there are not forty present the House is adjourned. The members, in general, have no particular seats. At the opening of a Parliament, however, the four members for the city of London are accustomed to place themselves at the head of the front bench, or that which stands on the floor, at the right hand of the Speaker. On other occasions, this bench is usually occupied by the ministers, and is called the Treasury Bench. It is, however, merely conceded to them by courtesy. Formerly, it used to be reserved for those members who were Privy Counsellors; and it is related that Mr. Pulteney, when the leader of the opposition, during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, always used to speak from this bench. Any other member, who wishes to secure to himself a particular seat, may do so, but only for that one evening, by going down in the morning, and fixing a paper with his name to the back of the bench. But even after having done this, he loses his seat if he should be absent at prayers, or leave the House to attend the Speaker to the Lords. He also loses it if he goes out to the lobby on a division; and Mr. Hatsell intimates that the numbers on divisions are known to be sometimes affected by the operation of this rule. Members who have held the great offices in the ministry, are often allowed to keep the same seat without coming down to take it; and a member having received the thanks of the House in his place, is considered to be entitled to the same seat, at least for that parliament.

While the Speaker occupies the chair, there is said to be a House; when a member is appointed to preside, the House is said to sit in Committee. These two states are farther indicated by the gilded badge called the mace being in the former laid *upon*, and in the latter *under*, the table at which the clerks sit. The rules of proceeding are in some particulars different in Committee, from what they are when there is said to be a House. In the latter, a member can speak only once (except to explain) upon the same motion; in the former, he may speak as often as he pleases. The sitting in committee, indeed, seems anciently to have been considered as merely a conversational consultation:—frequently, the members appear to have delivered their sentiments without rising. Again, in committee, the members divide by going, the *ayes* to the one side of the House, and the *noes*, to the other. When not in committee, those on one side of the question remain in the House, those on the other go out to the lobby—the general rule being, "that those that give their votes for the preservation of the orders of the house, should stay in; and those that give their votes otherwise, to the introducing of any new matter, or any alteration, should go out." (Journals of 10 Dec. 1640). But the rule is embarrassed with many intricate exceptions, and a good deal of time has frequently been lost in determining which side ought to go out. With a view of avoiding this inconvenience, it was resolved by the House, a few days ago, that on any division, 'those who question the decision of Mr. Speaker do go forth.'

When two or more members rise at once to speak, the

one who first catches the eye of the Speaker, is named by him, and is usually permitted to address the House. But his being named by the Speaker gives him no right of precedence, if the House should think that another had risen, or on some other account has a right to be heard, before him. Any member may move that another member shall be now heard; and if that motion be carried, the Speaker's selection goes for nothing. This, however, is an expedient which, for obvious reasons, has been very rarely resorted to. A member may speak from the gallery as well as from the body of the House, and Hatsell says often does; but of late years very few instances of this practice have occurred. He must not, however, it seems, speak standing in any of the passages or from behind the clock. It is sometimes said, that a member has a right to have any act of parliament or other public document he pleases to call for, while speaking, read by the clerk; but this is a mistake. The House may object to the proceeding if they choose; but if no objection be made, the Speaker orders the paper to be read. No member, we may here add, can vote on any motion affecting his own private interests, or can even be present while it is discussed.

Although the public are now admitted to witness the deliberations both of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons—to the former by the order of a peer, to the latter either by a member's order, or by the payment of half-a-crown to the door-keeper,—the debates of the one house, as well as of the other, are still supposed to be carried on with closed doors. The order directing the Sergeant-at-Arms to take into custody all strangers who may be seen within the House is still passed by the House of Commons at the commencement of every session, and may at any time be enforced by a member to the clearing of the gallery. Whenever a division takes place, all strangers are obliged to withdraw, and the doors of the House are locked. The newspapers lately noticed some remarks that were made in the House respecting one of the sessional orders, commanding the back-door of the Speaker's chamber to be shut every day at twelve o'clock; when the Speaker, in answer to the inquiry of an honourable member, who expressed himself anxious to know where the said door was, was reported to have stated that he believed it was no longer in existence. This order was first passed on the 5th of March, 1662, on information received by the House that several persons, not members, had come by the door in question into the Speaker's chamber, and thence made their way into the gallery; and it has since then been regularly repeated at the commencement of every session. If the back-door, however, be now really built up, as is understood, it would seem that its ancient and long remembered offences might at last be safely permitted to rest in peace.

The exertion by a member of his privilege to clear the House of strangers has frequently given rise to a vehement debate; and some efforts have even been made to get the standing order in question repealed or modified, but hitherto without success. Those opposed to the exclusion have sometimes attempted to meet it by resorting to the expedient of moving repeated adjournments, and thus preventing business from proceeding, till the public have been re-admitted. Females, as everybody is aware, are not now admitted to the gallery; but it is not so generally known, that the practice by which they are excluded is comparatively a recent innovation. It appears to be not more than fifty or sixty years since ladies were accustomed to appear both in the gallery and in the space below the bar. Mr. Hatsell himself was present at the last occasion on which they were admitted. An interesting debate was expected; and both ladies and gentlemen were in attendance in great numbers. Many ladies, not having been able to obtain seats, it was ordered that the House should be cleared of the *men* strangers, which was done; when the ladies entered in such numbers as completely to fill both the galleries and the seats below the bar. In this state of things, a member, irritated by the expulsion of some gentlemen for whom he had procured places, demanded that the House should be cleared of *all* strangers. The enforcement of the standing order was a matter of course. But the officers found their duty of turning out the fair intruders no easy work; a violent and determined resistance was offered to them; and for nearly two hours the House was kept in a state of the most extraordinary ferment and commotion. Ever since this singular scene, females have been rigorously excluded from the House. The only relaxation of the prohibition is the practice, that has been

introduced within the last few years, of admitting a small number of ladies to a place called the Ventilator, above the ceiling, through the apertures in which they both hear and see very well what goes on below. Twenty-five tickets for this apartment are issued every night by the Sergeant-at-Arms. Ladies are also now admitted into the new gallery which has been formed in the House of Lords. They used formerly to place themselves behind the curtains on each side of the throne. In ancient times, however, they seem to have appeared more openly. In 1675, Lord Shaftsbury is recorded to have complained to the House of "those droves of ladies that attended all causes:" "it was even come," he said, "to that pass, that men even hired, or borrowed of their friends, handsome sisters or daughters to deliver their petitions." At this time, again, ladies seem to have only contrived to get admission into the House of Commons occasionally, and by stealth. Hatsell quotes from Grey's Debates a curious notice in proof of this, which is not calculated to give us a very high idea of either the dignity or the decorum by which the proceedings of the House were in those days characterized.

PARLIAMENTARY TERMS.

UNDER this head we propose to notice, from time to time, such terms, connected with the proceedings of Parliament, as occur in the reported debates, and may not be intelligible to every reader.

ADJOURNMENT.—The adjournment of either house is the continuance of its sittings from one day to another, generally to the next, but sometimes to that day fortnight, or even longer. Either house adjourns at its own pleasure, and independently of the other. A member may move the adjournment of the house at any time, and repeatedly in the course of the same evening; for a proposition for adjournment at one stage of the proceedings is considered to be a different question from the same proposition made at another stage. Were it regarded as the same question it could not be put in the same evening, or even in the same session. Sometimes only the debate is adjourned, the house continuing to sit, and proceeding with other business.

ORDER OF THE DAY.—The order of the day is the list of the matters appointed to be discussed on that day, as printed in the paper called the "Votes," which is now issued every morning. When it is moved, therefore, to read the order of the day, the meaning of the proposition is that the house shall pass from the consideration of the question then before it, and take up the business mentioned in this list. The adoption of the motion is a way of avoiding the coming to a decision upon the question in hand. The order of the day, however, can only be moved while the house is proceeding with some question not set down in the list.

THE PREVIOUS QUESTION.—This is another contrivance for escaping from the necessity of coming to a decision upon an inconvenient question. A motion is sometimes made to which abstractly there is no objection, but which yet, from the time at which it is brought forward, or the special bearing which it is intended to have, is felt by some member or members, to be one which it would be improper to assent to. In these circumstances those who are opposed to its being carried put to the house the previous question,—shall a vote be taken upon it at all? Instead, however, of moving (as would seem most natural) that the question under consideration be *not* now put, it is the usage to move "that that question be now put;" in dividing upon which the mover votes against his own motion. Thus, for instance, when Mr. Hume moved, on the 14th February, that the existence of sinecure offices was inexpedient, the result is recorded in the Votes in the following form:—"The previous question being put, 'That that question be now put:' the house divided,—Ayes, 138; Noes, 232." Here the mover of the previous question, and all those who were of opinion with him, that Mr. Hume's resolution should *not* be put, voted in the majority, against the motion. The question, however, which has been quashed in this manner is only got rid of for the present; and may be brought forward again on any future day. The previous question cannot be moved when the house is in committee.

THIS DAY SIX MONTHS.—It is frequently moved, in order to defeat a bill before the house, that it be read again this day six months. This motion is made with the intention, and, if carried, has the effect, of deferring the next reading of the bill till after the prorogation of Parliament, or

to a period when the house will not be sitting. In these circumstances of course it falls to the ground. Sometimes the motion is made for the next reading being taken this day three months, or after any shorter interval that will carry it over the prorogation.

CALL OF THE HOUSE.—Very great difficulty has always been experienced in securing the regular attendance of members. It is, however, in the power of any member, upon giving previous notice, to insist that the house shall be called over on any particular day, when those who do not answer to their names are ordered to be taken into custody by the Sergeant-at-Arms. The chief inconvenience which this subjects them to consists in the fees which they must pay before they can be liberated, and which are of considerable amount.

THE AFFAIRS OF BELGIUM.

THE events that have taken place since the revolution which separated Belgium from Holland, have been of great importance to all European states, and the condition of affairs in those countries still continues to excite considerable interest. The narrative of those events is long, and calculated to give rise to more questions than there is space here to discuss. But it may, nevertheless, be useful to give some account of the causes which led to the revolution; for the first consideration in regard to the Belgian question is, whether that revolution was justifiable—or, in other words, whether it was morally right. This can only be determined by reference to the peculiar circumstances of the case; for whilst every revolution is in itself an enormous evil, yet, when the public grievances are too heavy to be borne, and the redress of such grievances is otherwise impracticable, resistance to an oppressive government may become even more than excusable. An individual cannot break the ties which bind him to his family, or his friends, without pain and inconvenience, but cases do sometimes arise in which it is desirable to sever even domestic and social ties. So it is with nations. Cases have not unfrequently arisen where a struggle against an obnoxious dynasty has been far from censurable, although accompanied by many calamities and sufferings; and amongst such cases the Belgian revolution appears deserving of being numbered. It is seldom, indeed, without powerful reasons that any nation has broken the bonds which united it to the existing order of things, and has thereby put in jeopardy its industry, its commerce, its wealth, and almost its very existence.

By the treaty of Vienna, the allied powers united Belgium to Holland, giving to the new state the title of Kingdom of the Netherlands. It does not seem that the wishes of either people entered much into the consideration of the allies, the object being the stability of the peace of Europe, by preventing Belgium from becoming a province of France. There were indeed many grave objections to the union,—which may well have been called an unnatural marriage. For in the first place, the Belgians are Roman Catholics, whilst the Dutch are almost all Protestants, so that their views in regard to religion were certain to be opposite. Holland is a commercial, Belgium, a manufacturing and agricultural state, so that their wishes in regard to taxation, and protecting duties, could not be very united. Their languages, habits, and feelings were dissimilar, and there was a marked antipathy of each to the other.

The extent of Holland was estimated at 2,860,888 *hectares* of about 2½ acres each; that of Belgium at 3,337,249. The population of Holland in 1815, was 2,046,885; that of Belgium 3,377,617. By the new constitution of 1815, (which was rejected by the majority of the Belgian notables, who had been assembled for the purpose of sanctioning the union,) 55 members were assigned to each nation, as its share of the representation, notwithstanding the superiority of Belgium in population and extent; and the large debt of Holland, and the comparatively small debt of Belgium, were charged equally upon the two states. The Belgians were attached to trial by jury; but, without their consent, it was summarily abolished in Belgium, and the Dutch mode of criminal procedure substituted. The publicity of judicial proceedings in its most important branch, the examination of witnesses, was also abolished, and by protracted delay, the law providing that the judges should not be removed, was rendered nugatory. Great partiality began to appear in the patronage of the court, the ministry, and the army. In 1816, of eight ministers of state only one was a Belgian; o

28 diplomatic agents, one; of 244 ministerial officers in civil departments, 65; of 85 generals, 16. The officers of the king's guard were all Dutch, and so were three-fourths of the artillery. The Belgians were taxed for Dutch objects, and the mode of taxation was particularly obnoxious. For instance, the *mouture*, or tax on meal, and the *abatage*, or tax on cattle slaughtered, were serious grievances, inasmuch as no man could grind his own corn, or kill his own pig, without the intervention of the revenue-officers. The king of the Netherlands took into his own hands the control of education, and deprived the heads of families of the sacred right of bringing up their children in the way they thought best. Particular teachers and methods of instruction, and books printed in Holland and drawn up on the Dutch system, were imposed by authority, with the view of infusing into the minds of the young Belgians, religious and political opinions incompatible with those of their fathers. A college was established at Louvain, called the Philosophical College, to which, instead of the ancient colleges, every Catholic Belgian educated for holy orders was compelled to resort, in order to receive instructions from professors of an opposite persuasion to his own. This was sufficiently galling to Catholics; but the Belgians were interfered with, not only in the exercise of their religion, but also in the use of their own language. Incredible as it may seem, in a country where French was the language of literature, of conversation, of the bar, and where the Flemish and Walloon tongues were the only others in use by the common people, a decree was issued declaring the Dutch to be the national language. The Belgians were forbidden from defending their interests in the States-general, in the Courts of Justice, or by any public acts, except in Dutch. The father of a family was obliged to make his will in a language which he did not understand; and barristers, notaries, professors, and even judges, were compelled to relinquish their situations, not merely from disgust, but from inability to hold them. Such an accumulation of grievances naturally produced general discontent, and this discontent, as might be expected, began to find a vent in the public press. Then commenced a series of prosecutions against the Belgic press, and the writers who presumed to give their opinions on public affairs. Penalties of imprisonment and banishment were inflicted in gross violation of justice on some of the most upright men in Belgium. In December, 1829, a final blow was levelled at the press, which would effectually have suppressed it, for it inflicted imprisonment upon the expression of any disapprobation, or, as it was termed, calumination of the intentions of the existing government; and no less than thirty prosecutions against the press were commenced in the course of one month. Thus the Belgians were goaded for fifteen years; and when denied a free press—tried by dependent judges—and governed by irresponsible ministers—it would indeed have been wonderful if they had not murmured.

Such were the grievances which led to the revolution of August, 1830, whereby the Belgians threw off the yoke of the King of Holland, and broke the bonds of the treaty of Vienna. They proceeded to frame a new constitution, and after much discussion, determined that Belgium should be a constitutional monarchy. Among several candidates, the choice first fell upon the young Duke de Nemours, second son of the King of the French, for King of Belgium; but the French King thought it his duty to refuse his son's acceptance, and, after an intermediate regency, the crown was offered to Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg, who accepted it in July, 1831, and is now the reigning sovereign. From the moderation and discretion which characterize this prince, there appears every hope that he may be suited to so distracted a country as Belgium has for some time been—that he may tranquillize its factions—compose its troubles—and rule it in quietness and peace.

The allied powers, whose intervention was first solicited by the King of Holland, have occupied themselves down to the present time in arranging the terms of separation and peace between the two countries. The Conference of London has laboured long and laboriously to effect a pacification and amicable settlement of differences, but its task appears, even yet, not brought to a close. It is impossible here to detail the numerous proceedings and protocols of the Conference; but it would be very wrong in those who do not thoroughly understand its operations, to deny it the merit of having laboured strenuously for the preservation of peace. The five great powers, as they are called, namely,

Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, in undertaking the arbitration of the differences between Holland and Belgium, had to decide upon a just and permanent settlement, with the deep responsibility laid upon them of thus guarding and preserving the peace of Europe. Upon the first view of the case, it might appear that the Belgians were not likely to receive any great countenance from three, at least, of the arbitrators, who, for many reasons, would not be especially inclined to favour the authors of any revolutionary movements. If, therefore, in the enforcement of its decisions the Conference has found it absolutely necessary that the citadel of Antwerp should be taken out of the hands of Holland by an issue at arms, it may be fairly supposed that this manner of warfare was not resorted to, except under the conviction of an imperious necessity which even the especial friends of Holland could not deny. The labours of the Conference for two years would have been futile indeed, if the arbitrators had possessed no power to compel the observance of their decisions.

It has been the fashion to stigmatize the Belgic revolution as a bad imitation of the three days of Paris, and it may be true that this was the spark which set fire to the powder in Belgium. But if the Belgians suffered for fifteen years all that could hurt the moral, political, religious, and intellectual feelings of a nation, there is surely sufficient cause for the effect, without ascribing it merely to the revolution of France. The Belgic revolution was foreseen, and foretold; and the king had ample warnings to which he shut his eyes until it was too late. It has also been the custom of some to praise the high degree of physical happiness which existed in Belgium under the Orange dynasty; but it is a great mistake to suppose that where the land is well cultivated, and the people active and industrious, they have nothing more to wish for. Belgium flourished externally in spite, and not by reason of the measures of her government; and if that government may claim the merit of advancing her industry, it is but little excuse for the violation of sworn faith and established laws, or the obstinate disregard of the rights of its subjects.

The population of Belgium, according to the official census, was on the 1st of January, 1831, 4,082,427. It now consists of the following provinces: viz.

Antwerp, ...	347,590
Brabant, ...	556,046
West Flanders, ...	603,214
East Flanders, ...	733,938
Hainault, ...	608,524
Liege, ...	371,568
Limburg, ...	338,395
Luxembourg, ...	311,608
Namur, ...	211,544

4,082,427

The population of Holland, according to the "Almanac de Gotha," is 2,444,550, being little more than one half of that of Belgium, as above stated. But the province of Luxembourg is included, according to some statistical tables, in the Germanic Confederation. For further information in regard to the Belgian revolution, see the "Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 10, article 1;" same "Review, No. 12, art. 9;" "A Letter on the Belgic Revolution," London, Hansard, 1831; "Edinburgh Review, No. 112, art. 6." There are numerous foreign publications on the subject which have been but little read in this country.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

DURING the last session of Parliament, a Committee of Secrecy, consisting of thirty-two members, was appointed to inquire into the expediency of renewing the charter of the Bank of England, which will terminate on the 1st of August, 1834, upon a twelvemonths' notice to that effect being given by the government; and also to examine into the system of banking, particularly that of banks of issue, adopted in England and Wales. Some of the Bank Directors, many eminent bankers, and other persons possessing knowledge and experience of the subject, were examined before this committee, and the accounts of the Bank of England were also submitted to their inspection.

The points to which the attention of the committee was principally directed, were—

1st, Whether the paper circulation of the metropolis should be confined, as at present, to the issues of one bank, and that a commercial company, or whether a competition of

different banks of issue, each consisting of an unlimited number of partners, should be permitted.

2ndly, If it should be deemed expedient that the paper circulation of the metropolis should be confined, as at present, to the issues of one bank, how far the whole of the exclusive privileges possessed by the Bank of England are necessary to effect this object.

3rdly, What checks can be provided to secure for the public a proper management of banks of issue, and especially whether it would be expedient and safe to compel them periodically to publish their accounts.

An immense mass of documents and evidence was collected elucidatory of these points, and, on the 11th of August, 1832, reported to the House, by whom they were ordered to be printed. An early opportunity will be taken to give a complete analysis of this report in a Supplement to the "Companion to the Newspaper." In the mean time, it may be stated that Lord Althorp has intimated his intention to bring in a Bill, without proposing a new Committee, on the subject of the renewal of the Bank Charter.

EAST INDIA COMPANY.

In February, 1830, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company, and the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China. This Committee has been re-appointed in each successive session since that time, and has examined a great number of witnesses, and collected an immense body of evidence on these subjects, which have been at different times reported to the House and ordered to be printed. These Reports, three in number, have now been published. The first contained an examination of the commercial relations of the Company with China, as well as the state of the British trade generally with that country, and also that of the Americans and other foreigners. The second was principally directed to the territorial possessions of the Company in India, and to points connected with the government, laws, productions, and commerce of that country. The third, which consists of a volume of report and several volumes of evidence, several others being prepared, and in the hands of the printer, is miscellaneous, and embraces every other topic connected with the subject. As the approaching termination of the East India Company's charter, which expires in April 1834, as well as the importance of the subject, cannot fail to render an epitome of these reports interesting to the public, an early Supplement will also be devoted to that purpose.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

AMONG the subjects which have engaged the attention of Parliament since its meeting, one of those which have excited the greatest public interest is the reform of the Irish Church. The views of the Government upon this subject were explained by Lord Althorp to the House of Commons, on the 12th February, on asking leave to bring in the bill for carrying them into effect. It will be the object of this article to present a brief but comprehensive outline of the proposed measures, drawn up in such a manner as may place their amount and character, and the reasons upon which they are founded, in the clearest light before all our readers.

There are at present twenty-two dioceses in Ireland, or four archbishoprics and eighteen bishoprics, the gross amount of the revenues of which, according to Lord Althorp's statement, does not exceed 150,000*l.*, producing, after deducting the expenses of collection, a net revenue of 130,000*l.* Of this sum, about 100,000*l.* arises from the rents of lands. The whole revenue of the deans and chapters is 23,600*l.*; but this is burdened with a necessary expenditure amounting to 21,400*l.*; leaving a remainder for the deans and chapters of only 2200*l.* There are, in fact, very few prebendaries in the Irish Church whose income is derived from the funds of the chapter alone. The number of the other benefices is 1401, the whole income of which, as nearly as can be ascertained from returns which are not yet quite complete, is about 580,000*l.*, or at most, 600,000*l.* The entire revenue of the Irish Church, therefore, may be stated as follows:

Revenue of Bishops' sees.	£130,000
Revenue of Deans and Chapters, as such	2,200
Revenue of other Benefices	600,000

Total 732,200

Allowing for possible omissions, the whole amount may be taken as not exceeding 800,000*l.* This is the official account; the authorities for its accuracy have not yet appeared.

According to law, the whole income of every benefice both in England and Ireland, for the first year after it has become vacant, belongs, under the name of First Fruits, to the Crown, which, however, has in both countries made over the revenue thence arising to special purposes connected with the ecclesiastical establishment. In Ireland the First Fruits are paid to a Board appointed for their management; and are applied in the first instance to the repair of churches, and, after that object has been satisfied, to the augmentation of poor livings. Were the First Fruits exacted according to the actual value of the benefices, they would produce a considerable sum; but, in point of fact, they are exacted according to a valuation made in the reign of Henry VIII., nearly three hundred years ago, when the nominal income, at least, of every living was greatly below what it is at present; and consequently they yield only a very trifling proportion of what the law originally intended they should amount to. It has been sometimes proposed to fulfil the original intention of the law by ordering a new valuation, and rating each benefice for First Fruits according to its real income; but however equitable this re-adjustment may seem, it is liable to various objections on the ground of expediency. We shall mention only one—the obvious hardship of taxing an individual on his entry into a living (the time when his necessary expenses are most heavy) to the extent of the whole of his year's income. Ministers propose, without diminishing the just amount of the tax, to lay it on in a less oppressive form. Instead of the whole amount of the income for one year, they propose to exact a percentage, or portion, of it every year. This proportion is to vary from five, to fifteen per cent.; livings under 200*l.* a year paying nothing, those of more value paying not only a larger sum but a larger rate; and, where several benefices are in the hands of one individual, the aggregate amount of the whole being taken as his living, so that, however small his preferments may be individually, he shall, as he clearly ought, pay the high rate appropriate to his large revenue. The incomes of the bishops are to be subjected to this tax as well as those of the inferior clergy; but in the case of the former it is not to be levied upon any that do not amount to 4000*l.* a year; those of that amount are to pay five per cent.; those between 4000*l.* and 6000*l.*, seven per cent.; those between 6000 and 10,000*l.* ten per cent.; those between 10,000 and 15,000*l.* twelve per cent.; and if there are any above the last-mentioned amount they are to pay fifteen per cent. This tax, let it be observed, is to be imposed immediately, upon the actual incumbents of the several sees and other livings; and the income of the bishopric of Derry is besides to suffer an immediate reduction from its present amount of 12,659*l.* to 8000*l.* which the proposed tax will further reduce to 7200*l.*

The tax thus imposed, it is calculated will produce about 69,000*l.* a year; and the management of this revenue it is intended to give to a Board of Commissioners consisting of members of the Established Church, so appointed as to be entirely independent of the government. They are to apply it, and the other funds committed to their administration, to the following objects; the augmentation of poor livings, the building of glebe-houses, the dividing of unions, and the building of new churches whenever a certain portion of the expense shall be subscribed by private individuals. A fund being thus provided for these purposes, it is proposed that the tax upon the people of Ireland, commonly called the vestry cess, or church-rates, by which they have been hitherto met, shall be immediately and entirely abolished. This is a measure calculated to remove one of the strongest causes of popular dissatisfaction and irritation connected with the present condition of the Irish Church. The vestry cess, although paid by all the inhabitants of the parish, is imposed only by those of them who belong to the establishment; so that it sometimes happens that fewer than half-a-dozen members of the Church of England have the power of assessing at their own pleasure, and for the exclusive purposes of their own communion, several thousands of their Catholic fellow-parishioners. According to a statement subsequently made in the House, the pecuniary relief thus conferred upon the people will really be to an extent not much short of 90,000*l.* per annum. But this is, after all, perhaps, the least part of the benefit which the new arrangement will bring along with it.

The proposition which we shall next notice is one of great importance; and in order that it may be properly understood, it will be necessary that the attention of the reader be directed to one or two preliminary details. It has been already intimated that the principal part of the incomes of the Irish bishops is derived from the lands attached to their sees. The revenue, however, which they draw from this source does not all come to them in the shape of rents. A bishop is prohibited by law from granting a lease of any land belonging to his see for a longer period than twenty-one years; but he may at any time grant a lease for the whole of that period. Suppose a bishop to be a very old man, or to be on the point of translation from the see which he occupies to another; he has no connexion with, or natural interest in, his successor; he looks, and considers himself entitled to look, to his own advantage alone; how, then, is it natural that he should act in regard to his lands? If he could alienate, or sell them, it is plain that he would do so; but this, as we have said, the law does not allow. He will, however, do that which is the nearest to selling them that the law will allow; he will let them on the longest lease which it is in his power to grant, and he will anticipate as much as possible of the fair rental for that period by taking it from the tenant in the shape of what is called a premium or fine. The higher the fine, indeed, the lower must be the rent. But in the circumstances supposed, it is the former payment chiefly, or perhaps exclusively, in which he who makes the bargain has any interest; of the profits of the transaction, the fine is to be his own share, the rents the share of his successor. Or suppose even that he has no immediate expectation either of death or translation, still he will naturally act in the same manner. The fine is still a present and certain gain; the rent is exposed to all the chances of the future. He may live to the end of the lease, or he may not live to the end of its first twelve-month. From what has been said, it will be obvious how unavoidably it has happened that all these lands are in fact held upon leases of twenty-one years, or for the longest term which the law permits.

But not only are the leases originally for twenty-one years. They are constantly kept up of that length, or as nearly as possible of that length, by the operation of the same cause which made them be granted for so long a term at first. At the end of every year, or at least of every two years, the tenant resigns his old lease, having now only a period of twenty or of nineteen years to run, and receives from his landlord another for twenty-one years from that time as before, on paying another fine for the extension. And thus it happens that the actual income of the bishop is in almost all cases made up partly of his rents, and partly also of those annual or biennial fines.

But the system which has thus been acted upon, while it has been, as we have just shown, the one most profitable and natural for each individual bishop to follow, has affected the productive value to the church of its landed property to a most material extent. Or rather, we ought to say that property thus peculiarly circumstanced is necessarily of very much less value to its nominal owners than if it were held in the ordinary mode of possession. The farmer, in bargaining with [the bishop] for a new lease, has the latter in a manner in his own hands. It is the bishop's interest to grant the renewal for the sake of the fine; and at the same time the actual tenant is the only person existing with whom he can enter into such a covenant. There is no competition—nobody else to bid against the individual in possession of the current lease. The fine, therefore, which the latter will consent to pay will be the very smallest that will suffice to tempt his landlord to grant him the renewal rather than run his life, as it is expressed, against the lease,—that is, take his chance of surviving it, and forego the yearly fines altogether, for the sake of at last having the land, unincumbered by an actual lessee, to offer to free competition. This latter plan is, in point of fact, sometimes followed by a bishop who comes early in life to his see; but it is evidently a hazardous speculation in any circumstances; and even when it succeeds, it does not permanently release the land from the conditions which so greatly depreciate its value to the landlord; the old process, of the long lease, and its natural consequences, immediately begins again. The consequence of this state of things is, that the tenants of these church lands are really more their proprietors than the bishops. The interest which the former possess in them is more valuable than that possessed by the latter. And the bishops,

it is evident, are in this respect placed in a predicament in which they cannot help themselves. It is not in their power, by any contrivance or mode of management, to secure to themselves a greater share of the produce of their lands than they at present enjoy.

In reality it appears, that while the estimated value of these lands is about 600,000*l.* per annum, the bishops, by means of fines and rents together, do not derive from them more than a revenue of 100,000*l.* It is calculated that the value of his lease to the tenant, supposing him to pay a fixed corn-rent equivalent to what he now pays partly in the form of rent and partly in that of fine, is not less than twelve years and a half's purchase, that is, than twelve and a half times the remainder of the estimated yearly value of the land. If his lease, instead of being only for twenty-one years, were to be made perpetual, his interest would be thereby increased only by about seven and a half year's purchase, or that number of times the estimated yearly value. Now, it is proposed to give to every tenant the power of converting his present lease into a perpetual one, by paying for the additional benefit a sum of money somewhat less than it has thus been calculated to be worth, or six years of the estimated value instead of seven and a half. Taking this yearly value upon the whole church lands, according to the statement given above, at 500,000*l.* the sum thus raised will be about three millions sterling. Government propose that this money should be applied in any manner that may to parliament seem expedient. And clearly, it cannot in fairness be said to belong to the church. It is raised by the state without in the smallest degree infringing upon the revenues of the church. The incomes of the bishops will remain the same as they are at present; only, they will not be received partly in rents and partly in fines, but altogether in a corn-rent, equivalent to the real value of the rent, and the privilege of renewing the lease at present enjoyed.

Such are the parts of the plan which it is proposed to carry into immediate operation. But it also contemplates certain prospective reforms of a very important character. On the death of the present Archbishop of Armagh, the primate, it is proposed to reduce the income of that see from its present amount of about 14,500*l.* to 10,000*l.* As the actual possessors also of the different sees die out or are removed, the archbishoprics of Tuam and Cashel are to be converted into bishoprics, and the following ten sees are to be entirely abolished, namely, Dromore, Clogher, Raphoe, Elphin, Clonfert, Killala, Kildare, Cork, and Waterford, (which last is at present vacant, and will not be filled up). The saving arising from these reductions will be 60,000*l.* a year, with which it is proposed that the legislature shall deal as it may think fit. Finally, all deans and chapters, where they have no duties to perform, are to be abolished altogether, or to be attached to cures; and in regard to parochial charges, the Board of Commissioners already mentioned are to have the power of suspending the appointment of ministers in all cases in which no duty has been performed for the space of three years past.

IRELAND.

ONE of the subjects to which the attention of Parliament was most emphatically called in the King's Speech, was the state of Ireland, where, as his Majesty declared, "a spirit of insubordination and violence had risen to the most fearful height, rendering life and property insecure, defying the authority of the law, and threatening the most fatal consequences, if not promptly and effectually repressed." In conformity with this recommendation a bill was, on the 15th of February, brought into the House of Lords, by Earl Grey, described to be "for the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous associations in Ireland." It is no part of our present object to go over in detail the clauses of this bill, which, while we write, is undergoing the minutest examination of their lordships in committee, and may possibly be considerably modified before it passes through both houses, and becomes a law. But in the course of the discussions that have already taken place on it, frequent references have been made to certain former acts and measures which it embodies, or on which it is partly founded; and we propose, therefore, after a few words on the general question, to append a short notice of these previous attempts to meet a state of things similar to that which the government has now to contend with.

Lord Grey has not deemed it necessary or advisable, before introducing this bill, to call upon the legislature to

enter into any formal examination of the state of the unhappy country to which it is to be applied; considering the facts of the case to be sufficiently notorious, and objecting both to the delay which would be interposed by such a proceeding in circumstances of most pressing urgency, and to that exposure of the names of individuals which would be occasioned by the calling for papers or other evidence. This view has been nearly unanimously concurred in by their lordships' house; and indeed carries with it so much evident reason as hardly to admit of being dissented from by those who are in a condition to consider the matter candidly and dispassionately. The fact that the reign of violence has existed for some time past in many parts of Ireland is one of which no doubt can be entertained. It has been proclaimed for months past, without contradiction, in every Irish newspaper, of every shade of politics, and has been the theme of constant declamation by all parties. The organs of opposite opinions have not, it is true, in their writings and speeches, agreed either as to the cause of the present state of things, or the proper remedies; but unless we are to suppose that those who never exerted themselves for any common object before have all entered into a conspiracy to invent, uphold, and propagate here a tissue of utter falsehoods, we must hold that many parts of Ireland have, for some time, been in an extraordinarily agitated and turbulent state. We must believe on their incessantly reiterated statements that there are, and have been for many months, large districts of the sister island in which there is little more security, either for property or for life, than there would be in a country in which law and government did not exist. The published accounts of the proceedings of the criminal courts equally attest the existence and growing strength of a spirit of general insubordination among the peasantry, breaking out both in a determined defiance of the law, and in the establishment of a system of universal tyranny and terrorism, under which none but those who join the ranks or crouch to the mandates of the confederacy, can expect any better fate than to be shot dead on the highway, or to be destroyed, with their families, by having their houses burnt down about their ears. Crimes like these affect the property and happiness of every member of the population. They are offences which not only the injured individuals are called upon to resist, but which strike at the root of national existence. While they continue no improvement and no redress of grievances can go forward.

It is manifestly impossible that any government can allow such a state of things to go on long unchecked. Its direct tendency is to the overthrow of all law, and the utter dissolution of society. There may be differences of opinion as to the details of the bill proposed by Lord Grey, which is certainly an energetic, and, in some respects, a severe measure. There can be no doubt that measures which interfere with the regular working of constitutional punishments of crime are deeply to be deplored. They can only be justified by a paramount and overwhelming necessity. It will be for the government to prove that this necessity exists. The present bill combines the principal provisions of both the Proclamation Act and the Insurrection Act, and also the partial application of martial law, and the partial suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

What is known by the name of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, is, the statute 31 Charles II. cap. 2, which has been called the second grand charter of English liberty. By this celebrated statute the means were provided by which any individual detained in custody may, on the application of his counsel, obtain a writ of *habeas corpus* directed to the officer under whose charge he is—that is, an order to the said officer to bring up his prisoner immediately before either the Court of King's Bench or that of Common Pleas, who shall do in the case as the law may require. Several attempts had been made before this statute was passed to secure the same object: but they were all found to be ineffectual. Since it has been in operation it has become impossible for an inhabitant of this country to be in any circumstances detained in custody contrary to law, except in the case of his existence being kept entirely concealed. The *Habeas Corpus* Act, however, may be, and occasionally has been, suspended either generally or for a particular part of the empire; but this can only be done by a bill carried through the different branches of the legislature. According to Earl Grey's bill it is proposed that it shall be a sufficient return to the writ that the person detained is kept in custody by virtue of this proposed act, but that only for the first three months after his

arrest. The effect of this enactment will be, that a person apprehended may be detained for three months without enjoying the benefit of the ordinary law, but not longer.

Martial law is the code or system of law appointed for the government of the army, the provisions of which are to be found in what is called the "Mutiny Act." The Mutiny Act, which continues in force only for a year, was first passed in the year 1689, the 1st of William and Mary, and has been annually renewed ever since, with the exception of the period of nearly three years, from April, 1698, to February, 1701. Martial law differs in many important respects from the common law, and especially in the circumstance that the prisoner is not tried by a jury of his peers, but solely by the Court itself, which is composed of his superior officers. The principal reason which is specified in the present case for the substitution of Courts-Martial for the trial of prisoners, in place of the ordinary tribunals, is founded on the threats which have been directed against magistrates and jurymen, to deter them from giving a verdict according to their conscience. It is conceived that persons, such as military officers, not ordinarily resident in the district in which they are to act as judges, will be less under the dominion of this systematic intimidation. The application of martial law to the extent to which it is now proposed that it shall be carried, must be guarded with all the securities of which it admits for the fair protection of those who may be subjected to it. Few, indeed, and weak, are those securities; for what is evil in principle is not likely to be unblameable in practice.

The Insurrection Act was first passed by the Irish Parliament in 1796 (the 36th Geo. III.), and has been since several times re-enacted, with some modifications, by the imperial legislature. It gives power to the Lord-Lieutenant, acting by the advice of the Privy Council, to proclaim any district in a state of actual or approaching disturbance, on the representation of a majority of seven justices of the peace, met in special session. On this, all persons are ordered to keep within their houses before and after certain specified hours—those found abroad contrary to the prohibition, and without having a satisfactory excuse, may be apprehended—the magistrates are permitted to force an entrance into dwelling-houses, in search of persons or arms, and to exercise various other extraordinary powers. The Insurrection Act was in force in Ireland from 1807 till 1810; and it was again applied in 1822. On the former of these two occasions, Mr. Grattan fully admitted its necessity.

What is called the Proclamation Act, is the statute 10 Geo. IV. cap. 1., passed in March 1829, by which the Lord-Lieutenant was empowered to suppress, by his proclamation, any association he might think dangerous, and also to forbid the holding of any meeting of which notice had been given, and which might seem to him objectionable. It was provided that the act should be in force only for one year, and to the end of the then next session of Parliament.

Lord Grey has also introduced a second bill, entitled "An Act to provide for the more Impartial Trial of Offences in certain Cases in Ireland." The object of this bill is to empower the Irish Court of King's Bench, on the application of the Attorney-General, or the petition of any prosecutor, prisoner, or traverser, to order, in every case about to be tried, that the jury shall be selected, not as usual, from the neighbourhood of the place where the offence had been committed, but from an adjoining county, or from the county, or county of the city of Dublin. This is called, in the language of the law, changing the venue; the meaning of *venue* being the neighbourhood or vicinity.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

THE net public income of the United Kingdom, for the year ended 5th January, 1833, according to a return ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 15th February, was 46,988,755*l*. The expenditure for the same year was 46,373,996*l*. The following are the details, omitting fractions:—

Revenue.		
Customs	£16,794,992	
Excise	16,611,036	
Stamps	6,938,316	
Taxes	4,943,887	
Post-Office	1,461,000	
Miscellaneous	84,483	
Receipts, not of the Ordinary Revenue	155,040	
		£46,988,755

Expenditure.

Charge of the Funded Debt . . .	£27,664,586
Interest on Exchequer Bills . . .	659,165
Civil List	510,000
Pensions	477,376
Courts of Justice	324,093
Perpetual Salaries, Miscellaneous } Charges on the Consolidated Fund, Mint, and Hemp and Flax Boun- ties	536,823
Army	7,129,873
Navy	4,882,635
Ordnance	1,792,317
Miscellaneous, chargeable upon An- nual Parliamentary Grants . . . }	2,396,921
	46,373,996
Excess of Income over Expenditure for the Year . . .	614,758

The several sources of income and objects of expenditure will be better understood by the following description:—

The customs are duties charged upon imports and exports. They existed in England before the conquest—were collected, for the first time, into a book of rates in the reign of Charles II.—and were finally consolidated, and the statutes relating to them compressed, in 1825. In the reign of Elizabeth they amounted to no more than 50,000*l.*; at the revolution of 1688 they produced 781,987*l.*; in 1792 they were 4,407,000*l.*; and they now average upwards of 16,000,000*l.* annually. The charges of collection of this branch of revenue, including the Preventive Service, were, in 1830, for Great Britain, 1,024,396*l.* and for Ireland, 270,792*l.*, exclusive of the charges of the Coast-Blockade, which are under the department of the Admiralty. They are under the management of a Board of Commissioners in London.

The excise duties are laid on articles produced and consumed at home, and were first imposed by the Long Parliament in 1643. For a long time a considerable prejudice existed against them in the public mind, which arose probably more from the regulations connected with their imposition than the extent to which they have been carried. The charge of collection, in Great Britain, during the year 1829, amounted to 1,003,471*l.*, being after the rate of 4½ per cent. upon the gross receipt; and in Ireland to 222,583, being at the rate of nearly 11 per cent. They are also managed by a board in London.

The public are sufficiently familiar with the nature of the stamp duties, the postage duties, and the assessed and other miscellaneous taxes. In regard to the efforts that have been made from time to time to procure a repeal of the assessed taxes, it should be stated that it is the opinion of very experienced persons in matters of finance, that such efforts are founded on a misconception of the comparative effect of different kinds of taxes upon the interest of the people in general; and that the repeal of the taxes on raw materials and manufactures, and the reduction of the high duties on tobacco and foreign spirits, would be productive of considerable benefit to the consumer, would put an end to smuggling, and increase the employment of capital, the demand for labour, and foreign commerce. Upon this and other questions of taxation, Sir Henry Parnell's work on 'Financial Reform,' may be consulted with advantage.

From the above statement of the public expenditure, it will be seen that considerably more than one-half of it consists of the interest of the national debt. The amount of the funded debt of the United Kingdom, on the 5th of January, 1832, was 755,543,844*l.*, being 722,616,456*l.* for Great Britain, and 32,927,428*l.* for Ireland; and the amount of the unfunded debt, or exchequer bills, at the same period, was 27,123,350*l.* The practice of borrowing money, in order to defray a part of the war expenditure, began in the reign of William III. In the beginning of the funding system, the term fund meant the taxes appropriated to the discharge of the principal and interest of loans; those who held government securities and sold them to others, selling, of course, a corresponding claim upon some fund. But after the debt increased, and the practice of borrowing upon interminable annuities had been introduced, the meaning attached to the term fund was gradually changed; and instead of signifying the security upon which loans were advanced, it has for a long time signified the principal of the loans themselves. The following statement will show the progress of the national debt;—

	£.
At the Revolution, in 1689, it was	664,263
At the Accession of Queen Anne, in 1702	16,394,702
At the Accession of George the First, in 1714	54,145,363
At the Accession of George the Second, in 1727	52,092,238
At the commencement of the American War, in 1775	128,583,635
At the commencement of the French War, in 1793	239,350,148
On the 5th of January, 1817, when the English and Irish Exchequers were consolidated	848,282,477

Since the latter period, a deduction of about sixty millions has been made from the principal of the funded debt, whereby about five millions of its annual charge have been saved. The above account may suggest many reflections, but none is, perhaps, more striking than that of the injurious effect of war. Twenty years of war added about six hundred millions sterling to the public debt, and entailed upon the country a burden which presses heavily upon its energies, but which cannot be shaken off so long as there is any sense of honesty and justice among us.

The total charge of collecting the revenue may be taken at about four millions a year, adding which to the net revenue, as above stated, for 1832, the gross revenue collected may, in round numbers, be called 50,000,000*l.* The total population of the United Kingdom is now something more than twenty-four millions, so that the average amount of taxation upon each individual is about two pounds sterling a year. This is a very high ratio in comparison with the rate of taxation in other countries, but it would be unfair to complain of it, without taking into account the very high degree of security, comfort, and civilization, which the British nation enjoys. In making an estimate of the comparative well-being of our population, we ought to put the good and bad together, and although there may be much room for amendment in our financial condition, we must not calculate the ratio of our national happiness merely by the nominal ratio of our taxation.

PETITIONS PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT.

SOME curious information respecting parliamentary petitions is given in a Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed on the 9th of May, 1832, to consider the best means of facilitating the presentation of those that relate to public matters. The report was ordered to be printed, 25th July, 1832; and to be reprinted, 6th February last.

Anciently, it appears from this paper, the greater number of petitions presented to parliament related to private grievances. Probably ninety-nine in a hundred were of that description. Receivers and Triers, as they were called, used to be appointed for arranging and classifying petitions,—the former being commonly the clerks of the Court of Chancery, and the latter, committees of prelates, peers, and judges, whose business it was to examine the petitions, and to refer the petitioners either to the proper regular tribunal for redressing their complaints, or, if they were not such as could be taken cognizance of by the ordinary courts of law, to the High Court of Parliament. The form of appointing Receivers and Triers is still observed in the House of Lords at the opening of every new parliament.

The only private petitions now received by parliament are such as relate to matters not coming within the jurisdiction of the courts of law. The number of such petitions now bears a small proportion to that of those that refer to questions of public or general interest. The extent to which the latter have increased of late years, appears from the following statement given in the Report:—

The number of public petitions presented to the House of Commons amounted—

In the five years ending in	1789	to	..	880
	1805	—	..	1,026
	1815	—	..	4,493
	1831	—	..	24,492

The greatest number presented in any one of the five years included in the first series, was 298 (in the year 1785); whereas in 1827 there were presented 3635; in 1828, 4074; in 1829, 4041; and in 1830 and 1831 together, 12,742.

In consequence of this great increase in the numbers of public petitions, the most serious difficulty has been experienced in devising a mode by which they might be submitted to the notice of the House, without occupying the

time demanded for the other business of parliament. The presentation of a single petition frequently consumes a considerable space of time. According to what was the practice up to the commencement of the present session, although the petition itself is rarely read at length, but only its prayer stated by the clerk, its presentation often occasioned no fewer than four successive motions or questions, on each of which a new debate might arise. There was first the motion that the petition be brought up; then, another, that it be read; then, a third, that it be laid on the table; and, lastly, a fourth, that it be printed. A resolution, proposed by Lord Althorp and agreed to by the House, on the 6th February, limited this right of speaking to the two questions—that the petition be laid on the table, and that it be printed; but still this does not get rid of the principal part of the difficulty. Were there to be only one opportunity of debate upon each petition, it would still be almost impracticable for the House, upon the plan that has been hitherto followed, to get through the reception of the vast numbers that are every session put into the hands of members. The order of precedence in the right of presenting petitions has been of late years a matter of constant contest. Formerly the practice was for those members who wished to secure an opportunity of presenting the petitions with which they had been entrusted to strive who should be first at the House in the morning, when, by putting down their names on a paper, they entitled themselves to precedence over those who did not make their appearance so early. Under this system, as one of the witnesses examined before the Committee states, a few members were in the habit of getting the priority in a great number of cases; those who lived near the House constantly took advantage of their proximity to win the race from their competitors, frequently presenting themselves at six o'clock in the morning. Of late the matter has been arranged by allowing members having petitions to present to ballot for precedence; but although, on the average of the session, about twelve members have been in the habit of attending daily at the ballot, it is stated that only the first five whose names were drawn, have in general had any chance of getting their petitions presented in the evening before the public business came on. A member has often attended regularly for many days, and even weeks, without being fortunate enough to attain a sufficiently high place on the list. Soon after the commencement of the present session, Lord Althorp proposed a new plan of proceeding in regard to this important subject, namely, that there should be no ballot, but that members wishing to present petitions should put down their names upon a paper from which they should be called upon by the Speaker in their order, day after day, till the whole list should be gone over. And in order to afford time both for private business and for the reception and discussion of petitions without encroaching upon the time necessary for public business, his lordship further proposed that the House should, for the former purposes, assemble every day (except Saturday), with the Speaker in the chair, at noon, and sit till three o'clock, when it should adjourn till five, at which hour it should again meet and proceed at once with the business set down in the order-book. This plan has since been agreed to by the House.

In addition to the embarrassment occasioned by petitions, on account of their consumption of the time of the House, the printing of those of them that are ordered to be printed has been a source of considerable expense. From 1789 down to 1817 the practice was to print all public petitions, either at length or in the form of a short abstract, in what is called the Votes, that is the record of those proceedings of the House which properly come under the description of business done, but not including resolutions which are merely proposed without being determined upon, and some other matters which are only inserted in the larger record, called the Journals. In 1817 the plan was adopted of printing and distributing the Votes every day; and since then, only those petitions have been printed respecting which the House has thought proper to give an order to that effect. They are printed in the form of an appendix to the votes. The proportion of petitions ordered to be printed to the whole number submitted to the notice of the House, appears, since the commencement of the new system, to have varied considerably in different years. Of 4074 petitions, for instance, presented in 1828, only 1579 were ordered to be printed; whereas of 4041, presented in 1829, the number ordered to be printed was 3394. Of the whole number of 24,492 presented in the

five years ending 1831, 10,685 were ordered to be printed. And the expense thus occasioned amounted for these five years to upwards of 12,000*l.*, or between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.* a-year. Moreover it appears that the mass of matter thus laid before the House and the public excites comparatively but little interest even among those who are most in the habit of attending to parliamentary proceedings. The Report states that some members decline receiving the appendix, considering it as an incumbrance, and that during the year 1831, while there were sold to the public 400 copies of the votes, there were not sold more than 150 copies of the appendix. The appendix for the year 1829, in which Parliament sat from the 6th February to the 24th June, formed a volume of 1535 folio pages, consisting entirely of public and election petitions. It is suggested in the Report that a select committee might be appointed at the commencement of each session to arrange and classify the petitions presented, and having a discretionary power to decide as to the printing at length of any containing facts or reasoning of which, in their judgment, the House ought to be apprised. A resolution to this effect was, on the motion of Lord Althorp, passed by the House on the 20th February, and the Committee appointed.

QUAKERS' AFFIRMATION.

THE House of Commons came to a gratifying decision on the 14th of February in the case of Joseph Pease, Esq. returned one of the members for the southern division of the county of Durham, by resolving that this gentleman was entitled to take his seat upon making his solemn affirmation and declaration, instead of taking the usual oaths. This is the first decision that has admitted any member of the society of Friends to the British legislature. In consequence of the claim advanced by Mr. Pease, a select committee was appointed by the House, on the 8th, to report such precedents as they could discover bearing upon the subject. Their Report, which was brought up on the 11th, presents a full detail of the various enactments which the statute-book contains in reference to the Quakers since they originally attracted the notice of the legislature. The first which they quote is an act passed in 1674, (the 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 1), by which it was declared that any person refusing to take an oath when lawfully tendered, should, for the first offence, be fined 5*l.*, and if three times convicted, should suffer the penalty of banishment. By a subsequent act, (the 16 Car. II. c. 4, § 16,) the further penalty of transportation was affixed to the offence. It was not till the year 1689, that by the statute 1 William and Mary, cap. 18, (commonly called the Toleration Act,) the affirmation of Dissenters from the Church of England who scrupled to take an oath was legally recognized. This act, however, only exempts such persons from the pains and penalties of the statutes against Papists and Non-conformists, and that only on their subscribing a certain declaration of allegiance, and a profession of their faith in the Trinity. It was by the act, 7 and 8 Will. III. cap. 34, passed in 1697, that Quakers were first permitted to substitute their solemn affirmation instead of the usual oath, in civil causes, in the courts of justice. The act, which was to be in force only for seven years, was by a subsequent enactment, (13 Will. III. cap. 4,) passed in 1702, continued for the further period of eleven years; and in 1714, (by the 1 Geo. I. § 2. c. 6,) it was made perpetual. The next statute in order was the 8 Geo. I. cap. 6, passed in 1722, by which the forms of the declaration of allegiance and of the solemn affirmation were altered. But the most decisive enactment bearing upon the subject, appears to be the statute 22 Geo. II. c. 46, passed in 1749, by which it is declared, "that in all cases wherein by any act or acts of parliament now in force, or hereafter to be made, an oath is or shall be allowed, authorized, directed, or required, the solemn affirmation or declaration of any of the people called Quakers, in the form prescribed, &c. shall be allowed and taken instead of such oath, although no particular or express provision be made for that purpose in such act or acts." It is, however, at the same time provided, that no Quaker shall, by virtue of this act, be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal cases, or to serve on juries*, or to bear any office or place of profit in the government. It was only by the act (9 Geo. IV. cap. 32,) passed in 1829, that Quakers and Moravians were, for the first time, allowed to make their solemn affirmation

* A capital conviction by the Court of Admiralty was recently set aside because a Quaker, having been on the jury, had affirmed, instead of taking the usual oath.

instead of the usual oath in giving evidence, "in any case whatsoever, criminal or civil." And this is at present the extent of the privilege they enjoy. They are still inadmissible to places of profit in the government without taking the oaths. On the 15th of February, however, the day on which Mr. Pease took his seat, Lord Morpeth gave notice of his intention to move to bring in a bill to relieve them from this only remaining disability. The notice at present stands for Tuesday, 2d April.

From the Report of the Committee, it appears that there is only one other case on the Journals in which the question of the admissibility of a Quaker to take his seat on affirmation came before the House;—namely, that of John Archdale, Esq., returned for Chipping-Wycombe, in 1699. This gentleman made his claim by a letter to the Speaker, dated (Tuesday) "the 3d of the eleventh month, called January, 1698-9," which was read to the House the same evening. The House, after hearing it, ordered that it should be taken into consideration on the Friday following, and that Mr. Archdale should be in attendance on the morning of that day. The act of the 7 and 8 Will. III., legalizing the affirmation of a Quaker, in certain cases, was at this time in force; but the decision came to by the House, nevertheless, was an order that the Speaker should issue his warrant to the clerk of the crown to make out a new writ for the borough of Chipping-Wycombe. In the course of the late debate, both Mr. Wynn and the Solicitor-general stated that, even on the then state of the law, they held this decision to be wrong. But even admitting it to have been correct, still no parliamentary decision, as the committee remark, had ever been given, before the late case, on the construction and effect of the statutes now in force. It appears, however, that the Court of King's Bench has decided, that a Quaker, on his affirmation, may be admitted a freeman of a city, and also a member of the Turkey Company. In the latter case, Lord Mansfield, who said that the point was quite clear, seems to have been guided simply by the consideration that the place in question was "not a place of profit in the government." Of late also, Quakers have in several instances been admitted barristers, on making their affirmations instead of taking the usual oaths. And since the repeal of the test and corporation acts, a Quaker has served the office of sheriff of the city of York on his affirmation.

PRIVATE BILLS.

A VERY important part of the business of the legislature consists in deliberating and deciding upon what are technically called Private Bills. These are, to a certain extent, bills of divorce, for naturalization, change of name, and other objects of a merely personal nature; but for the most part they are to enable private individuals, associated together, to undertake works of public utility at their own risk, and, in a degree, for their own benefit. To effect this, it is necessary to confide to them greater power than they possess in their individual capacities; and the legislature, having ascertained that a public advantage is likely to accrue from the proposed measure, invests them with the required powers under certain conditions, and then leaves them to conduct the business in the manner most conducive to their own interest, the funds being wholly derived from their own resources. We shall endeavour to give a connected view of the progress of a private bill.

The wants of the public having directed attention to any supposed improvement, requiring the co-operation of a company, and the sanction of a private bill, the usual course is for the original proposers to draw up the plan of the association, with a statement of the advantages to be derived from it, and the proposed method of carrying it into effect. This is submitted to a meeting of those who are most immediately interested. If the plan is approved, a subscription is opened to defray immediate expenses, and means are taken to give publicity to the plan so adopted, in order to procure the names of a sufficient number of individuals who engage to be answerable for such sums as are agreed upon. An estimate has generally been formed of the amount which is considered sufficient for the completion of the object; and the individual advances, called shares, are agreed to be paid in such proportions, and at such times, as shall be afterwards fixed by the bill.

Surveys are then made, and plans prepared, together with a list containing the names of every person whose interests are immediately affected, or whose estate, or any part

thereof, by whatever tenure it may be held, is required for the purposes of the undertaking. Duplicates of this list, having three blank columns, headed *assenting*, *dissenting*, and *neutral*, are forwarded to every such person, to be signed by him in whichever column he pleases. A copy of this list, with the plans and drawings, is also lodged with the clerk of the peace in each county in which any of the property required may be situated; a general statement of the plan, and of the direction and extent of the measure, containing the names of the parishes or places which it will include, or through which it will pass, is advertised in the "London Gazette," and in at least one newspaper in each county affected by the measure, and is also placarded on the door of the courts of law in the same, during the sitting of the autumn assizes.

These preliminaries, which are all prescribed by what are termed the standing orders of the House of Commons, having been fulfilled within a certain defined time before the assembling of parliament, and subscribers to the amount of at least two-thirds of the estimated expense (also required by the same orders) having been obtained, the draft of the bill is prepared, and a petition is addressed to the House praying that it may be received. This petition is referred to a select committee, taken by ballot from certain lists into which the whole House is divided for particular divisions of the country. This committee having ascertained that the standing orders have all been complied with, report the same to the House, and the bill is, as a matter of course, received and read a first time. After the lapse of a certain number of days, it is moved that the bill be read a second time, when, if any objection is made, it is then stated, and the bill is either rejected or referred to a select committee, who consider it clause by clause, and are empowered to examine witnesses, and to hear counsel both in support and opposition. The committee, in almost every case, introduce a maximum of the toll, or duty, or rent, according to the nature of the measure, to be levied, and in many cases declare a maximum of interest to be divided on the capital, and order the surplus to be invested in the public funds, till the amount is sufficient to repay the sums advanced by the shareholders—the improvement to be then thrown open for the free enjoyment of the public. In many cases, also, provision is made to secure the completion of the work when once begun. A copy of the bill is now sent to each county interested, and is deposited with the clerk of the peace, where it is open to the inspection of any one desirous of seeing it. The committee having completed their labours announce their decision in a report, after which the House proceeds to the third reading of the bill, when it may be again discussed, though the report of the committee is in most cases agreed to without any further opposition. If the bill is passed it is carried to the House of Lords, where it goes through nearly the same forms, and if it be finally approved of by the Upper House, and receive the royal sanction, it becomes an act, and a part of the law of the land. It should also be stated that, early in the Session, the House fixes periods within which the different stages of private bills are required to be forwarded. The times so appointed for the present session are as follow:—No petition to be received after the 22d of February; the first reading to be not later than the 25th of March; and no report to be received after the 20th of May.

The forms above detailed are extremely well calculated to secure a due consideration of the subject, and to prevent injustice; but in consequence of many of these bills being considered of a wholly private nature, they are too frequently left to the management of those in some measure immediately interested. The consequence is, that bills, or particular clauses in bills, of a questionable or even injurious tendency, are occasionally smuggled, as it is termed, through the House. Of this a notable example was afforded during the last session, when a bill, avowedly for the purpose of enabling certain parties, who had been carrying into effect some improvements at Glasgow, to dispose of their interests in those improvements among themselves by lot, was made the medium of re-establishing a private lottery, after the state lottery had been abolished as immoral and pernicious.

We have only to add that at each of the stages mentioned, certain fees are payable, of which a table is published under the Speaker's authority. These fees have been long complained of as being too heavy, and as having the effect of preventing or throwing unnecessary impediments in the way of public improvements, but no measure has been yet adopted for their removal or amendment.

The following table, extracted from the "Companion to the Almanac for 1833," shows the number of bills, and the classes to which they belong, which have been passed during the last eight years:—

Comparative Classification of Private Bills for Eight Years.

BILLS PASSED.	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832
Agriculture	23	24	26	19	26	25	19	16
Companies	11	6	5	2	6	2	3	3
Improvement of Towns } and Districts	73	47	39	39	42	39	27	34
Internal Communication	108	83	63	83	83	83	100	64
Navigation	15	4	7	6	5	11	5	6
Private Regulation	51	42	45	33	45	48	40	35
Total	286	206	185	182	207	203	194	185

One of the most important private bills introduced in the present session is that for constructing a rail-road from London to Birmingham. It is intended that it shall commence on the north bank of the Regent's Canal, on the west side of the Hampstead-Road, and proceeding by or near to Kensall Green, Harrow, Pinner, Bushey, Watford, King's-Langley, Hemel-Hempstead, Berkhamstead, Long-Marston, Tring, Ivinghoe, Fenny-Stratford, Shenley, Potterspury, Darlescote, Weedon, Rugby, Willenhall, Coventry, Coleshill, Little-Bromwich, and Deritend, terminate at a place called Nova Scotia Gardens at Birmingham. The estimated expense of this work, is 2,500,000*l.*, to be raised in 100*l.* shares, nearly the whole of which is already subscribed. In addition to the magnitude of the work, opening a means of communication so rapid as to enable the heaviest loads to be transmitted in seven or eight hours between two such marts of commerce and manufactures as London and Birmingham, the circumstances of its being the first rail-road out of London, and the precursor without doubt of many others, give it an additional interest. The measure was first introduced into Parliament during the session of 1832, and passed through the House of Commons, but, after considerable discussion, was rejected by the Lords. In the present session the petition was presented on the 12th of February, and the first reading took place on the 15th.

A petition was also presented on February 19th for leave to bring in a bill respecting the Thames tunnel.

ELECTION PETITIONS.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 20, was the last day allowed by the resolution of the House of Commons for the reception of petitions against the return of Members at the late elections. The following is a list of the places against the returns from which petitions have been presented:—

Returns petitioned against.	Petitioners.
1. Barnstable, borough	Geo. Hervey, Esq., and others.
2. Bath, city	S. Barrow, Sir J. Fellowes, and others.
3. Bedford, borough	Sir W. Long and Sir J. Pulley
4. Bristol, city	Richard Ash, and others.
5. Bury St. Edmunds, borough	Fras. King Eagle, Esq.
6. Carmarthen, borough	Jas. Hughes and John Lawrance.
7. Carnarvon, borough	O. J. E. Nanney, Esq.
8. Carrickfergus, borough	Edw. Chichester, and others.
9. Clonmell, borough	Jas. Morton, and others.
10. Coleraine, borough	W. Taylor Copeland, Esq.
11. Cork, city	J. Townshend, Esq., P. Deane, Esq., and others.
12. Coventry, city	Wm. Odell, and others.
13. Ennis, borough	Pat. Carmody, and others.
14. Galway, town	M. J. Blake, Esq., V. Blake, Esq., and others.
15. Harwich, borough	J. Disney, Esq., and others.
16. Hertford, borough	J. S. Duncombe and J. E. Spalding, Esqs.
17. Knaresborough, borough	Henry Rich, Esq.
18. Launceston, borough	David Howell, Esq., and others.
19. Lincoln, city	C. D. W. Sibthorp, Esq.
20. Linsithgow, county	J. J. Hope Vere, Esq.
21. Londonderry, borough	A. A. Watt, and others.
22. Longford, county	Visc. Forbes, A. Lefroy, Esq., and others.
23. Mallow, borough	Wm. Murphy, and others.
24. Montgomery, borough	Edw. Jones and Thos. Owen.
25. Newry, borough	Dennis Maguire, Esq.
26. Norfolk, county (Eastern division)	John Harper and C. S. Gilman, Esqs.

27. Northumberland, county (Southern division)	R. W. Brandling, R. P. Philipson, Esqs., and others.
28. Norwich, city	John Cozens, and others.
29. Oxford, city	Wm. Hughes Hughes, Esq.
30. Petersfield, borough	Hylton Joliffe, Esq., and others.
31. Portarlington, borough	Hon. G. L. Dawson Damer.
32. Ripon, borough	George Jackson, and others.
33. Salisbury, city	Hon. D. P. Bouverie.
34. Southampton, town	Joseph Clark, and others.
35. Stafford, borough	Wm. Blount, Esq., Wm. Rogers, and others.
36. Stirling, burghs	James Johnstone, Esq.
37. Tiverton, borough	Wm. Anstey, and others.
38. Warwick, borough	Wm. Tibbitts and others.
39. Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, borough	G. C. Welsford, and others.
40. Windsor, borough	Sir J. E. De Beauvoir.
41. York, city	Samuel Judd.

SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE AMERICAN TARIFF.

THE news from the United States has of late been of unusual interest, by reason of the discontent which has prevailed in the Southern and Western States at the tariff imposing duties on foreign goods imported; and so great has been this discontent in the state of South Carolina, that the people of that state have openly declared their resistance to the tariff. The legislature of South Carolina published an ordinance, declaring the laws passed in 1828 and 1832 for the imposing of duties on the importation of foreign commodities to be unauthorized by the constitution of the United States, and therefore null and void; and that a protecting tariff should no longer be enforced within the limits of South Carolina. It was added, that if the general government should attempt to coerce them by military power, they would firmly resist, and supplies were voted for that purpose. Upon this the president of the United States issued a proclamation, stating it to be the intention of the general government to maintain the integrity of the Union by force; but the South Carolinians appeared disposed to persist in their resistance, although unsupported by Georgia and other states to whose interests the tariff was also believed to be hostile; and the president more recently issued another proclamation, removing the custom-houses, and making other regulations for thwarting the opposition. The president's conduct has been sanctioned by several of the Northern States, especially that of New York, the annual value of whose manufactures is upwards of twenty-five million dollars. Whether these disputes will be amicably arranged, or will terminate in a dissolution of the North American republic as at present constituted, it is not easy yet to foresee; but it may be useful, in the mean time, to give some account, firstly, of the American Constitution as applied to the question at issue, and secondly, of the Tariff which has been the cause of the irritation.

The American Union is composed (exclusively of certain Territories sending delegates) of twenty-four States, each of which has its separate legislature, invested with the entire regulation of its local concerns. These States, independent in other respects, are united by a federal compact, which is the constitution of the United States, and according to this the president, and the congress, consisting of the senate and the house of representatives, are elected. By the constitution, the congress has power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debt, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, and to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. Such being almost verbally the language of the constitution, the question is, whether or not congress has power to impose a general tariff which is binding upon each individual State. Now if the power of congress extends to all taxes, whether for the purpose of revenue or of protection, it is plain that the objection of the South Carolinians—that the tariff operates unequally, is scarcely tenable, because, as the president observes, "such an objection may be made with truth to every law that has been or can be passed. The wisdom of man never yet contrived a system of taxation that would operate with perfect equality." Much less does South Carolina appear to be warranted in throwing off her allegiance to suit her own interest, because she is bound by the

compact under which she became a member of the Union, and has enjoyed hitherto all the benefits resulting from it. It would appear, therefore, that the president has with him the strict constitutional law, though it may be questionable how far he could enforce it without arraying one portion of the population against the other; for the regular troops at the president's disposal amount only to about 7000 men, and the militia of the Union, amounting to 1,308,000, could hardly be considered as effective in a case where the population would be divided against itself.

But, secondly, if we concede to congress that it has not exceeded its constitutional powers, (which very many, including Mr. Jefferson, were of opinion that it had exceeded,) it is impossible to stigmatize the tariff too strongly, as being not only unwise, but also unjust. The restrictions upon industry and the freedom of commerce, existing in European countries, had their origin in less enlightened ages than the present; and when an erroneous system has become interwoven with the national institutions and the various interests of society, it is always extremely difficult to change it for a better. But when the Americans achieved their independence, they were embarrassed by no difficulties of such a nature. Their industry was free and unfettered, and they were in the very state best calculated to forward a nation in the career of improvement. They should have abstained from the restrictive system, not only because reason and experience had proved it to be inimical to the advancement of mankind in opulence and population, but because they were not previously entangled in the web of existing prohibitions. They should have respected the principle of the division of labour; and, possessed of an almost unlimited extent of fertile land, they should have looked to the obvious advantages of their agricultural industry, and considered that the growth of raw produce must, for a long series of years, be the most profitable kind of employment in which American citizens could engage. They should have reflected that they were encroaching upon that equality of protection to which all interests in the Union, as in every free state, are entitled; and that they were forcibly withdrawing capital from the land, and turning it to manufactures, without making the smallest addition to the capital and industry of the republic, but on the contrary, to the diminution and injury of both.

In the face, however, of the principles of public economy, and the lessons of experience, the American legislature set itself steadily to work to *protect* its home manufactures, especially its woollens, cottons, and hardware. Vainly aiming at making the United States independent of foreign nations, but attaching as absurd a meaning to the word *independence*, as if a country gentleman who had his coat and shoes made on his own estate thought himself more independent than his neighbour squire who bought them, congress proceeded to impose heavy import duties on articles of foreign manufacture. With the view of promoting the woollen manufacture, a duty was laid on woollen cloths imported, which from being 5 per cent. *ad valorem* in 1790, was gradually raised to 33½ per cent.; and by the tariff of 1828, it was enacted that all goods which had cost 50 cents (2s. 1½d.) a yard, or under, should be deemed to have cost 50 cents, and should be charged with a duty of 45 per cent. *ad valorem*; and further, that all goods which had cost above 50 cents the yard and not more than 100 cents, should be considered as costing 100 cents, (or 4s. 3d.) and should pay a duty of 46 per cent. on that sum—so that every yard of cloth, costing 51 cents, would be valued at 100, and would consequently pay a duty of nearly 90 per cent. By the tariff of 1832, which comes into operation the 3rd of March, 1833, a duty of 5 per cent. is imposed on plain kerseys; of 10 per cent. on worsted stuffs and shawls; of 20 per cent. on worsted yarn; on blankets, hosiery and carpets, 25 per cent.; and on woollen manufactures in general, 50 per cent.; modifications which cannot be considered as great improvements upon the last tariff. Again, on cotton fabrics imported, the tariff of 1828 charged a duty of from 30 to 100 per cent., although there was abundance of evidence that the high duties of former tariffs had rendered the cotton-mills anything rather than thriving. The tariff of 1832, charges 25 per cent. upon cotton manufactures, and provides, that cottons not dyed, not exceeding in value 30 cents a square yard, shall be valued at 30 cents; and if dyed, and not exceeding in value 35 cents a square yard, shall be valued at 35 cents. Cotton yarn, unbleached, to be taken at 60 cents the pound, and bleached at 75 cents the pound. So also,

iron-bolts and bar-iron were charged under the tariff of 1828 with a duty of 7½ s. per ton. By the tariff of 1832 they are rated at not much less, namely at 30 dollars a ton, and various other duties on iron manufactures are imposed, those on iron not otherwise rated being 25 per cent. These instances will suffice as examples. So far as these duties were aimed against Great Britain, it should here be observed, that we deal with the Americans on far more liberal terms than they deal with us; for, upon the majority of American articles which we import, the duties do not, on an average, exceed 8 per cent. *ad valorem*.

The result has been that the tariff has been injurious to every interest, and to every section of the country; and whoever will take the trouble to read the Report of the committee on the commerce and navigation of the United States, drawn up by Mr. Cambreleng, and submitted to congress the 8th of February, 1830, will be satisfied of it beyond the possibility of doubt. The commerce, navigation and capital of the New England States (Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine,) have been sacrificed in order to bring forward new competitors in manufacturing to embarrass old and skilful artisans; and as their wealth and industry have declined, so has the ratio of the increase of the population diminished. The navigation of the United States has retrograded since the peace; ship-building has begun to decline; the manufacture of cordage has been driven to Great Britain and Russia; and by the high duties upon coarse woollens, salt, brown sugar, molasses, tea, and coffee, burdens have been heaped on articles essential to the comforts of the poor throughout the Union. The tide of emigration to the Western States has been excessively accelerated, although full employment for population might have been found in the older states. But, above all other evils, has been the depression of agriculture, by the prevention of the sale of agricultural produce to foreign nations whose manufactures have been shut out of the American markets. Taking a view of the whole Union, the Americans are at this day as much an agricultural and as little a manufacturing people, as they were at the time of the adoption of the constitution. There are many thousand millions of acres yet unoccupied; eleven agricultural States have been added to the Union; and the Territories are very far more extensive than at the period mentioned. Of the 12,856,171 persons who, according to the census of 1830 composed the population of the United States, more than four-fifths are employed in agriculture—and thus the interests of the mass of the inhabitants have been sacrificed in the vain hope of fostering a few miserable manufactures, which must ever be sickly whilst surrounded by an artificial atmosphere, instead of being exposed to the natural and wholesome breezes of competition. The staple products of the Middle and Southern States, and of the Western States along the Ohio, are cotton, tobacco, rice, wheat, and sugar. The exports of cotton for the year 1831, were of the value of 25,289,492 dollars, being nearly half of the 61,277,057 dollars, which were the amount of the exports of American produce and manufactures for that year. The next greatest export is that of wheat-flour and biscuit, which amounted to 9,938,458 dollars; and of tobacco, the export amounted to 4,892,388 dollars. So that the value of these three articles thus constituted two-thirds of the value of the entire export; and nothing can be more natural than that the agricultural state of South Carolina, where the objects of culture are cotton, rice, wheat, and tobacco, should consider the suspension of the market for those articles, a very serious grievance. It has indeed been proposed that the states of North and South Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi, should join in a convention for the protection of their common interests, and the resistance of the tariff. At present only one state appears to have openly resisted; but that the tariff can long continue to oppress the other agricultural states, unopposed, is what we cannot believe. Of the Western States, the agricultural and mineral wealth has been obliged to be left to perish in the interior, or to be wasted as worthless productions. Under a system of restriction, these productions must remain, without value, beyond the Western mountains, and the treasures of the mines can be but slowly realized. But an active foreign commerce would give an impulse to the internal trade, and put in circulation the vast agricultural and mineral resources of the Western States. If the trade now restricted were once made free, there can be little doubt that the enlarged intercourse would not less effectually

increase the commercial marine of the United States, than develop the internal resources of the country.

The history of the American tariff, even up to the present time, furnishes an useful lesson to other governments by exhibiting the pernicious effects of the so called *protective* system. It was idle to suppose, that because duties were levied on manufactures as high as 75, 100, and 200 per cent. they were therefore really protected. It is a wholly different thing to stimulate capitalists to overdo, for a season, a particular branch of manufacture, and to secure a permanent and cheap supply. The cheaper fabrics of Great Britain have been smuggled into America, in spite of hosts of revenue-officers, and all other impediments which the wisdom of congress could contrive, just as French silks used to find their way into English consumption, when strictly prohibited by the English law; and just as foreign spirits and tobacco are at this day smuggled into this country to an enormous extent, in spite of cruisers, coast-blockade, and martello towers. The course for statesmen is, never to tax foreign manufactures with a view of stimulating home manufactures, for cheaper fabrics cannot thus be permanently excluded; but to remove those taxes on raw materials, or any other taxes which enter into the price of the home manufactures, and let them make their own way through free competition.

Whilst, therefore, we are inclined to believe, that the letter of the American constitution is against the proceedings of the inhabitants of South Carolina, we cannot but regard the tariff as contrary to the principles upon which a free nation ought to be governed. If the result should be the dismemberment of the Union, it will indeed be a lamentable end of the folly of this restrictive policy; but its evils have already been sufficiently great to induce us to hope for the abolition of the tariff whilst it can be done peacefully, and before the integrity and safety of the republic of the United States are brought into jeopardy.

NEWSPAPERS.

WHEN Roger L'Estrange (who, soon after the restoration of Charles II., was appointed to the odious office of "surveyor of the printing presses") set up, in 1663, his "Intelligencer," he announced that, "One book a week may be expected to be published every Thursday, and finished upon the Tuesday night, leaving Wednesday entire for the printing it off." The "Intelligencer" preceded the "London Gazette" about two years, being, like the Gazette, published "with privilege." This paper, of which there is a copy in the British Museum, consists of four pages, about the size of the pages of the "Companion to the Newspaper," but equal in matter to a little more than two pages of the "Companion."—As it occupied all Wednesday in printing off, all Tuesday was employed in completing the arrangement of the information it contained; and thus, this very slender allowance of news, which the public of London could purchase on the Thursday, was not of a more recent date than the previous Monday. The post then did not go every day; and it went very slowly when it did go: so that in many parts of the kingdom, the "Intelligencer" of August 31st, 1663, (the date of the first number,) would be still fresh on the following 30th of September. The title of this newspaper imports that it was published "for the satisfaction and information of the people;" but their rulers were not very anxious to promote this information and satisfaction, for the privileged author of the "Intelligencer" says, in his first number, "As to the point of printed intelligence, I do declare myself, that supposing the press in order, the people in their right wits, and news, or no news, to be the question, a public Mercury should never have my vote; because I think it makes the multitude too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors, too pragmatical and censorious, and gives them not only an itch, but a kind of colourable right and licence to be meddling with the government." The people, however, were not to be stinted in the extent and quality of their information after the fashion of this writer; for, in spite of privileges and surveyors of the press, by the beginning of the next century, before a stamp was required upon newspapers, there were published in London one daily paper, fifteen three times a week, and two twice a week. About this period, provincial papers first began to appear.

The desire of news from the capital, on the part of the wealthier country residents, and probably the false informa-

tion and the impertinence of the news-writers, led to the common establishment of a very curious trade,—that of a news correspondent, who, for a subscription of three or four pounds per annum, wrote a letter of news every post-day to his subscriber in the country. This profession probably existed in the reign of James I.; for in Ben Jonson's play "The Staple of News," written in the first year of Charles I., we have a very curious and amusing description of an office of news manufacturers:

"This is the outer room where my clerks sit,
And keep their sides, the Register i' the midst;
The Examiner, he sits private there, within;
And here I have my several rolls and files
Of news by the alphabet, and all put up
Under their heads."

The news thus communicated appears to have fallen into as much disrepute as the public news. In the advertisement announcing the first number of the "Evening Post," (September 6th, 1709) it is said, "There must be three or four pound per annum paid by those gentlemen who are out of town, for written news, which is so far, generally, from having any probability of matter of fact in it, that it is frequently stuffed up with a *We hear, &c.*; or, an *eminent Jew merchant has received a letter, &c.*; being nothing more than downright fiction." The same advertisement, speaking of the published papers, says, "We read more of our own affairs in the Dutch papers than in any of our own." The trade of a news correspondent seems to have suggested a sort of union of written news and published news; for towards the end of the seventeenth century, we have *news-letters* printed in type to imitate writing. The most famous of these was that commenced by Ichabod Dawks, in 1696, the first number of which was thus announced: "This letter will be done upon good writing-paper, and blank space left, that any gentleman may write his own private business. It does undoubtedly exceed the best of the *written news*, contains double the quantity, is read with abundance more ease and pleasure, and will be useful to improve the younger sort in writing a curious hand."

We have been somewhat minute in pointing out the channels of information on public events possessed by the nation little more than a century ago, because, if these circumstances are fairly considered, we shall cease to be surprised at the trifling interest which the great body of the people then felt in the proceedings of their rulers. Public opinion could not then have existed in the form which it wears at the present day. Thrones were indeed shaken, and ministries dissolved; but the great changes of the state were almost wholly brought about by those who were working, or hoping to work, the machine of government. The people, comprising most part of the middle and all of the poorer classes, sometimes picked up the stale information which reached their patrons and employers; but, except in the metropolis, they knew little about public events, and they were indifferent to their consequences. They were satisfied to address the throne, or to petition the parliament, at the will of some leader, who still retained much of the power and influence of feudalism. In London, certainly, the middle, and even labouring classes, were eager for news, and exercised their right of commenting upon it with considerable energy. Even those who published newspapers, after the revolution, affected to lament this temper of the metropolis. "The meanest of shopkeepers and handicrafts," says the "British Mercury" in 1712, "spend whole days in coffee-houses to hear news and talk politics, whilst their wives and children want bread at home." Coffee-houses were, in the same spirit, called "Penny Universities." Politics, however, did not form the sole attraction. Swift, in his "Journal to Stella," speaking of the effect of the new stamp duty, says, "Do you know that Grub-street is dead and gone last week? no more ghosts or murders now for love or money." But if London had a scanty meal of intelligence, the provinces were almost without a mouthful; and thus the public opinion of London had always an undue power, till, by the diffusion of newspapers, the pulsations of the heart were felt at the extremities of the political body. When the debates in parliament were not permitted to be reported,—when a meagre paragraph from the "Low Countries" gave the first intelligence, without detail or comment, of a battle or a treaty,—even London must have been indifferently supplied with materials for the formation

of public opinion. But when the coach to York was a fortnight upon the road,—when even Oxford was a two-days' journey—although a few of the population might comprehend, in the fullness of time,

"quid habent novorum
Dawksque Dyerque *;"

the great body of the people were not in a much better state for bringing their sentiments to bear upon public affairs than the inhabitants of the colonies. At any rate, they could not catch the ball at the rebound; the game of party was played out before they could look upon its movements.

Let us contrast this forgotten state of things with the newspaper operations of the present time. There are six daily morning papers in London, and eight evening. Each of these would have appeared a miracle to our forefathers a century ago. If a man had shut his eyes only for forty years, they would still appear miraculous. Let us suppose a reverend gentleman, of the days of hair powder and queues, arrived in London from some distant place, where for some quarter of a century his eyes had never looked upon the wonders of "the broad sheet." He arrives at a time of great public excitement. He gains admittance to the gallery of the House of Commons. Everything there is interesting to him. The topics are unfamiliar; the speakers are new. He sits there, a patient listener, till four o'clock. The House rises; and he perceives the hour with dismay, for he has taken his place in the "Birmingham Tallyho" at eight. The old gentleman is punctual; but he enjoys a short nap, and, to his inexpressible surprise, he finds himself at breakfast at St. Alban's, within two hours of starting. The old gentleman is refreshed, and becomes communicative. A fellow-passenger is poring over the "Times;" and the following dialogue may be imagined, the veteran beginning:—"I can give you a little fresher news than that, Sir: I was in the House of Commons this morning, and heard *all* the debate."—"Thank you, Sir, I have it *all* here."—"I mean *last* night Sir! That I presume is *yesterday's* paper."—"I beg your pardon, Sir, it is the 'Times' of *this* morning."—"Indeed: but then it can't contain *last* night's debate, you know."—"Every word of it,—twenty columns, small print; and the division."

A smile of incredulity passes over the countenance of the ancient stranger, but he resolves to be satisfied. In another hour, he has the paper in his hand. As he begins to wade through the almost interminable mass which contains as many words as some goodly hot-pressed volume, his curiosity is roused; his wonder is boundless; he hears the very phrases which he listened to with such interest only a few hours before; he can discover no inaccuracy in the arguments; quotations are given with scrupulous fidelity; the calculations that he could not follow as a listener are here presented to his eye with all the clearness of tabular arrangement. He applies for information to his fellow-passengers: and, towards the end of his journey, he imperfectly comprehends that, by the division of labour, mental as well as physical, followed up by powerful machinery whose operations may be depended upon to a minute, such a wonder as the paper before him may be produced. But that it should be produced every day with undeviating punctuality, and should attempt every day completely to satisfy public curiosity, even up to the very hour when it is printing, seems to him somewhat unnecessary. He does not yet know the eagerness with which large communities watch and wait upon public events. He will soon learn. At seven o'clock of the same evening, he is at dinner at an hotel in Birmingham. The waiter puts the "Times" into his hand—"Grand debate, Sir, last night," says a gentleman in the opposite box. "Debate, Sir! what have *you* read the debate already?" "Oh dear yes, Sir; the paper was here by express at three o'clock; and a deputation of the Political Union are gone off, in consequence, with a petition to the House, that *we* hope will settle the question." "Wonder of wonders," says the old gentleman, "when will these wonders cease?" They have not yet ceased for him. At his breakfast the next morning a Birmingham paper is laid upon the table, in which, it being Saturday, he expects under the postscript, to the old arrangement of provincial newspapers, "London Mail, Tuesday." Instead of this, he finds two columns of editorial comment upon the

* "What Dawks and Dyer have of news." These writers of news letters were hatched into the immortality of a Latin Ode, by one Anthony Alsop.

very debate which he heard; and the speeches of the members given at a much more satisfactory length than they were accustomed to be in the best conducted morning paper of his younger days. But the wonder is not even yet over. In another half hour the waiter brings in a London evening paper and there, to his still greater astonishment, he sees five or six columns of debate on the night before, broken off in the middle with—"we left the Hon. Member speaking at 8 o'clock, and at half past 8 our express started to catch the mail at Barnet."

These operations are somewhat different from the "one book a week may be expected, to be published every Thursday, and finished upon the Tuesday night, leaving the Wednesday entire for the printing it off." L'Estrange's "Intelligencer" comprised about as much matter as a close column of a daily paper—and it probably did not sell a hundred where the best circulated daily paper sells a thousand. Here, therefore, is two hundred-fold as much mechanical labour employed upon the modern paper as upon the ancient; that labour is performed every day instead of once a week; and it is performed in a fifth of the time. The rapidity which begins in the very first process of writing, is continued through the editing, printing, and publishing; and is followed up with equal rapidity in every stage of its circulation. Far removed must he be from the haunts of men who does not know all the details of a public event within a week, at the utmost, from the period of its occurrence, as familiarly as he knows the circumstances that have been going on in his own family—much more familiarly, in many cases, than the argumentations of his own little senate, the Parish Vestry.

There are some persons who think that all this activity of newspapers is a public evil. This species of opinion has been endeavouring to make head against every diffusion of knowledge by the press, since the invention of printing. In some states, the opinion is still acted upon by those in authority; and newspapers are put by the government under censorships. It is long since, in our own country, they have been attempted to be thus controlled. Cardinal Wolsey was of opinion, when the invention of printing had brought schism into the church, that "since printing could not be put down, it were best to set up learning against learning;" and, in the same way, when L'Estrange (who appears to have represented the court of Charles II.) began his "Intelligencer," he says, "There is not any thing which at this instant more imports his Majesty's service and the public, than to redeem the vulgar from their former mistakes and delusions, and to preserve them from the like for the time to come; to both which purposes the *prudent* management of a Gazette may contribute in a very high degree." L'Estrange was wise enough to set up newspaper against newspaper, as Wolsey was wise enough to set up learning against learning. Seventeen years after the publication of L'Estrange's "Intelligencer," the government was weak enough to make proclamation "for suppressing the printing and publishing unlicensed news-books and pamphlets of news." The proclamation was put forth in vain. When a country is making even the faintest approaches to a representative government, the people *will* be informed upon those public affairs, in the transaction of which they have a share, however remote. When their representative system is really a valid one, no attempts to interrupt the dissemination of this species of knowledge, directly by censorship, or indirectly by tax, can ever long succeed.

There is a question at issue between two classes of political thinkers of the present day, whether the tax upon newspapers ought to remain as it is, or be partially, or entirely, abolished. The question, as it appears to us, may be narrowed, by being divided. The taxation of newspapers has to be considered, first, with reference to the amount of revenue to be raised by the tax; and secondly, with reference to the political expediency of curtailing or extending the circulation of newspapers.

With regard to the first point, we have no doubt that the revenue produced by newspapers would not be diminished,—it might rather be increased,—by the reduction of the tax, from a nominal stamp of fourpence to a real stamp of a penny. We use the word nominal stamp, as distinguished from real stamp, because there is a discount of twenty per cent. from the fourpenny stamp. This proposed deduction of about 2½d. from the cost of a newspaper, so as to allow what is now sold at sevenpence to be sold at fourpence,

would no doubt treble the circulation of newspapers; and the increased excise duty upon paper might produce a surplus over the present amount of newspaper revenue. This, then, is a question of finance, to be solved like any other question of the same nature. A low duty is often capable of producing more revenue than a high duty; and if newspapers are to be taxed, let them be taxed in the way most favourable for production. If it be convenient to raise half a million of money upon newspapers, in preference to raising it upon any other article of luxury or necessity, there can be no good reason why it should not be so raised. All taxes are evils, and more especially those taxes which impede production. A tax upon knowledge may be a great evil, and so may be a tax upon cleanliness, or a tax upon ventilation. The tax upon newspapers, as tax, stands in the same relation to the individual consumer, as the tax upon soap or upon windows. The question of revenue in this case, as in all others, should be separated from any supposed incidental consequences of taxation, to be rightly understood. But if the increase of newspapers be considered an evil, and the continuance of the high duty be advocated for the prevention of that evil, let us consider the question apart from that of revenue. Let the tax, in that point of view, stand upon the same grounds as a censorship, or a privilege, for the accomplishment of the same ends.

The people of this country, as it appears to us, have been making rapid strides during the last half century in the acquisition of sound political knowledge. They have been making these strides concurrently with the increase of newspapers. In 1782, when the population of Great Britain was about 7,000,000, the number of separate newspapers published was 58; in 1821, when the population was 14,000,000, the number was 166; in 1832, when the population was above 16,000,000, the number was 294. We had thus in 1782, one newspaper to each 110,000 of the population; in 1821, one to each 90,000; and in 1832 one to each 55,000. In the United States the increase has been still more rapid. Before the Revolution, in 1775, there were only 37 newspapers in the British North American colonies. In 1810, when the population of the United States was 7,000,000, the number of newspapers was 358, or one newspaper to about every 20,000 of the population. In 1830, when the population was above 12,000,000, the number of newspapers was above 800, or one to about every 15,000 of the population. The newspapers of the United States bear no tax at all; but the postage, if the paper be not carried above one hundred miles, is one cent (about one halfpenny). Now, during all the period of this rapid increase of the circulation of newspapers, both in Great Britain and the United States, it cannot be shown that the people of either country have fallen back in real political knowledge. On the contrary, we have no doubt that they have each made a great and rapid advance in the knowledge of their own duties, as well as of their own rights. We believe that while they have each become more impatient of misgovernment, they have each acquired a greater capacity to be honestly, wisely, and quietly governed. The time, we hope, is fast passing away (although the argument has recently been used) when a distinction shall be attempted to be made between the ability of the great and that of the humble to comprehend a political question. We do not believe that all newspapers, with an expensive stamp, must necessarily be the advocates of social order, and especially the defenders of the rights of property. We do not think that a low stamped newspaper must, to be acceptable to the poorer classes of readers, put forward doctrines which have for their object the subversion of all society, and the establishment of anarchy upon the ruins of law. We believe that the humbler classes of newspaper readers are not to be captivated so easily as the writers of some newspapers imagine, by the rhetorical graces which have such a peculiar charm in their own little coteries. Violent denunciations and the most perverse misconstructions of the motives of every man in office, incessant sneers, never-ending suspicions, hatred of every practical measure of improvement, unceasing agitation to change the state machinery, indifference or opposition to its most useful workings, outpourings of personal spite, and chucklings of personal vanity—these are not the materials to please an earnest and straightforward population; and the papers who deal in such wares will not find the demand for them extended with the extension of the market. On the contrary, we have no doubt that should a reduction of the tax add greatly to the number of individual newspapers, because adding to the number of

newspaper purchasers, those papers will have the best hope of a large circulation who deal with great political subjects, not in the spirit of partisanship, and therefore of insincerity, but with an honest, trustworthy, and comprehensive spirit. Those, as we think, will be the most popular, who take the elements of political philosophy for their guides; not exaggerating the slander of the day for a momentary triumph, and, above all, recollecting that they are addressing a people who have recently become invested with political power, to a much larger extent than they ever before possessed it. The people, if we know them rightly, will not be led away from a deep sense of the responsibilities of that power, by the sophistry or the violence of any phrase writer, however skilful he may be in his vocation.

Whatever may be the future complexion of the newspaper press of this country, there can be no doubt that every lover of our national peace and prosperity must ardently desire the diffusion of sound political knowledge. The people of England, by the recent great change in the constitution, have acquired the power not only of influencing the measures of government by the force of public opinion, but of controlling and directing them more immediately than at any former period of our history. It is not only necessary that the people should feel their rights, but that they should exercise them wisely and temperately. They cannot do so without political knowledge. Without political knowledge it might be possible that the nation would suffer as much from the ignorance of the many who will influence public affairs, as from the selfishness of the few who have influenced them. Political knowledge, like all other knowledge, is tolerant and considerate: it does not live in an element of incessant agitation; it does not spurn the good which is proposed to be accomplished because it may fall something short of the good which may be imagined; it does not consider that true patriotism consists only in the clamour for the repeal of a doubtful tax, or in the needless assertion of an inapplicable principle. True political knowledge weighs every measure of finance, but not in the scale of some hunter of popularity anxious to please his little knot of constituents. It tests it by the examination of its effect upon the general national industry,—not partially, but comprehensively;—not by the shopkeeper's petty cash book, but by the great ledger of the wealth of nations. True political knowledge, whilst it is thus always ready to refer to principles, knows also that the sudden application of the wisest principle may be the grossest injustice. It does not degrade the principle by a hasty and imprudent application of it, but by waiting upon events it ultimately secures their direction. It knows its own power and it abides its time. We believe that a competent knowledge of public affairs, and a tolerably correct appreciation of their moving principles, will lead the great bulk of the people very far towards the attainment of sound political knowledge; and in spite, therefore, of the passions and prejudices of individual newspapers, we have no fear of their general extension. The good sense of the British community will give the preference to the soundest adviser; and that adviser will ever be found the most honest, and we believe, in the long run, the most attractive, who rests upon facts and principles which take no colour from the false opinions of the hour.

NOTICE.

The COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER, No. 2, will be published on the 1st of April; and on the same day will be published a SUPPLEMENT, being No. 3.

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THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE	PAGE
Parliamentary Reporting . . . 17	British Museum 23
Corporation Reform 21	Education in Ireland 23
Office of King's Printer—Mono-	Abstract of Parliamentary Re-
poly of Bibles 23	turns 31
Public Petitions 27	Notice 32

PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING.

WHAT should we now think of a newspaper which gave no reports of the debates in Parliament? Yet little more than "sixty years since" none of our newspapers contained anything of the kind. Although accounts of single speeches, and even of entire debates, had been occasionally printed from a much earlier date, the only regular record of parliamentary proceedings which was given to the public up to within a century of the present time was that contained in the "Historical Register" and the "Political State of Europe," both of which were only annual publications. Parliament at this time sternly asserted its right to prohibit all promulgation of its doings through the press, at least while it was sitting; and many persons maintained that it had the power to prevent any publication of its debates even during the recess. Nay, it was not quite clear that an account might be printed, with perfect impunity, of the debates even of a defunct Parliament. In 1713 Sir Robert Walpole, in concert with Lord Somers and other eminent persons of the Whig party, wrote a pamphlet, under the title of "A short History of the last Parliament," intended to influence the coming elections. It appeared anonymously; and many years afterwards, Sir Robert himself, when prime minister, stated in his place in the House of Commons, that the author of that pamphlet "was so apprehensive of the consequence of printing it, that the press was carried to his house and the copies printed off there." The monthly magazines were the first publications, appearing more frequently than once a year, which ventured to give reports of the debates. In January, 1731, the first of these, the "Gentleman's Magazine," was established by Edward Cave, for the purpose simply, as announced in the first number, of collecting into a permanent repository the most interesting and valuable of the fugitive pieces from the various newspapers and other sheets, or rather half sheets, which had appeared during the month. Of these it is stated that, "besides divers written accounts, no less than two hundred per month were then thrown from the press only in London, and about as many printed elsewhere in the three kingdoms." As none of these publications, however, gave the debates, so neither did the Magazine. It was not till the year 1735 that it began to do so, upon the discontinuance of the "Political State." At the head of the number for July of that year, printed at the end of the month, appeared the following announcement:—"Note.—The Gentleman's Magazine Extraordinary will be published about the 20th day of August, and will contain Proceedings of the last session of Parliament." The supplementary number, accordingly, came out, we presume about the day thus announced, with a report of the debate in the House of Lords on the 23d of January preceding. The history of parliamentary proceedings, it was promised at the end, should be continued in the number for August; and from this time, accordingly, the report of the speeches forms a prominent feature in each month's publication. Still, however, it will be perceived this was no publication of the debates during the sitting of the houses; the session was always over before anything that had been done in the course of it was given in the Magazine. And even while following, as they did, at this respectful distance, the reports were of the most cautious and timid description. The names of the speakers were given at most only by the first and last letters; and, in many cases, no speaker's name is mentioned

at all: all that appears is a summary of the discussion, divided into what the compiler designates the argument, the answer, and the reply. As so much, however, was allowed to be done with impunity, the publisher gradually got bolder; and at last the names were printed at full length. The reports were thus given both in the "Gentleman's" and the "London" Magazine: in the former, by a well-known literary labourer of those days, Mr. William Guthrie, the author of a voluminous History of England and other works; and in the latter by Mr. Thomas Gordon, the translator of Tacitus: they were both Scotchmen. They used to attend themselves in the gallery of the House of Commons, and also received information from various members of both houses. Sir John Hawkins, in his Life of Johnson, says that "Cave had an interest with some of the members of both houses, arising from an employment he held in the post-office;" but the editor of Hansard's "Parliamentary History" (see Preface to vol. x.) states that the reports in the "London Magazine" are for some years much superior to those in the "Gentleman's;" and that, throughout 1737 in particular, those in the latter publication are copied verbatim from those in the former, down to errors in the press.

Obtained as they were, these reports, it may easily be supposed, were often extremely inaccurate, and no doubt frequently contained misrepresentations annoying enough to individual speakers. As they assumed a more daring and unguarded shape, without probably any accession of accuracy, they naturally excited the irritation of those members who were most jealous of any infringement of what they conceived to be the privileges of Parliament; and, accordingly, the subject was at last formally noticed in the House of Commons. On the 13th of April, 1738, the Speaker himself introduced it by complaining of the indignity done to the house by the publication, in some newspaper, of the answer to the address before it had been read from the chair. On this a long and very curious debate arose. It was begun by Sir William Yonge, who strenuously urged the house to take instant measures to put down the abuse which had grown up. It was, he maintained, altogether a false notion which was held by some, that the standing order against the publication of their debates was in force only while Parliament was sitting. Reports, even during the recess, he contended, were equally infringements of their privilege. "If you do not," he continued, "either punish them, or take some effectual method of checking them, you may soon expect to see your votes, your proceedings, and your speeches, printed and hawked about the streets, while we are sitting in this house." Little did the honourable member think that in this tirade, which was probably intended as a mere flourish of oratory, he was describing, almost to the letter, a state of things which a few years were to realize. The next speaker was Sir William Windham. His address was more moderate. While acknowledging that misrepresentations frequently occurred in the reports, he states that he had seen many speeches fairly and accurately taken; adding that "no gentleman, when that is the case, ought to be ashamed that the world should know every word he speaks in this house." He admits, however, that the mistakes of the reports had of late been monstrous. But still he objects to the prohibition of the publication of the debates during the recess, on the ground that the public, having been long indulged with some account of what their representatives say, "may possibly think it a hardship to be deprived of it now." He even ventures to insinuate that they have, in his opinion, a right to this information. This declaration, which, in the temper of the house, must have been received as quite an outrageous piece of absurdity, roused Sir Thomas Winnington, who began his speech by declaring eagerly for a strong resolution to put down the nuisance in every shape. Have not the Lords, he argued, lately punished some printers for publishing their

protests? and shall we be less jealous of our privileges than the other house? What will be the consequence if you allow these reports to go on unchecked? "Why, Sir," concluded the honourable member, "you will have every word that is spoken here by gentlemen misrepresented by fellows who thrust themselves into our gallery. *You will have the speeches of this house every day printed, even during your session; and we shall be looked upon as the most contemptible assembly on the face of the earth.*" This prophecy, at any rate, it is to be hoped, was not destined to be fulfilled, at least in all its parts. Mr. Pulteney, who rose next, was also against the reports in any form. "We know very well," said he, "that no man can be so guarded in his expressions as to wish to see everything he says in this house in print. I remember the time when this house was so jealous, so cautious of doing anything which might look like an appeal to their constituents, that not even the Votes were printed without leave. A gentleman every day rose in his place, and desired the chair to ask leave of the house that their Votes for that day should be printed. How this custom came to be dropped, I cannot so well account for." In Mr. Pulteney's opinion, Parliament, or at least the House of Commons, could not call a party to account for anything published respecting a former and now dissolved Parliament; but its power, he maintains, extended to prevent the publication of its proceedings during a recess. "However, Sir," he goes on to say, "as it has long been the practice to print some account of our proceedings during our recess, *I am against punishing any person for what is past*, because very possibly they did not know they were doing amiss; and if gentlemen think fit to enter into any resolution for the time to come, I dare say it will be sufficient to deter all offenders in that way." Mr. Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath) was at this time the leader of the popular party in the House of Commons, and we see what was the extent of his liberality. "I always thought," he continued, in a very extraordinary course of observation, which it is difficult to know whether he meant seriously or in jest,—"I always thought these pamphlets containing our debates were circulated by the government's encouragement, and at their expense; for till the honourable gentleman, who spoke last save one in the debate, mentioned the magazines in the manner he did, I have been still used to look on the publishing them as a ministerial project; for I imagined that, it being found impracticable to make the people buy and read the 'Gazetteer' by itself, it was contrived so as that the writings of the other party, being printed in the same pamphlet, it might be some invitation to the public to look into the 'Gazetteer'; and I dare say, Sir, the great run which the magazines have had, has been entirely owing to this stratagem." Sir Robert Walpole, the minister, who followed next in the debate, indignantly repelled this accusation, if it was seriously advanced; and if otherwise, expressed in severe terms his disapproval of the levity of the honourable gentleman, in venturing to introduce a jest on so solemn an occasion. We cannot, however, acquit Sir Robert of mixing up a little sly humour himself with the gravity of the subject under consideration. Professing to complain of the reporting system as a great grievance, he proceeds: "I have read some debates in this house, Sir, in which I have been made to speak the very reverse of what I meant" (he does not say, the very reverse of what he actually spoke). "I have read others of them, wherein all the wit, the learning, and the argument has been thrown into one side, and on the other nothing but what was low, mean, and ridiculous; and yet, when it came to the question, the division has gone against the side which upon the face of the debate had reason and justice to support it." We much fear this was an occasional evil beyond the reach of the most perfect system of reporting to cure. The house, probably being of the same opinion, came accordingly to the following resolution, which passed unanimously: "That it is an high indignity to, and a notorious breach of the privileges of this House, for any news-writer, in letters or other papers, (as minutes, or under any other denomination,) or for any printer or publisher of any printed newspaper of any denomination, to presume to insert in the said letters or papers, or to give therein, any account of the debates or other proceedings of this House, or any committee thereof, as well during the recess as the sitting of Parliament; and that this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offenders."

This thundering edict, however, did not put down the practice against which it was directed. It only had the effect,

as Archdeacon Coxe remarks in his "Memoirs of Walpole," of causing the thing to be done in a somewhat less direct manner than heretofore, and of deteriorating to the same extent the quality of the reports. The debates were still printed in defiance of the house; but as they had to be obtained in an underhand manner, and by various troublesome and perhaps hazardous shifts, they were given with less accuracy than ever. The "Gentleman's Magazine" now published them under the title of "The Debates in the Senate of Lilliput," and the "London" under that of a "Journal of the Proceedings and Debates in the Political Club," giving Roman names to the speakers; while each publication printed an explanatory key to the whole at the end of the year.

It was about this time that the celebrated Dr. Johnson was taken into pay by Cave as a contributor to his magazine. He was employed in preparing the "Debates of the Senate of Lilliput." The plan followed at first seems to have been for Guthrie, who had a good memory, to bring home as much as he could recollect of the debate from the house, mending his draft by whatever other assistance he could command; after which the matter thus collected was submitted to Johnson, who gave the several speeches their finishing touch. After some time, Guthrie obtained other engagements, and Johnson was left to manufacture the reports from very scanty notes obtained in various irregular ways. "Sometimes, however," says Boswell, "as he himself told me, he had nothing more communicated to him than the names of the several speakers, and the part which they had taken in the debate." The reports from the 19th of November, 1740, to the 23d of February, 1743, inclusive, are considered to have been entirely prepared by Johnson. If we are to take his own account, as retailed by various authorities, they were almost in all respects the produce of his own brain. It would even appear, if we may trust some of the statements, that they were not intended to be taken as any thing more than fictions; at least we are called upon to believe that the writer himself, in his simplicity, produced them under no other notion. "Johnson told me," says Boswell, "that, as soon as he found that the speeches were thought genuine, he determined that he would write no more of them; for he would not be accessory to the propagation of falsehood!" And such was the tenderness of his conscience, that, a short time before his death, he expressed his regret for his having been the author of fictions which had passed for realities. In his account of Johnson's last days, also, this writer gives us the following statement on the authority of Mr. John Nicholls: "He said that the parliamentary debates were the only part of his writings which then gave him any compunction; but that at the time he wrote them he had no conception he was imposing upon the world, though they were frequently written from very slender materials, and often from none at all—the mere coinage of his own imagination. He never wrote any part of his works with equal velocity. Three columns of the magazine in an hour was no uncommon effort, which was faster than most persons could have transcribed that quantity." But, notwithstanding all this, we cannot believe either that Johnson conceived himself to be merely writing a series of romances in preparing these monthly reports, or that the public read them with the impression that they were really but "Debates in the Senate of Lilliput." There must be some mistake or great exaggeration in the story. That they were often written from very imperfect notes, however, is probable enough. Sir John Hawkins tells us that when Johnson heard that Smollett was writing his History of England, he cautioned him not "to rely on the debates as given in the magazine, for that they were not authentic, but, excepting as to their general import, the work of his own imagination." Mr. Murphy, too, in his Essay on the Life of Johnson, relates an interesting anecdote, which goes to confirm the same supposition, respecting the famous speech attributed to the first Mr. Pitt in the debate of the 10th of March, 1741, when he rose to reply to Horace Walpole (the brother of Sir Robert), who had sneered at him on the score of his youth and inexperience. Some years after, Johnson, Mr. Wedderburn (afterwards Earl of Rosslyn), Francis, the translator of Horace, Murphy himself, and some other gentlemen, were dining with Mr. Foote, when the conversation turned upon that speech, which several present declared to be the most masterly piece of oratory they had ever read. "During the ardour of conversation," says Murphy, "Johnson remained silent. As soon as the warmth of praise subsided,

he opened with these words, 'That speech I wrote in a garret in Exeter Street.' The company was struck with astonishment. After staring at each other in silent amaze, Dr. Francis asked how that speech could be written by him? 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'I wrote it in Exeter Street. I never had been in the gallery of the House of Commons but once. Cave had interest with the door-keepers. He and the persons employed under him gained admittance: they brought away the subject of discussion, the names of the speakers, the sides they took, and the order in which they rose, together with notes of the arguments advanced in the course of the debate. The whole was afterwards communicated to me, and I composed the speeches in the form which they now have in the Parliamentary Debates.' It was observed that he dealt out reason and eloquence with an equal hand to both parties. 'That is not quite true,' said Johnson; 'I saved appearances tolerably well, but I took care that the Whig dogs should not have the best of it.'"

The editor of Hansard's Parliamentary History, on the contrary (see Preface to vol. ix.), asserts the real fact to be, "that the Debates prepared by Johnson are *unusually authentic*, and exhibit not only the sentiments delivered by the various speakers, but the very language in which they were expressed, in so far as that language was not offensive to the correctness of Johnson's judgment and the classical elegance of his taste." This the writer professes to have ascertained by comparing these reports with a manuscript volume in his possession, containing an account of the debates in the House of Lords from 1738 to 1743, taken by Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, "who appears, from his own representation in the manuscript, to have first taken down notes of the debates in short hand, and afterwards written them out at large." And Boswell himself quotes some letters of Cave's, which go so far to support this view; inasmuch as they show that Cave was accustomed to take very considerable pains to ensure as far as was possible the accuracy of the reports in his magazine, and that, although he was obliged to invent on some occasions, he had on others valuable assistance from various quarters. Thus, writing to Dr. Birch, on the 3d of July, 1744, he says, "You will see what stupid, low, abominable stuff is put upon your noble and learned friend's (Lord Hardwick) character, such as I should quite reject, and endeavour to do something better towards doing justice to the character. But as I cannot expect to attain my desire in that respect, it would be a great satisfaction, as well as an honour to our work, to have the favour of the genuine speech." It would almost appear from this way of expressing himself, that he considered the genuine speech to be desirable only because *something better* could not be had. But he goes on: "It is a method that several have been pleased to take; but I think myself under a restraint. I shall say so far, that I have had some under a third hand, which I understood well enough to come from the first; others by penny-post, and others by the speakers themselves, who have been pleased to visit St. John's Gate (the place where the magazine was printed), and show particular marks of their being pleased." The real speeches, therefore, we see, in so far at least as they could be obtained by the speakers becoming their own reporters, were sometimes given.

Genuine or not, the parliamentary reports in the Gentleman's Magazine are stated to have speedily produced the most powerful effect in extending its circulation. Hawkins assures us that they raised the sale "from ten to fifteen thousand a month;" but we cannot think that the work ever sold to anything like this extent. "Cave," says Hawkins, "manifested his good fortune by buying an old coach with a pair of older horses; and that he might avoid the suspicion of pride in setting up an equipage, he displayed to the world the source of his affluence by a representation of St. John's Gate, instead of his arms, on the door-panel." He also, it seems, had the same emblem engraved on all his plate. Hawkins says that Cave told him this himself; but we cannot put implicit faith in the story of the vain and spiteful knight.

The newspapers, meanwhile, still were, and continued for many years to be, without any report of the debates. The *Gazetteer*, a daily print, which has been mentioned above, had been established about 1734, and in 1741 consisted merely of a folio half-sheet or single leaf; the contents of which were usually a political essay, some scraps of foreign intelligence many months old, a few notices of domestic occurrences from the country, and a parcel of advertisements,

mostly of quack medicines, low jest books, and other matters suited to the taste of the coarsest and most ignorant of the vulgar. The proceedings of parliament were rarely noticed at all, except perhaps to the extent of an intimation that his majesty, it was reported, intended to go down to the House of Lords on the following day to deliver a gracious speech. And things seem to have remained in nearly the same state for almost thirty years after this date. No. 12,741 of the same paper, now entitled "The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser," being the publication for the 1st of January, 1770, has indeed increased to two leaves, or double the former size; but still no parliamentary reports are given. Soon after this, however, a great change took place. The conduct of the House of Commons in the case of the famous Middlesex election of the preceding year, when they declared Colonel Luttrell to be the sitting member instead of Wilkes, the popular candidate, who had been returned by an immense majority of votes, had drawn upon the proceedings of parliament a degree of public attention which they certainly never had received since the Revolution; and, it may be added, had excited a general and determined spirit of resistance to the House of Commons, such as it had not experienced at any previous period of its history. Instead of the guardian of the popular liberties, a large portion of the nation looked upon that branch of the legislature as a mere instrument of tyranny, whose aggressions it was the first duty of all lovers of their country to guard against and repel. The legality and extent of its assumed privileges were jealously scrutinized; and the public generally was in a temper to dispute its exercise of any authority which did not stand on the clearest foundation of reason, no matter what length of usage might be pleaded in its behalf. In this state of things the question respecting the right of the house to prohibit the publication of its proceedings naturally afforded the ground on which the chief stand was made. Mr. H. S. Woodfall, in his edition of the Letters of Junius (vol. iii., p. 345) states that the printers of newspapers had long intended to report the debates, and now resolutely determined to do so. They knew that they could confidently count upon being supported in the contest they were about to commence, by nearly the whole force of public opinion. The privilege to be attacked was one which its very name of privilege rendered at the moment peculiarly distasteful to the people; while the popular party were still more strongly urged to make every effort for its abrogation by the object which they had mainly in view, the subjection of the proceedings of the legislature to the observation of the community at large. It was towards the end of the year 1770 that several of the London newspapers began to carry their determination of reporting the debates into effect. They appear to have been imitated almost immediately over every part of the kingdom. In No. 654 of Hoey's Dublin Mercury, published 1st January, 1771, we find the following announcement:—"To our readers. We have opened for our readers a new source of entertainment, in the real English parliamentary debates, on every subject of importance, which we promise to give, as we have for some time past given, at large." At first, however, the violation of the parliamentary law was perpetrated in a somewhat covert manner, the names of the speakers being still only given by the initial and final letters, while the report did not make its appearance till after what was probably deemed a decent and respectful delay. The paper we have just mentioned, published on the 1st of January, contains only the debate which had taken place on the 27th of November preceding.

It was not long before these bold proceedings attracted the notice of the House of Commons. On the 8th of February, 1771, Colonel George Onslow brought the subject forward in the shape of a formal complaint against two of the London papers, the *Gazetteer* and the *Middlesex Journal*, followed by a motion that the printers should be called to the bar. It was observed in the course of the debate to which this motion gave rise, that what was now done by the newspapers had never been ventured upon before; "that, even in the most vehement opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, no transaction or speeches were published, except during the intervals of parliament, and then only in a decent manner." The motion was carried by a majority of 90 to 55. We cannot detail the protracted and extraordinary proceedings which followed. The debates which took place for several nights in the house were violent beyond all precedent. On one evening, the 12th of March, there were no fewer than twenty-three divisions, and the house did not adjourn till

four in the morning. On the 14th the discussion was renewed, and twelve other divisions took place. On both evenings a considerable number of the minority left the house in a body, indignant at the headlong violence which they were unable to resist. The result was, that six other printers were ordered to attend at the bar. But not one of the eight obeyed the summons. The officers of the house were then ordered to take them into custody, which they did in the case of three of them; but when they were brought before the city magistrates, Lord Mayor Crosby, and Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, the prisoners were not only discharged, but bound over to prosecute the officers for assault and wrongous imprisonment.

For this Crosby and Oliver were sent to the Tower by the House of Commons; and the clerk of the city being brought forward to the table of the House, was compelled to tear out from his register the leaves on which the above judgments of the magistracy were recorded. But here the violence of the majority appeared to have exhausted itself. As none of the refractory printers had yet been brought to the bar, a committee was appointed to consider what further steps ought to be taken. Meanwhile the public excitement was extreme; immense multitudes assembled night after night around the House; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the populace were prevented from proceeding to acts of outrage. But all the menaces of the party opposed to the national sentiment ended in nothing. The committee made its report, merely recommending that the offenders should be again called to the bar; but no order to that effect was proposed. The matter was allowed to drop; and since then the publication of the debates in the newspapers has gone on without any attempt having ever been made to suppress the practice.

Thus was secured what no one who has reflected upon the subject will hesitate to regard as the greatest accession of strength ever gained by the democratic element of our constitution;—a victory to the cause of good government second only in importance to that by which the constitution may be said to have been established, the introduction of the representative principle itself. But occupied as we have been with the history of the long and alternating struggle by which this fortunate result was achieved, we cannot afford now to expatiate upon its value, which indeed is too obvious to need any illustration.

The system of newspaper reporting has been greatly changed and improved since the era of which we have been speaking. The person by whom it was carried to the greatest perfection, with what we may call the old or original machinery, was Mr. George Woodfall, the proprietor and editor, first of the "Public Advertiser," and afterwards of the "Morning Chronicle." Mr. Woodfall had so retentive a memory, that it is said he used frequently to write out the account of a whole evening's debate after having merely heard it in the gallery, and without having taken any notes. We should greatly mistake, however, did we suppose that the speeches, thus carried away, were ever given with any thing like the fulness and accuracy of our modern reports. Another inconvenience attending the employment of only one reporter for the night, was the delay which it occasioned in the publication of the paper. At the time when this practice prevailed, it was no uncommon thing for the Morning Chronicle not to make its appearance before nine or ten o'clock at night. The public is indebted to the late Mr. Perry for the first suggestion and introduction of the greatly improved principle on which parliamentary reporting is now conducted. It was about the year 1783, that that gentleman, on becoming the editor of the "Gazetteer," proposed the establishment of a body of reporters to attend every night in succession in both houses. The superior excellence of the reports thus obtained, soon superseded the old system. Mr. Perry afterwards purchased the property of the Morning Chronicle, and carried his new plan into effect in the management of that paper, in a manner which has since served as a model to all other establishments. Each of the greater morning papers, the "Times," the "Chronicle," and the "Herald," now employs from eight to twelve reporters, each of whom remains in either house only about three-quarters of an hour, or an hour, when his place is taken by another, and he hastens back to the office to write out the portion of the debate he has brought away with him, for the printers. In the case of a long debate, each reporter may have to take a second turn; but no one remains longer than his hour or his forty-five minutes at a

time. No reporter now thinks of depending merely upon his memory; all take notes, more or less extended. Few of them, however, write short-hand; the use of which is by many considered rather disadvantageous than otherwise, the object, in general, being to give, not so much the very words of the speaker, as the substance and spirit of his address. If every word that is spoken in the house were to be given, the entire space of the paper would, in many cases, be insufficient to contain the report; and certainly very few readers would have time or patience to go through it. Reports, nearly verbatim, however, and which are extremely valuable for consultation, are given in the publication called "The Mirror of Parliament." In the daily papers, the report of an hour's speaking, in a debate of interest, usually fills from one to two columns; but the words actually contained in the most liberal of these allotments could certainly be uttered by a speaker of ordinary fluency in little more than the half of that time. In ordinary cases the report is greatly more contracted.

The task of a reporter, even with all the advantages of the modern system, is, as may easily be conceived, an extremely arduous one; and to be well performed demands both the most strenuous exertions, and no ordinary degree of talent and acquirement. Its difficulties are increased by the nature of the present arrangements for the accommodation of the reporters in both the Houses of Parliament. Formerly, in the House of Commons, the reporters for the newspapers had no facilities of entrance into the gallery beyond those enjoyed by the public generally; and on days when an interesting debate was expected, they were frequently obliged to take their place on the stairs early in the forenoon, and after standing there for many hours, to depend for their chance of getting in upon a struggle with their competitors in the crowd when the door was opened. Some thirty or forty years ago, there was a dark closet at the end of the gallery, in which the more experienced of the reporters used to hide themselves during a division, so as to be ready for the first rush when strangers were re-admitted. In this closet Mr. Woodfall, Mr. Perry, and Mr. Lane (formerly Editor of the "British Press"), were once snugly ensconced. The period of exclusion was long, and they beguiled it by political discussion. At last one of the party roared out, to the dismay of the Speaker and the horror of the Serjeant-at-Arms,—“I say, the 'Morning Post' is in the pay of the French Directory.” The culprits were brought to the bar of the house; and a strict watch was in future kept on the closet of refuge. At length, the late Speaker, Mr. Abbott, at a time when some repairs or alterations were made in the House, caused a small room to be set apart for the use of the reporters, and a door to be struck out in the back of the gallery whereby they might at all times obtain admittance to the back seat, which, although the most distant from the body of the House, is the best for hearing. That seat is now appropriated to the reporters exclusively. In the House of Lords, till the session before last, the reporters, like the rest of the public, had no seats, but were obliged to stand all the time of the debate on the floor of the House, in the space below the bar. A gallery has since been formed at the extremity of the room, in which strangers are placed, and where the reporters take their seats among others; but the distance to which they are here removed from the speakers is complained of as making it frequently impossible for them to hear what is said. It is to be hoped that in both Houses much better accommodation will ere long be provided, if not for the public generally who may wish to be present at the debates, at least for those who have to perform the most important, and, in any circumstances, most onerous duty of collecting a faithful account of what is said and done, for the information of the whole country through the press, and but for whose labours, it is hardly too much to say, that in the state of feeling and opinion to which we have now arrived, our representative legislature would almost cease to be regarded as an institution of high worth or significance. We are glad to perceive that Captain Berkeley, the member for Gloucester, has given notice of a motion upon this subject in the House of Commons, which at present stands for the 24th of April. The terms of the notice are, “That it is expedient a part of the gallery of this House, or some other commodious place, be appropriated to the reporters of the public press, the reporters so admitted being amenable to such regulations as this House may think fit to adopt.”

CORPORATION REFORM.

WE rejoice to see that the great measure of parliamentary reform is to be quickly followed up by a reform of our town corporations. As a preparatory step, a committee has been appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the actual state of the corporations of England and Ireland. Those of Scotland are allowed, at all hands, to be so bad, as to render it quite unnecessary to enter into an examination of them.

When this committee has completed its labours and made its report, we shall be able to enter fully upon the subject of corporate reform. In the mean time, we wish to put our readers in possession of a few facts, as an introduction to the general subject.

Many of our corporations have the control of large public funds, and are possessed of other important powers. What these funds amount to we cannot say, for want of that evidence which the committee of the House of Commons is about to obtain, but which has hitherto been carefully withheld. There is no doubt, however, that the revenue is very considerable, and that if it were honestly and judiciously applied it would be productive of great public good. We think it is not too much to say, that the corporate funds of many towns are sufficient to provide for the education of the entire population. Take, for instance, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. It is believed that the public or corporate funds of that town amount to no less a sum than thirty thousand pounds a year. The population is fifty-four thousand : there must, therefore, be about twelve thousand children at the usual age for school education. Now, even supposing that all the parents would be willing to avail themselves of an opportunity of obtaining a gratuitous education for their children, an income of thirty thousand pounds a year would certainly provide it ; advantage being taken of the means of economising afforded by the adoption of an extensive and uniform system.

That we are not here indulging in mere speculation, is proved by the state of things in the town of Bedford, where the public funds are expended in a manner highly creditable to the corporation. Every child in Bedford may, we believe, obtain a good education, without the parent being compelled to resort to charity for that purpose. As an inhabitant of the town, he has a right to consider himself a partner in the funds which are applied to his son's education ; and, fortunately for him, the corporate or partnership funds of Bedford are in the hands of upright men, who apply them to the promotion of the general interests of the town.

Rich as Newcastle may be in its corporate funds, there are other places still more wealthy. The yearly revenue placed under the control of the corporation of London (including the different companies which form part of it) is estimated at *half a million sterling*. Liverpool has a corporate revenue of about £150,000 ; and there are many other towns possessing large corporate funds. We think we may safely say that the funds of all the corporate towns of England, taken together, cannot be less than *two millions* a year.

How much crime might be prevented—how many causes of pauperism might be removed—how many rational enjoyments might be provided, by the judicious application of this income ! Whereas, by the present waste and corrupt use of a great part of it, to what an extent have the most degrading habits and worst passions of our nature been called into play !

In an article in the last Number of the "New Monthly Magazine," these demoralizing effects are fully examined ; and the writer illustrates his observations by many striking anecdotes. Among others is the following, taken from the history of the elections of Newport. It will be observed that, though the anecdote is a proof of gross corruption, it is, at the same time, highly honourable to one member of the corporation :—"On the death of Lord Holmes, an attempt was made by Sir William Oglander, and some other gentlemen, to deprive his Lordship's nephew and successor, the Rev. Mr. Trougher Holmes, of his influence over this corporation. The number of the body was at that time twenty-three, there being one vacancy amongst the aldermen, occasioned by the recent death of Lord Holmes. Eleven of them continued firm to the interest of the nephew, and the same number was equally eager to transfer that interest to Sir William Oglander and the Worsley family.

A Mr. Taylor of this town, one of the burgesses, withheld his declaration ; and, as his vote would decide the balance of future influence, it was imagined that he only suspended it for the purpose of private advantage. Agreeably to that idea, he was eagerly sought by the agents of each party. The first who applied is said to have made him an offer of £2000. Mr. Taylor had actually made up his mind to have voted with his party ; but the moment his integrity and independence were attacked, he reversed his determination and resolved to give his suffrage on the opposite side. That party, however, like their opponents, being ignorant of the favour designed them and of the accident to which they owed it, assailed him with a more advantageous offer. He informed them that he had but just formed the resolution, in consequence of a similar insult from their adversaries, of giving them his support ; but since he had discovered that they were both aiming at power by the same means, he was determined to vote for neither of them ; and to put himself out of the power of future temptation, he resolved to resign his gown as a Burgess of the corporation, which he did the next day."

The powers of our corporations, independently of the command of large funds of money, are very considerable. One power to which they frequently lay claim, and which is very oppressive, is that of preventing any person opening a shop and beginning any trade in their city or borough, till he has *purchased his freedom*,—that is, till he has paid some twenty, thirty, or forty pounds, to the corporation. But the most important power held by corporations until the passing of the Reform Bill, was the share they had in the return of members to Parliament. In many towns,—as in Bath and in all the Scotch burghs—the power now spoken of was entirely in their hands. In other places, they had the means,—which, indeed, they still retain,—of creating voters. It is needless to speak of the abuses to which the influence of corporations on elections has given rise. That influence still remains in many places, though in a very mitigated degree.

Bad, however, as has been the exercise of almost all the powers of corporations in their present state, and wretched as is their constitution, we cannot agree with those who wish to see corporations swept away altogether. When first established, and for centuries afterwards, they were among the best institutions of this country, and we hope to see them restored to their former vigour and usefulness.

It is said that the causes which gave birth to corporations, and which for a long time rendered them useful, no longer exist. This we cannot admit to the extent asserted. It is true, there is no longer any necessity for a powerful body to defend a town from the assaults of a neighbouring lord and his military banditti ; nevertheless, the lives and property of the inhabitants still require protection from robbery and plunder, and there is still a necessity for a good and cheap administration of justice. What body, we ask, is so fit for accomplishing both these purposes as a corporate, or local government, chosen by the people, and having their confidence ?

In other ways, too, a good local government would be of the greatest importance to the interests of the district. Most of the evils of the poor-laws arise from the want of a better mode of appointing the guardians, overseers, governors, &c., and the means of holding them to responsibility. We are fully aware that there are many exceptions to the want of good management here alluded to,—that at many places the poor-laws are at the present time administered by worthy and enlightened men ; but too generally, however, the power is in the hands of those who use it either ignorantly or dishonestly. Here we find a farmer manœuvring to pay his labourers out of the poor-rates,—there a set of "guardians" jobbing in every possible way with the public money, or an overseer, on whom the office has been forced, who is ignorant of its duties and anxious only to have done with it ; and lastly, and worse than all, we find a magistrate who, living in another parish, and therefore not having a farthing to pay towards the poor-rates, gives orders for relief to the idle and turbulent pauper, lest his own hay-ricks and corn-stacks should, the next day, be found blazing.

The surest and speediest means of remedying these evils is the establishment of local governments chosen by the inhabitants of the district, and having at heart the interests of the whole community.

In fact, in whatever direction we attempt to move in the

road of domestic improvement—whether in the administration of the poor-laws, the introduction of a system of national education, the judicious application of existing corporate funds, the enforcement of the laws, or the *prevention of crime*, we are obstructed by the want of good municipal governments. Therefore it is that we feel grateful to Ministers for having brought this subject before parliament.

The first step has been taken towards effecting a most important reform, and we have every hope that the good work will go forward—slowly and cautiously we must expect, but not the less surely, nor the less calculated to produce ultimate good.

We shall conclude this notice of corporate reform with a short review of the early history of corporations in this country.

Sir Francis Palgrave, in his pamphlet on “Corporate Reform,” observes with great justice that the altered meaning which is now attached to the word *corporation* is a strong fact in support of reform.

“It is scarcely possible,” says he, “to offer any argument in favour of a reform of our existing corporations, more cogent and convincing than that which results from the idea usually suggested by the term ‘*corporation*’—an idea wholly at variance with the original intent of the word. Consult the charters incorporating the Borough of *Dale*. You will find that the king intended to give a legal existence to one united community of ‘mayor, bailiffs, common council, and *burgesses*,’ the latter including all the substantial householders of the town. The law seeks to incorporate them all into one ‘body politic,’—all having similar interests,—all drawing the same way,—all working together for the preservation of the Borough’s peace, and the promotion of the prosperity of all the inhabitants. Such was the pristine theory of incorporation; and, for many ages, the practical effect of our corporate institutions corresponded with their theory. The privileges of the citizen were his pride and his delight.*

“But now, the idea suggested by the word ‘*corporation*’ is wholly changed. If any one speaks of the corporation of the Borough of *Dale*, he thinks only of the *governing body*. The word, as people usually receive it, describes only the ‘mayor, bailiffs, and common council,’ who are assumed to be always opposed to the main body of the *burgesses*, and still more to the main body of the inhabitants. The two portions of the community,—the ruling classes and the ruled classes,—incorporated by law, but disunited by interest and feeling, are always drawing different ways, and disturbing the peace and tranquillity of the Borough by their mutual dissensions and animosities.”

There is little doubt that anciently the mayor, aldermen, and common-council were always chosen by the great body of resident inhabitants; and that they were therefore regarded as their natural leaders, their friends, and their protectors. The right of the common council to fill up its own number is a modern innovation—a weed which sprung up a short time before the accession of the Stuarts to the throne of England, and which they cherished and propagated. In many cases after the restoration, the charters of corporations were re-modelled, so as to render them close and exclusive in their character. The Stuarts wanted local instruments of corruption. Representative corporations would have been unmanageable, and they changed them to self-elective.

Most of the original charters for corporations in this country are from five to seven hundred years old. The motives of the reigning kings for granting them are well described by Adam Smith in his history of *The Rise and Progress of Cities and Towns*, which is included in the third and fourth chapters of the third book of the *Wealth of Nations*:—

* The hold which our ancient civic institutions possessed upon the affections of the people in “Old England” has been ably described in an Essay, attributed to one of the most eloquent members of the House of Commons. “Each citizen had his company; and the companies which now seem to exist only to the delectation of epicures and of antiquaries, with them formed the brotherhood, the members of which were almost as closely bound together as the members of a Highland clan. How strong these artificial ties were, the numerous and valuable legacies anciently bequeathed by citizens to their corporation abundantly prove. The Londoners loved their city with that patriotic love which is found only in small communities, like those of ancient Greece, or like those that arose in Italy during the middle ages.”—Article upon Lord Nugent’s Hampden, *Ed. Review*, Vol. LIV., p. 589.

“In those days the sovereign of perhaps no country in Europe was able to protect, through the whole extent of his dominions, the weaker part of his subjects from the oppression of the great lords. Those whom the law could not protect, and who were not strong enough to defend themselves, were obliged either to have recourse to the protection of some great lord, and in order to obtain it, to become either his slaves or vassals, or to enter into a league of mutual defence for the common protection of one another. The inhabitants of cities and burghs, considered as single individuals, had no power to defend themselves; but, by entering into a league of mutual defence with their neighbours, they were capable of making no contemptible resistance. The lords despised the burghers, whom they considered not only as of a different order, but as a parcel of emancipated slaves, almost of different species from themselves. The wealth of the burghers never failed to provoke their envy and indignation, and they plundered them upon every occasion without mercy or remorse. The burghers naturally hated and feared the lords. The king hated and feared them too; but though perhaps he might despise, he had no reason either to hate or fear the burghers; mutual interest, therefore, disposed them to support the king, and the king to support them, against the lords. They were the enemies of his enemies, and it was his interest to render them as secure and independent of those enemies as he could. By granting them magistrates of their own, the privilege of making by-laws for their own government, that of building walls for their own defence, and that of reducing all their inhabitants under a sort of military discipline, he gave them all the means of security and independency of the barons which it was in his power to bestow.”

Dr. Robertson, the historian, thus describes the changes which resulted from the establishment of corporations:—

“The good effects of this new institution were immediately felt, and its influence on government as well as manners was no less extensive than salutary. A great body of the people was released from servitude, and from all the arbitrary and grievous impositions to which that wretched condition had subjected them. Towns, upon acquiring the right of community, became so many little republics, governed by known and equal laws. Liberty was deemed such an essential and characteristic part in their constitution, that if any slave took refuge in one of them, and resided there a year without being claimed, he was instantly declared a freeman, and admitted as a member of the community.”

It thus appears that the establishment of corporations or municipal governments was a great means of freeing the towns from the thralldom of the neighbouring barons, and of giving life to trade and commerce. We have no doubt that the beneficial effects of these district governments will be again felt when the corruptions which time has introduced into them shall be removed.

The following petition, signed by 7000 inhabitants of the town of Hull, and presented to the House of Commons about a month ago, gives a good insight into the grievances from which the people are soon, we hope, to be relieved. Its statements would, with slight modifications, apply to very many of our corporate towns.

“To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom, in Parliament assembled.

“The Humble Petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, sheweth,—

“That the town was incorporated by charters in the reign of King Edward the First, and that various privileges were granted by that and subsequent monarchs up to the reign of King James the Second.

“That from the best sources of evidence within the reach of your petitioners, they have reason to believe, that all the rights and privileges granted by such charters were common to all the male resident inhabitants of the town, of full age, until the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when they appear to have been restricted by a by-law, made by the mayor and aldermen of the said town.

“That they have also reason to believe, that up to the latter part of the reign of King Charles the Second, the mayor and aldermen, and other municipal officers of the corporation, were freely elected by the whole body of *burgesses* from amongst themselves, without any nomination or control whatever from the mayor and aldermen; but, that subsequently, and up to the present time, it has been the custom for the mayor and aldermen to nominate two individuals, called ‘*élites*’ (vulgarly, ‘*tights*’), for each office,

from whom the election of the burgesses must be made. The consequence of which has been, to render the corporation in practice a close, self-elected, and irresponsible body; so that, of late years, the elections generally of the municipal magistrates and other officers have been effected through the grossest violations of the law, by means of bribery and drunkenness.

"That, in consequence of the limitation of the franchise, as before mentioned, by far the greater part of the respectable merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the town, are excluded from all participation in the election of the municipal magistrates and other privileges of the corporation, although in the first charters they were evidently the chief objects of the royal bounty.

"That formerly the Aldermen were compelled to reside within the limits of the borough, and thus be ready upon every emergency; but at present not a single alderman resides within the limits of the ancient borough, and the greater part of them at some miles distant.

"That the corporation receive a considerable amount of revenue from estates, dues, and tolls, of which they render no account whatever; and which dues and tolls are extremely obnoxious to the inhabitants, and injurious to the trade and prosperity of the town.

"That for some time past the town has been in a state of insubordination, arising, in the opinion of your petitioners, from a want of that confidence and respect which ought always to subsist between the governors and governed; a consequence universally found to result from close corporations, similar to that of this town.

"And your petitioners further show unto your Honourable House, that the immediate suburbs of the town of Hull consist of the parishes of Sculcoates and Drypool, and part of the parish of Sutton, containing near 20,000 inhabitants, all which places, by the Boundaries' Act, are annexed to and now form the Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull, for the election of members of Parliament: but, notwithstanding the places above mentioned are so immediately attached to as almost to form integral parts of the town, they are under the jurisdiction of the magistrates for the East Riding of the county of York, and in no way subjected to the authority of the aldermen of Hull, whereby the administration of justice is greatly impeded, and the expense of procuring it very much increased by the sessions of the peace for that district being held upwards of nine miles distant.

"Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray your Honourable House to take the subject into your serious deliberation, and enact such laws as will be necessary to enable the inhabitants of the enlarged Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull to elect freely, and without any interference whatever, their magistrates and other municipal officers, all of whom shall hold their offices for a limited period only, and shall reside within the borough; and to elect annually, in the same manner, a common council, who alone shall be vested with the power of disposing of and controlling the property and income of the corporation, and shall annually publish a full statement of their accounts for the past year; and also to render the jurisdiction of the corporation, when elected, co-extensive with the enlarged borough.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

OFFICE OF KING'S PRINTER—MONOPOLY OF BIBLES.

Nor long after the introduction of printing into England, the king assumed the right of controlling the exercise of the art, not merely in regard to certain classes, but in regard to all classes of books. He licensed at his pleasure one man to print, and refused that liberty to another; he permitted the printing of one book, and prohibited that of another. The royal prerogative, in fact, as to this matter was held to be unlimited and omnipotent. It might be difficult to show from what principle of the common law this boundless jurisdiction could plausibly claim to be derived; but of its having been practically asserted, to the utmost extent of the description that has just been given, there can be no question. It was so asserted down to the abolition of the Star Chamber in 1641. The censors or licensers of books appointed by that court were appointed in virtue of the supposed royal prerogative, and were conceived to derive from its all-comprehensive nature that universal authority over the press which they were empowered to exercise. The abolition of the Star Chamber, however, did not long leave the press free. The parliament, it is well known, soon took up the office of censorship which the royal court no longer exercised. In vain did Milton attempt, by his noble "Discourse for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," to prevent this usurpation; it was perpetrated in defiance of all his eloquence and all his unanswerable arguments. But still an important principle was asserted and established by the parliament having thus taken the matter into their own hands. The control of the press no longer remained a prerogative of the crown, but was passed into

the possession of the legislature, and made the subject of statutory enactment. The ground thus gained was preserved at the Restoration; in 1662, indeed, the press was put under a censorship, but the yoke was imposed upon it by an act of parliament. Subsequent acts continued the grievance till 1694, when the last restrictive law expired. From that date the press in England has been commonly considered to be free.

Nevertheless, it appears that on the 21st of January, 1830, a patent was granted by the crown to certain parties, appointing them to exercise the office of King's Printer, with the exclusive right as such for the term of thirty years, of printing, to use the language of the patent, "all and singular statutes, books, small books, acts of parliament, proclamations and injunctions, Bibles and New Testaments whatsoever, in the English tongue or in any other tongue whatsoever, of any translation with notes or without notes, and also of all Books of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacrament and other Rites and Ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland, in any volumes whatsoever heretofore printed by the royal typographers for the time being, or hereafter to be printed by the command, privilege, or authority of us, our heirs or successors; and also of all other books whatsoever which we have commanded, or shall command, to be used for the service of God in the churches of that part of our said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called England; and of all other books, volumes, and things whatsoever, by whatsoever name, term, title, or meaning, or by whatsoever names, terms, titles, or meanings they are named, called, or distinguished, or any of them is named, called, or distinguished, or hereafter shall be named, called, or distinguished, heretofore printed by the royal typographers for the time being, or by the parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the English tongue or in any other mixed tongue, already printed, published, or worked off, or hereafter to be published, worked off, or put to the press, by the command, privilege, or authority, of us, our heirs or successors, (except only the Rudiments of the Grammatical Institutions of the Latin tongue)." By a subsequent part of the grant, all other persons are prohibited, not only from printing any of the works thus described, but likewise from importing them, or causing them to be imported, selling them, or causing them to be sold. It is also enjoined, that "no others shall in any manner, or by any colour or pretext whatsoever, presume or dare to reprint in any manner whatsoever, or purchase elsewhere printed," any of these works during the aforesaid term. This is indeed a very ample and sweeping monopoly. Let us see, in the first place, how the assumed royal prerogative, by which it is conferred, appears to have grown up.

The first patent of king's printer which has been found is that granted to Thomas Berthelet by Henry VIII., in 1529 (Ames's Typographical Antiquities, by Herbert, vol. i., p. 416). But before this time, Richard Pynson, in 1503, had styled himself "printer unto the king's noble grace;" and in 1508 we find William Faques, in like manner, taking the Latin title of Regis Impressor (the king's printer). (See Ames, vol. i., pp. 240, 308.) It may be regarded as almost certain, that at this time the appointment of king's printer did not convey any exclusive privileges, but was merely an honorary distinction, implying that the individual possessing it was peculiarly patronized by his majesty, and perhaps was regularly employed to do the printing work of the crown. It was, in fact, an appointment very nearly of the same nature with those held at present by any of the other royal tradesmen. Wynkyn de Worde, before Pynson, called himself printer to the Lady Margaret (Henry VII.'s mother); but it will scarcely be pretended that that princess, by such an appointment, could confer upon him any exclusive privileges. At the very time that Pynson called himself printer to the king, the acts of parliament were printed not only at his press, but also at those of Wynkyn de Worde, and of Julian Notary. And this view is fully confirmed by the terms of the patent granted to Berthelet, in which there is not a word about the exclusive right of printing anything whatever.

The right of exclusive printing, however, in regard to particular books, had for some time been, and still was, granted to various individuals. But it was granted to others as well as to the person holding the patent of printer to the king, and in the case equally of books of all descriptions. In proof of this assertion, we might refer to numerous title-pages of those times. Every thing testifies the supremacy

actually exercised by the royal prerogative. No book, in the first place, could be printed at all until it was licensed; and, secondly, the king assumed the power of granting a right of exclusive printing and exclusive selling to whom he pleased in regard to all books whatsoever. No doubt at all can be entertained that such was the practice.

In this state of things it is not to be wondered at that the crown should at last appoint a royal printer with privileges of the most extensive nature. There was no stretch of jurisdiction in this matter which the prerogative did not claim to possess, and which therefore it might not upon the same grounds transfer to be exercised by another. In 1553, accordingly, we find Queen Mary appointing John Cawood her printer, and granting to him the office of printing all "statute-books, acts, proclamations, injunctions, and other volumes and things, under what name or title soever, either already or hereafter to be published in the English language," with prohibition to all other persons to print, import, sell, or cause to be printed, imported, or sold, "any books or volumes, the printing of which is granted to the said John Cawood." According, we say, to what was then, and for a long time after, asserted to be the right of control over the press belonging to the crown, even a grant so extravagant as this was not unauthorized.

But from the passing of the act of 1662, when the regulation of the press, although the censorship was not abolished, was assumed by parliament, and more especially from 1694, when the censorship itself ceased, it would seem that a new state of things has arisen. It is now no longer acknowledged, or openly contended for by anybody, that the king by his prerogative has any general right of control over the press. He certainly neither does nor can, in ordinary cases, either prevent individual printers from exercising their art by withholding from them his licence to do so, or confer the exclusive privilege of printing and selling any books he chooses upon others. The custom under which it was formerly assumed to be part of the royal prerogative to do all this has been abolished, and virtually declared a mere usurpation; or, if it was legal formerly, it is certainly no longer tolerated by the law now. But, in point of fact, has the assumed right of the crown to convey such privileges as those enumerated in the patent of the royal printer, any other ground to stand upon than this very abolished usurpation? If the king may grant such patent, may he not equally exercise the whole of that obsolete jurisdiction over the press, of which this is in reality but a remnant?

All sorts of ingenious conjectures have been hazarded by the lawyers who have defended the right of the crown to make the appointment in question, in the difficulty they have encountered in attempting to place it upon some other foundation than that to which we have here referred to. In later times, however, at least, whatever the words of the patent may seem to imply, it has not been contended that the king has the right to grant to the individual whom he constitutes his printer, any further privilege than that of being the exclusive publisher and vender of all laws and proclamations, and of all Bibles and other books used in the service of the Established Church. It has been said that he has this right, by some, as the head of the church,—by others, as the head of the state,—by others, as holding the copyright of the publications in question,—by others, on general grounds of expediency,—by others, from mere usage. Most of these assertions are very easily disposed of, although one or two may be a little difficult to grapple with, from the impracticability of dealing summarily with a plea so broad and general that it has scarcely any determinate meaning. But as to the allegation about the king being the head of the church, it is plain that this status, which he possesses only in England, cannot give him an exclusive right of printing the Bible, and the Confession of Faith, and the Shorter Catechism, as he claims to do, in Scotland. The same objection is fatal to the claim of copyright, which, however, is also destroyed by other considerations; for whatever right of this nature the king may have in regard to Acts of Parliament, it does not appear that he can claim, even in England, any copyright in the Bible. It is contended that the common translation was made at the expense of the crown, and established in use by its authority. But there is every reason to believe that neither of these notions is correct. As to the expense, it was in all probability borne, as that of preceding translations had been, by the person by whom the translation was printed and published. Robert Ball, in his "Treatise concerning the Regulating of Print-

ing," 1651, as quoted in Ames (ii. 1091), expressly states that Barker, then king's printer, paid for amending or correcting the translation 3500*l*. The magnitude of this sum seems to show, as Mr. Herbert has remarked in a note, that it must have been paid to the translators as the whole remuneration of their labours. And even as to the new version being authorized by the king, there is no evidence of that. No proclamation, or other royal act, has ever, we believe, been discovered, conferring upon it any such distinction. But even if the English translation of the Bible is to be held to be the king's property, as having been made by his command, or at his cost, does this give him any property in the Greek and Hebrew originals, or in the versions which have been made into various other languages? And yet the exclusive right of printing all these is contended for, as well as that of printing the English Bible!

As to whether or no an important prerogative may be derived from mere usage, we shall not venture to express an opinion. But in the present case, the usage, at any rate, must be rather, we should think, of too recent commencement to form a sufficient root for any such right to grow from. Printing is only an easier and more effectual mode of publishing a book than that of multiplying copies of it in manuscript. Did the king of England, before the invention of printing, ever claim the power of preventing the dissemination, in manuscript, of any works he chose? Did he then pretend to possess the same absolute authority over copyists, which he afterwards claimed and exercised over printers? Nay, when the art of printing was first introduced, is there any evidence that the practice of it was subjected to this arbitrary control on the part of the crown? No book, we believe, will be found bearing to be printed with a licence or privilege till some years after the commencement of the sixteenth century. The assumed prerogative, therefore, so far from being sustained by original and constant usage, is one which, till a comparatively recent period, was never heard of at all, as well as one which has confessedly long ago passed away and been destroyed, in respect to that part of its nature,—we mean its universality of jurisdiction,—which was formerly held forth as constituting its very essence and principle. In short, except from the date of the Restoration, there is no usage sanctioning the appointment of a royal printer by the crown, while not claiming any general right of control over the press. Since that date, certainly, a king's printer has been regularly appointed, under circumstances the same, or nearly the same, with those which exist at present. Let us now see what have been the results of this system, and in how far, therefore, it is defensible on grounds of expediency.

A select committee was appointed by the House of Commons, in 1831, "to inquire into the nature and extent of the king's printers' patents in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the authority under which they have acted and now act, and how far they have been beneficial to the government or to the country, and whether proper to be continued." The evidence taken by this committee was ordered to be printed on the 8th of August last, and forms, with the appendix, a volume of 364 pages. We will endeavour to present to our readers the most important conclusions to be derived from the mass of facts here accumulated; but it will be convenient, that instead of considering for that purpose the whole of the king's printer's patent, and the various privileges which it comprehends, at once, we confine our attention, for the present, only to his exclusive right of printing Bibles and other books used in the service of the Established Church. Public attention has of late been strongly directed upon the effects of this monopoly, and it has already begun, we are glad to find, to be made the subject of petitions to parliament.

In England the exclusive right of printing Bibles is enjoyed by the two Universities as well as by the king's printer; and in Ireland the monopoly of the king's printer is in like manner shared by Trinity College, Dublin. In Scotland the whole is in the hands of the king's printer. The existing English patent, as already noticed, runs for thirty years from January 1830; that for Ireland was granted for forty years, in August 1811; and that for Scotland, in 1785, to run for forty-one years from the expiration of the preceding commission in 1798. The Scotch patent therefore will expire in 1838; the Irish in 1851; and the English not till 1860.

It appears by the Report (p. 336), that during the ten

years from 1821 to 1830 inclusive, the king's printer for England sold—

Of Bibles	569,164	— or, annually, 56,916.
Testaments	637,893	 63,789.
Prayer-books	182,811	 18,281.
Psalms	189,544	 18,954.

It is impossible to ascertain from the evidence the exact produce of these sales; the patentees declining to give this information, on the pretext that it would lay open the secrets of their trade to their rivals, the universities. The following facts, however, may be collected. The Bibles sold were of twenty-four different kinds, varying in price from 2s. to 2*l*. 13s. 6*d*. (omitting fractions). A single copy of each of the twenty-four sorts would have cost somewhat above 15*l*. The medium price is about 8*s*., there being twelve editions higher and as many lower than that price. Of the Testaments, ten varieties are enumerated, the prices of which range from 3*s*. 1*d*. to 8*d*. One copy of each of these ten would come to about 16*s*.; and there are five kinds dearer and five cheaper than 1*s*. 1*d*. There are also ten Prayer-Books, costing from 5*d*. to 7*s*. each; or about 1*l*. 17*s*. altogether. The price of five of these is above, and that of as many others below, 3*s*. 4*d*. The editions of the Psalms are eleven in all, and the prices from 2*d*. to 1*s*. 2*d*. The whole would come to about 7*s*.; and there are five above and six below the price of 7*s*. 4*d*. The king's printer, as well as the universities, receives a drawback of the duty upon the paper which he uses for the printing of these works; and on this account he has been allowed, during the ten years, the sum of 20,718*l*. 15*s*. 9*d*.; or about 2071*l*. annually. The duty being 3*d*. per pound, it follows that his impressions of Bibles, Testaments, Prayer-Books, and Psalms, must consume about 160,000 pounds of paper a year.

These are books, it is to be observed, for all of which a constant demand may be calculated upon with certainty; and therefore, with proper management, the largest editions might be printed of each, without any risk being incurred, as in the case of almost all other publications, of any copies remaining unsold. This risk, however, is prevented by the invention of stereotype printing, which is peculiarly applicable to this class of books. Stereotype-plates do not add more than half to the original cost of setting up the types;—and, possessing these plates, the king's printer or the universities may always meet the demand of the market, without incurring the slightest danger of loss from the amount of their stock. These are also works none of which cost anything for copyright, frequently so heavy an item in the expenses of a publication; nor anything, it may be added, for advertising, the demand being so steady and general as to make any such appeal to the public unnecessary. Further, as has just been observed, the paper upon which they are printed pays no duty—an exemption which, we have seen, is equivalent, in the case of the king's printer for England, to a revenue of above 2000*l*. a year.

From these facts we may judge of the fairness of the comparisons made by the patentees in the evidence before us, between certain of their Bibles and certain other publications in the market, the volumes of the Library of Useful Knowledge, for example. One of these volumes is mentioned by Mr. Spottiswoode, which costs the public 15*s*. (see Evidence, p. 26.) Among the expenses of that publication would be a charge for copyright and editing, of certainly not less than 1000*l*. The advertising expenses would also be considerable. The paper, too, let it not be forgotten, costs 25 per cent. more than Mr. Spottiswoode pays. And, after all, no such sale could be expected for the book, as with prudent management might with certainty be counted upon in the case of an edition of the Bible, or even as we have no doubt many of Mr. Spottiswoode's editions have actually realized. From the returns made by the king's printers in Scotland (Appendix, pp. 346, &c.), it appears, that of one of their sizes (the twenty-first in their list, called the 24mo. pearl), they published and sold, in the ten years from 1821 to 1830, inclusive, above 384,000 copies. By the employment of stereotype all these impressions might have been obtained at the cost of composing the work only once, and taking several sets of stereotype-plates. The principal cost of this process, that of composition, must be undergone in the case of a work of which there is no chance that more than 500 copies will be taken off.

But the "Library of Useful Knowledge," and the other works to which Mr. Spottiswoode refers, are by no means

the most striking instances of cheap printing that might be quoted. They are probably as cheap as they can be for the sale which they may expect to command. But nobody who knows anything about the matter will count upon as extensive a sale for either a treatise on science, or an edition of the works of Robertson or Gibbon, as for an edition of the Bible. The former works, to produce anything like the same profit with the latter, must of necessity be sold at a much higher price. Suppose the expense of preparing both to be the same,—and we have shown that it is very far from being the same,—and let the same price be put upon both;—in that case, the outlay would be repaid in each instance by the sale of the same number of copies, say of the first 10,000. If that number should not be sold, there would be a loss: the profits are exactly proportioned to the number of copies that may be sold beyond that. If only 12,000 copies should be sold in all (and that is a very high number, and such as has been seldom realized), the difference between the selling price and the cost price of 2000 of these will, upon the supposition we have made, constitute the whole profit of the publication. But if the sale shall run to 100,000, or 200,000, as in the case of a good edition of the Bible it would undoubtedly do, the profit will be the difference we have mentioned, gathered not from each of 2000 copies, but from each of 90,000, or of 190,000 copies.

This being the case, it is evidently, as we have said, impossible that the one book can be afforded to the public at the same rate, or at anything like the same rate, at which the other may. In other words, if the king's printer charge for his Bibles the same price, or nearly the same price, which the other publishers, to whom he refers, charge for their publications of the same size, his profits must be altogether enormous. But let us consider the subject from another point of view.

The patentees boast of the cheapness of their Bibles. Among the witnesses examined by the committee, is Mr. John Child, a large printer at Bungay. This gentleman, in the course of his evidence, produces certain calculations relating to the prices actually charged for Bibles by the king's printer, and those at which the same volumes might be afforded, which are somewhat more decisive of the question than Mr. Spottiswoode's comparisons. A Testament, which is sold to the trade by the king's printers at tenpence, Mr. Child affirms that he could supply, on paper worth thirty per cent. more, for sevenpence-halfpenny a copy. Of another, for which the wholesale price is one shilling in sheets, he shows by a calculation, the particulars of which he submits, that the cost price is not more than fourpence. Even if the book were sold at that low rate, there would be a slight profit upon a sale of 20,000; if it were sold at eightpence, there would be a profit upon such a sale of more than cent. per cent. And yet the patentees charge a shilling, having a sale to the extent of which it would be difficult to set any bounds.

Another of the king's printers' Bibles, which is sold to the trade for sixteen shillings, Mr. Child states could be sold safely, and with a good profit, for ten or eleven shillings. Another, which is charged nine shillings, he would undertake, he says, to sell to the trade for four and sixpence. He also produced the editions of Robertson's and of Gibbon's Works, each in one large volume, printed by himself, to which Mr. Spottiswoode had referred; and from his explanations it appears that even these publications, which are taken off only by a select and limited circle of purchasers, are sold cheaper than Bibles of the same size, quantity of letterpress, and quality of paper, furnished by the patentees. The trade price of the *brevier* 8vo. Reference Bible, royal (that, we presume, is the one alluded to), is sixteen shillings; that of the edition of Robertson is, for a single copy, fifteen shillings, and thirteen shillings when a hundred are taken. The edition of Gibbon contains four sheets more than either Robertson or the Bible, but is sold for the same price with the former.

In the evidence before the committee upon the matter of comparative cheapness, no parallel could be drawn of a book as extensively sold as an edition of the Bible, because no such book then existed. We can supply the omission. "The Penny Cyclopædia" has been established in the belief that at least 100,000 copies might be disposed of; and, in point of fact, that number is printed off. A volume of that work, consisting of 72 sheets, or 576 pages, is to be sold at six shillings to the public—at less than four shillings to the trade. The Long Primer 8vo. Bible of the king's printer

contains 76 sheets; and is sold at nine shillings to the public, and at six shillings to the trade. Each of these volumes, the 8vo. Bible and the Cyclopædia, contains, as near as possible, the same quantity of types, estimating that quantity as printers do, by the thousand letters. Now mark the difference. The volume of the Penny Cyclopædia will cost 1500*l.* for copyright, and 500*l.* for embellishments;—the volume of the Bible costs nothing for these items. The Cyclopædia pays 25 per cent. duty upon the paper used, amounting to nine-pence per volume; the Bible pays no duty. The demand for the Cyclopædia has to be created, and it is subject to all the risks of trade;—the demand for the Bible is established, and it is principally sold to one large and safe customer, the Bible Society. And yet the Bible is 50 per cent. dearer than the Cyclopædia.

There still remain two or three points to which we must shortly advert. It might be taken for granted, without any inquiry, that the monopoly would not secure cheap Bibles to the public: a high price is uniformly, and, from the nature of the thing, necessarily, the result of an exclusive privilege to manufacture. But the patentees defend the propriety of the grant that has been made to them, on the ground of the superior accuracy which has thereby been insured in the impressions of the sacred text; and they also refer to the greater attention, by which this accuracy is produced, as an item of extraordinary expense in the preparation of their editions. Upon this part of the subject, the public has lately been addressed, at considerable length, by various writers, amongst the most zealous of whom is the Rev. T. Curtis. The matter is also touched upon in many parts of the evidence before us; but it was, we believe, first taken up, seven or eight years ago, by the Rev. Dr. Lee of Edinburgh, who discussed it in two successive pamphlets with much learning and curious research. Dr. Lee's statements abundantly proved that, down at least to very recent times, neither the Bibles printed in Scotland, nor those printed in England, by the patentees, had been at all remarkable for their accuracy; but, on the contrary, that they were, it may be almost said generally, disfigured by a proportion of errors which would have been accounted far from creditable to any ordinary book. Of late years, there can be no doubt that Bibles have been more correctly printed in both countries; but still it does not appear that the accuracy, which has been usually attained, is at all beyond what is common in other productions of the press. At any rate it is quite certain that the existing degree of accuracy, such as it is, has not resulted from the monopoly, which was in operation for many years while Bibles were, for the most part, printed with disgraceful carelessness. Even now, Mr. Waddell, the manager for the Scotch patentees, acknowledges (Qu. 432) that the correcting press for Bibles is not more expensive than for any other book. The person whom they employ is described by Dr. Lee, in his evidence before the Committee (Qu. 2037), as "a man without much education, but a very worthy and careful man, scrupulously anxious to do his duty, but without any very great pretensions to superior intelligence." In the course of his evidence, we may add, Dr. Lee enumerates a considerable number of errors which had fallen in his way even in some very recent editions of the Bible, and that on a very partial and cursory examination. (See, particularly, Qu. 2100.) One of these, in an Edinburgh edition of 1816, is in Luke vi. 29,—"*Him that taketh away thy cloke, forbid to*" (for *not*) "*to take away thy coat also.*" Another, in the same edition, is in 1 Cor. xiv. 40,—"*Let all tongues*" (for *things*) "*be done decently and in order.*" And in a stereotype edition, printed at London in 1819, in 1 Cor. viii. 6, instead of "*To us there is but one God,*" the reading is "*To us three is but one God.*" Mr. Curtis, in his evidence before the committee, and also in his "*Four Letters*" on the subject, has given many curious examples of these errors in recent editions,—such as "*heart*" for "*hart*," "*son*" for "*sun*," "*forth*" for "*four*."

Mischievous as is the operation of this monopoly as it exists in England, it is still more oppressive in Scotland. Here the evil is in some degree kept in check by the competition among the three privileged parties,—the king's printer and the two universities. But in the northern end of the island, the royal typographer has no rival,—no one but himself who dare either print or sell Bible, Testament, Prayer-book, Psalms, Confession of Faith, Catechism, or whatever other books his rampant and unbridled patent may be deemed to comprehend. And upon what ground can the

king, by possibility, claim the right of establishing such a monopoly in that country? He is not head of the church *there*. But he is head of the state, perhaps some one will say, and as such is alone entitled to print all books used in the service of religion. Let a single fact, mentioned in the evidence of Dr. Lee, answer this argument. The General Assembly in 1781 authorized a book, entitled "*Translations and Paraphrases in Verse of several Passages of Sacred Scripture,*" to be used in the churches of the Establishment; and it has continued to be so used ever since. They at the same time appointed it to be printed and published by their own printer. Did the king's printer interfere in this case, and insist upon his exclusive right to the work as one employed in the services of religion? The present patentees have indeed printed it almost ever since they entered upon their office; but *they annually pay a sum of money to the printer of the church for liberty to do so*. "I have not the least doubt," says Dr. Lee, "that, in the course of a very few years, if they were to proceed upon the principle that seems hitherto to have been assumed, they would be disposed to claim the right of printing this book as well as the Psalms, because the transaction between them and the printer for the Church of Scotland has not been publicly known; and, indeed, it is but recently that I learned it from the printer himself." That they might advance such a claim, with quite as much reason as others which they have actually made, we think it impossible to deny.

In Scotland, then, the case is this. No man, it is maintained, has a right even to have a Bible, or any of the other books that have been mentioned, in his possession, which has not been printed by the king's printer *there*. The patent gives the power of prohibiting the importation into the country of any others. Up to the year 1826 importation never had been interfered with, or attempted to be interfered with. During all the previous time that the enormous powers of the patent had been in existence, this application of them had never been thought of; but since then all importation has been prevented. The people of Scotland must now be satisfied with such Bibles only as the king's printer chooses to give them, and they must take them at any price which he chooses to put upon them. And this state of things, it seems, is established and maintained for no other end whatever except that they may be the better provided with copies of the sacred text! The importation of Bibles from England, which had been so long permitted, was, we must then presume, found at last to be adverse to this object. It was injurious, are we to understand, not to the interests of the patentees, but to the interests of the public, and therefore it was put down? And the king's printer now stands alone, the entirely unchecked and irresponsible functionary, on whom the whole people of that country are dependent for their supply of all these books. It is nonsense to call the office which this person holds a trust; but suppose it for a moment to be a trust, how has he discharged its duties? We answer, without hesitation, with a view to his own profit merely. He has printed such editions of the sacred volume as he considered were likeliest to sell, and such only. Has he ever, for example, published the Bible in the Gaelic language, which is the only language known to some hundreds of thousands of the people of Scotland? He never has; and yet we are to believe that the securing an abundant supply of the Scriptures to that country is the sole end and object of his patent.

One word now on the operations of the Bible Society, in connexion with the vast monopoly we have been considering. This institution, and the Naval and Military Bible Society, both maintained by public subscription, are, it would appear, by far the best customers of the English patentees. According to returns given in the Report, the king's printer sold, in 1829, 51,500 Bibles, and 75,691 Testaments, of which no less a proportion than 45,541 of the former, and 68,025 of the latter, were purchased from him by those two societies. The public generally, therefore, that year bought only 5959 of his Bibles, and 7666 of his Testaments. Next year, the case is a great deal worse; for, of 36,277 Bibles, and 65,080 Testaments, sold by him, all were taken by the two societies except 4,029 of the former, and 601 of the latter*.

We are not disposed to underrate the services of the Bible

* The number of copies purchased by the Naval and Military Bible Society is in both cases from May of one year to May of the year following; but the calculation can be only very immaterially affected by this circumstance.

Society. It may do much good in many ways; but we do not know any person who is likely to be more sensible of its uselessness than the royal typographer. Without its assistance, indeed, it is evident that his trade in printing the Scriptures would be at an end.

But this matter demands to be considered in a larger view. The two universities have the right of printing Bibles, Testaments, and Prayer-books, concurrently with Messrs. Eyre, Strahan, and Spottiswoode. We object to the monopoly altogether, and in any hands. If it has been given to the universities as a source of revenue, rather let a sum of money, equivalent to what they thence derive, be paid to them annually. Let the Bibles printed by the king's printer and the universities be alone considered, if you will, as those issued by authority. It may be well that there should be such legally authentic copies both of the Scriptures and of Acts of Parliament, to which appeal might be made as standards; but more than this is unnecessary, and in every way mischievous and unjust. Let it be no crime for any man who chooses, to print, sell, or import, either an act of the legislature or the word of God. Competition here, be assured, will do what it has done in everything else; it will produce the highest possible combination of excellence and cheapness. If the diffusion of the Scriptures be an object with any one, this is unquestionably the plan by which that diffusion would be most effectually promoted. At present, every Bible that is given away by the Bible Society and other similar institutions, pays a heavy tax either to the universities or to the king's printer. We shall close our paper by presenting a calculation of the amount of this tax:—

The Bible Society, in the year ending March, 1832, issued from London,	Bibles . . .	160,701
	Testaments . . .	182,444

Many of these books were probably printed in foreign languages, at their own presses; for in 1830, we find that they bought

	Eng. Bibles.	Eng. Test.
Of the King's printer	26,886	60,873
Oxford University	59,417	30,652
Cambridge University	20,687	40,300
	106,990	131,825
		106,990

Total English Bibles and Testaments . 238,815

The amount paid by the Bible Society for copies purchased is not specified; but we find that, in 1831-2, they paid for Bibles and Testaments in the English and Irish language	£50,969
They received from Auxiliary Societies and subscribers, who distribute the English Bibles and Testaments	36,820

Deficiency . . £24,149

This deficiency was made up out of the subscriptions to the Bible Society—collected, be it remembered, with extraordinary zeal in every part of the country, and in many cases out of the weekly earnings of the poor themselves. Deducting the cost of binding from the price of the English books issued by the Bible Society, which cost may be taken at 10,000*l.*, we have no hesitation in saying that two-thirds of this 24,149*l.* subscribed to maintain the British objects of the Bible Society, is a tax levied by the monopoly of the King's printer and the two Universities; for it being undeniable that their books are charged 50 per cent. at least dearer than they ought to be, two-thirds of this subscription to make up a deficiency might be in the pockets of the subscribers, or applied to some other object of religious instruction, if the tax were put an end to by the destruction of the monopoly. Let the Committees of the Bible Societies ponder upon this.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

We stated, in our last number, that it had been resolved by the House of Commons that a select committee should in future be appointed at the commencement of each session, to classify and report upon all public petitions presented to the House. The Committee appointed for the present ses-

sion consists of Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Connell, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Colonel Davies, Mr. Littleton, Mr. James Oswald, Mr. Clay, Mr. George William Wood, Sir Robert Inglis, and Sir Richard Vyvyan; of whom any five are a quorum. They were appointed on the 20th of February; and on the 28th, the House ordered the printing of their first Report, which contains a classification of all petitions presented from the 6th of that month (when the business of Parliament commenced) to the 22d, inclusive. They have since issued five other reports, the last of which is dated the 19th of March.

The form of arrangement which the Committee have adopted, presents a very luminous as well as complete view of the petitions they have examined. The real amount and value, indeed, of the petitions addressed to Parliament have never before been exhibited, either to the public or to the House, with anything like the same clearness. Of every petition a separate abstract is given, in which are mentioned its date, the place from which it comes, with the description of persons by whom it is signed, and the number of the signatures attached to it. All the petitions, also, are arranged under heads according to the subject of the prayer of each; and the number of those for each object is noted, as well as the sum of the names by which all those that come under each head are signed. Where there are specialties in any particular petition, they are mentioned; and several of the petitions finally are printed at full length. We are quite sure that this plan will ensure an attention to petitions, both on the part of the Parliament and of the public, greatly exceeding what they have ever heretofore received. The effect, it may be confidently anticipated, will be both to improve the average character of these expressions of the public sentiment, and to add, in no inconsiderable degree, to their weight in influencing the measures of the House.

We now present an abstract of the contents of the Committee's Reports. The petitions are arranged as follows:

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
<i>Parliamentary.</i>		
For vote by ballot	3	2136
Against nocturnal legislation	4	2029
In favour of a qualification for members	1	8
For triennial parliaments	1	268
For vote by ballot and triennial parliaments	4	1594
Complaining of military interference at elections	1	32
Complaining of the interference of a peer at the election for St. Ives	1	1
For the disfranchisement of the freemen of Liverpool, on the ground of bribery	1	2941
Denying the allegations in the above petition	1	7500
Praying to be heard against the charge of bribery alleged against the freemen of Liverpool, from the mayor and corporation	1	seal.
Complaining of corrupt practices at the late election for Norwich	1	407
Complaining of improper practices at the late election for Hereford	1	1
<i>Ecclesiastical.</i>		
For the better observance of the Sabbath	199	49193
Against lay patronage in the Church of Scotland	11	8122
— tithes in England	4	3083
For reform in the Church of England	2	2
For reform in the Church establishment of Wales	1	103
Against tithes in Ireland (some of these include prayers against the church cess and for a separate legislature)	25	8826
Against the Church in Ireland Bill	2	29
Against the civil disabilities of the Jews	3	465
For uniformly substituting affirmations for oaths	2	97
For removal of religious disabilities, &c.	2	282
<i>Taxes.</i>		
For the repeal of the assessed taxes	15	8946
Complaining of the house and window tax	10	4347
Against the tax on soap	18	1735
— the duty on malt	5	7064
— excise licences	2	105
— the duty on taxed carts	3	301
— the stamp-duty on receipts	1	250
— the duty on attorneys' certificates (Ireland)	1	85
— the tax on newspapers	1	324
— the duty on paper	1	97
— the corn-laws	3	4784
For reduction of taxes	5	891

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
<i>Ireland.</i>		
For the repeal of the Union	8	3036
Against the Vestry Act (Ireland)	1	321
For the removal of the Secretary for Ireland	3	896
Complaining of oppression by the police	1	8
Complaining of dissimilarity between the English and Irish Reform Bills	1	40
Praying for amendments in the jury and grand jury laws	5	2028
From keepers, &c. of prisons, praying for superan- nation allowances, &c.	2	15
Against the grant to Maynooth College	1	1
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>		
For the abolition of slavery	115	33254
Against the Disturbances (Ireland) Bill	462	309245
In favour of ditto	3	511
In favour of the Factories' Bill	29	31329
Against the Retailing of Beer Bill	17	1205
Relating to corporations,—nearly all complaining of abuses, and praying for amendments	35	19201
For an extended or national system of education	2	158
Complaining of the oppressiveness of the poor's- rate	2	273
Against punishment by death	3	5506
In favour of prisoners (Taylor, Hetherington, and W. Fitzgerald, a debtor), &c.	5	32
Complaining of insufficiency of accommodation at Sergeants' Inn, from Society of Attorneys	1	seal.
For the repeal of the Speaker's Pension Act	1	1382
Against the restriction of the right of voting for parish schoolmasters in Scotland	1	126
For the interference of the House in favour of Col- umbian bonds	1	1
For repeal of taxes, abolition of corn-laws, sup- pression of unnecessary pensions, reduction of salaries, vote by ballot, universal suffrage, and annual parliaments	1	702
From governors of British Museum, for further support	1	seal.
For an alteration in the law of arbitration	1	10
For a better law for protecting patents	1	1
For establishing the Seamen's Hospital Society	1	20
For the intervention of Britain on behalf of Po- land	1	1465
For a cheaper and more summary mode of reco- vering small debts	1	102
Against the removal of the summer assizes from Bury St. Edmund's	2	837
For a division of the quarter-sessions in Devon- shire	1	9
For protection and encouragement to the Brazilian trade	1	35
Against paying wages at public-houses	1	1
For a repeal of taxes, abolition of tithes, reform of the church, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, against the Disturbances (Ireland) Bill, and nocturnal legislation	1	9107
Against restrictions in trade, particularly the mo- nopoly of the East India Company	1	1142
For the abolition of sinecures, &c.	3	1841
For the protection of West India Colonies	2	90
For alteration of regulations of navigation on the Liffey	1	2
For alteration in Turnpike Acts	1	5

On the 20th March, it was resolved by the House on the motion of Mr. Hume, "that every member presenting a petition to the House, do affix his name at the beginning thereof." In consequence of this resolution, moved for on their suggestion, the committee state, that in future they "will from time to time subjoin to their notice of such petitions, the names of the members presenting the same respectively."

BRITISH MUSEUM.

FROM the accounts of the British Museum for the last year laid before the House of Commons, and printed by its order, it appears that, including a balance in hand of 4752*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* at Christmas 1831, the whole income of the institution from that date to Christmas 1832 amounted to 23,170*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* The proper income of the year therefore was 13,418*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* of which sum 16,922*l.* was derived from a Parliamentary grant. The expenditure was 13,572*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*; the items of which may be classed as follows:—To salaries of officers and extra services, 9925*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*; to rent, taxes, coals, candles, repairs, fixtures, and sundries, 2064*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.*; to bookbind-

ing, printing, stationery, and expenses of drawings of Egyptian Frescos, the publication of the "Gallery of Antiquities," and the preparation of the Classified Catalogue, 1910*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; to Royal Society on account of the Arundel MSS. 865*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*; to law expenses, clearing goods at Custom House, &c., 150*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*; and to purchases of objects of natural history, coins, medals, antiquities, books, manuscripts, and prints, 3556*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* This last sum, therefore, is the whole money that has been expended in augmenting the contents of this great national establishment. The Museum receives, it is true, in addition to its purchases, a copy of every new work printed in the United Kingdom; but still the sum allotted to the support of the library can hardly be considered as sufficient for that purpose. The purchases of printed books last year only amounted to 1032*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*; so that if this sum was expended in equal portions upon new works published in foreign countries, and in the procuring of old works in which the collection was deficient, about 500*l.* was all that could be afforded for either of these most important objects. The completion of the library by the purchase of works which it does not yet contain is of the most material consequence to its usefulness. A course of study or inquiry, after having been pursued up to a certain point, at an immense cost of time and labour, may sometimes be suddenly stopped by the want of a single volume. And from the manner in which the library of the Museum has been accumulated, rich as it is in rare and valuable books, it is peculiarly likely to exhibit such deficiencies. It has for the most part accrued from successive donations and bequests of eminent collectors, whose libraries usually consist of works of some one particular description, and from the purchase of such libraries. Thus, for instance, it is indebted to Mr. Cracherode for many rare editions of the classics; to Sir Joseph Banks for an extensive collection of voyages and travels, and works on natural history; and from various other sources it has derived similar large accessions in other departments of literature and philosophy. But there are several departments again, in which it has not been equally fortunate; and there are accordingly a great many works, some of them by no means either very uncommon or very expensive, which it does not contain. These deficiencies ought to be supplied, if it should even be necessary to expend at once a considerable sum of money for that purpose; for the library would be thereby made twice as useful as it now is. A larger annual supply of foreign works than the funds will at present allow to be obtained, would also be extremely desirable. This is one of the most important institutions connected with the maintenance and promotion of the national civilization; and it ought to be supported with a liberality corresponding to the resources of this great empire. Of all the institutions of the country, too, we will venture to say that there is no one the general management of which is entitled to warmer commendation. All who have been in the habit of frequenting the reading-room of the Museum will, we believe, join with us in bearing testimony to the excellent arrangements of the place, and the disposition uniformly displayed by the officers and attendants to accommodate visitors, and to facilitate their researches. The number of visits to the reading-room, it appears by the paper before us, has of late years been rapidly on the increase; having risen from 1950 in 1810, 4300 in 1815, 8820 in 1820, 22,800 in 1825, and 31,200 in 1830, to 38,200 in 1831, and 46,800 in 1832. This increase must have greatly added to the labours of the servants of the establishment, and must render an addition to their number also quite indispensable. The sum granted by Parliament to defray the expenses of the ensuing year, and to provide the ordinary surplus for a fifth quarter, is 16,844*l.*, being 78*l.* less than the last grant.

EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

AT a period when the government of the United Kingdom is asking, at the hands of the legislature, the concession of extraordinary powers to put down a spirit of barbarous violence in Ireland, it would have been satisfactory to find, amidst the differences of opinion which such a demand necessarily involves, some agreement amongst men of all parties as to the mode of employing the one great instrument for advancing the civilization of the people—that of Education. It is perfectly clear, whatever measures be resorted to for the detection and punishment of offences which strike at the very foundation of society, by destroying the freedom of industry and the security of property, that such

measures can only be of a temporary and partial nature; and that, in fact, their chief value must consist in preparing the way for that gradual amelioration of the character of the people which can only result from a judicious, comprehensive, and equal system of national instruction. Unhappily, however, the spirit of partisanship and intolerance, which constitutes so large a portion of the primary causes of the misery of Ireland, here steps in. Despite of the conviction that even the most prejudiced must feel, that without instruction the people of Ireland can never acquire those habits of order and tranquillity which are the growth of knowledge, those who are endeavouring widely to sow the seeds of that knowledge upon a soil prepared by Christian charity and toleration, have to endure the most bitter revilings from the loud and angry advocates of the exclusiveness which has so long been pretending to teach, but labouring to proselytize. It is not our intention to imitate the example of these persons by any denunciations even of the spirit of uncharitableness. We shall endeavour merely to put together a few facts, the attentive consideration of which may correct some of the mistakes, and dissipate some of the prejudices, which in many minds at present attach to this subject.

In the latter end of 1831 a board was constituted for the superintendence of a national system of education in Ireland; and a sum of money was voted by Parliament for conducting an experiment upon responsible authority, which had for its object to bestow instruction upon the children of the whole people of Ireland, without regard to their religious denominations. The principles upon which this experiment was to be conducted were not hastily taken up by the government,—they grew out of no crude plan, suggested by individual enthusiasm. They were the result of careful and anxious inquiries, conducted for many years by commissioners of the crown, and at last reduced to a practical form by a committee of Parliament. The last commission terminated its labours in June, 1827, having issued nine reports from the date of its appointment in 1824. A previous commission had employed six years in laborious inquiry, namely, from 1806 to 1812, and issued twelve reports. In 1828, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to examine the reports of both commissions; and upon the recommendations of this committee, the important measure which has been set on foot little more than a year, has been founded.

Before we proceed to describe what the real character of this measure is, it may be well to notice, as briefly as possible, the previous attempts which have been made to educate the people of Ireland.

As early as the reign of Henry VIII. a statute was passed for the establishment of parochial schools in Ireland, for the purpose of teaching the English tongue. This statute was confirmed by a subsequent enactment of William III.; and every clergyman is still required by law to take an oath on induction in the following terms:—"I do solemnly swear that I will teach, or cause to be taught, an English school within the vicarage or rectory of ———, as the law in that case requires." It appears by the report of the first commission, that the universal practice of the incumbent has been to allow the schoolmaster of the parish forty shillings per annum in discharge of his conscience from the obligations of the statute to promote the "instruction of rude and ignorant people to the knowledge of Almighty God." In point of fact, the very nature of these parochial schools was a main cause of the slow progress of education in Ireland. In the reign of William III. it was rendered penal for any other than a Protestant to teach; and the only teaching therefore was in the parochial schools, and in a few diocesan schools for classical learning. But it was at the same time enacted that the clergyman should be allowed a stipend for the conduct of a parochial school; and we find by a petition in 1731 that the poorer classes could not pay the salary required, and the richer refused to avail themselves in most cases of a species of instruction whose object was not to teach all classes what would make them virtuous in private life and peaceable in public, but to proselytize. The parochial schools, therefore, having completely failed, a scheme was set on foot in 1731 for the establishment of charter-schools, "for the instruction of the children of the Irish natives in the English tongue, and in the fundamental principles of the true religion." After the experience of a century, Parliament has determined upon the gradual abolition of these schools, which have cost the country in public grants considerably more than a mil-

lion sterling. This determination is no doubt a wise one; for the charter-schools have been utterly inefficient as a system of national instruction. The chartered society has never been able to keep up more than fifty schools and two thousand scholars. "The society was bent upon the conversion of the children to the reformed religion; and they therefore resolved to cut off all intercourse between the children and their parents; to confine them within the walls of the schools during the whole period of their instruction, and, consequently, to maintain them at an expense, which, if it had been devoted to instruction alone, might have done some good. So averse, however, were the poor people to this breaking up of the natural ties of child and parent, that even the temptation of being wholly freed from the burden of supporting a child was insufficient to fill the schools, and their numbers, therefore, were never kept up, except in times of scarcity."* There can be no doubt that the education bestowed in these charter-schools was of the very worst quality. The unhappy children, cut off from the indulgence of the natural affections, were the victims of neglect and brutality in their teachers. So difficult was it to place them out in the world in consequence of their general ignorance and helplessness that, in 1824, the society was maintaining about 700 who had passed the age of apprenticeship: and of 1585 boys apprenticed from 1803 to 1814, 603 had either eloped or enlisted, or had been discharged for bad conduct. It has been the custom to cry out that Ireland owes much to England for the sums we have spent upon the education of her people; but let it not be forgotten that till within the last twenty years these abominable charter-schools offered the only gratuitous education in Ireland, with the exception of the Foundling Hospital. This latter institution, which has received about 800,000*l.* of the public money, has about 1200 children in a course of education. It is lamentable to know that these children, both male and female, turn out nearly as bad as those from the charter-schools.

Until the establishment of the institution commonly called the Kildare Place Society, the Protestant clergy had the exclusive direction of the public funds devoted to instruction. The charter-schools show how unwisely they executed the trust. In 1814, upon the recommendation of the first board of commissioners that the education of the Irish people should no longer be exclusive, but, "by keeping clear of all interference in the religious tenets of any, induce the whole to receive its benefits as one undivided body, under one and the same system in the same establishment," a grant was made to the Society for Promoting Education in Ireland (Kildare Place Society), in order to try the principles thus recommended. From that time to the present the society has derived its funds almost entirely from parliamentary grants. It has held, however, no responsibility to government. This society deserves the high credit of having taken the first practical step in the common education of all classes of the people. It commenced its operations in 1817, having then 8 schools, attended by 557 pupils: in 1831, the number of its schools was 1620, and of pupils 132,573. At that time the number of Catholic children receiving instruction exceeded that of Protestant. There can be no doubt, however, that in many cases the parents of the Catholic children received this boon of education reluctantly and with apprehension. Mr. Frankland Lewis, one of the most able of the second board of commissioners, said in the course of the debate on Irish education (September 9, 1831), "I have been pained and pained again by witnessing the endeavours of persons to induce children to attend the schools of the society against the express desire of those whom I must say, whatever their religious faith, they were bound to obey. I have seen them skulking and stealing to school as if they were ashamed of what they were about." The Kildare Place Society, although an immense improvement upon the wretched system that had preceded it, and as such denounced at first by the same class of persons who are now denouncing the government plan of education, has failed in becoming the vehicle of a national system of instruction, from two causes: first, it required that the entire Scriptures should be read in the schools—a principle distinctly opposed to the doctrines and discipline of the Romish church; and secondly, because a great number of their schools—hundreds, according to Mr. Frankland Lewis—became connected and involved with those of the London Hibernian Society, whose avowed object was proselytism. The Kildare Place Society allowed the reading of any version of the Scriptures; the Hibernian

* Journal of Education, No. vi. page 239.

Society insisted that the authorized version only should be used. Whenever a school was in the possession of the two societies, the influence of the Hibernian was by far the more powerful. The Catholics, therefore, gradually withdrew their confidence from the Kildare Place Society; and from this circumstance alone it was perfectly clear that, if the education of the people of Ireland was to be equal and universal, government was bound to withdraw the funds which had been applied to purposes of partial education by that society. For how could that education be otherwise than partial which did not regulate the numbers of Catholic and Protestant children taught according to the proportions of the Catholic and Protestant population? Of 1620 schools on the lists of this society, 1021 were in the Protestant province of Ulster; of 133,000 scholars, 85,000 were in Ulster; of 2100 gratuitous to masters, 1300 were bestowed in Ulster. Further, of 204 teachers admitted into the training schools in 1830, 171 were Protestants and 33 Catholics. It was surely in the spirit of bitter mockery that the Catholic population were told that they ought to be satisfied with what the Kildare Place Society was doing for their children. The plan of that society was inapplicable to five sixths of the people of Ireland, except through a violation of what they conscientiously thought their duty; and, for that reason, the public grant to this society, for which Catholic as well as Protestant was taxed, was wisely and honestly withdrawn.

It is a fortunate circumstance, in considering the subject of education in Ireland, that the commissioners of 1824 obtained returns of the whole number of children educated in the kingdom, whether in pay schools or gratuitously. Of the accuracy of these returns there can be no doubt, for they were furnished both by the Catholic and the Protestant clergyman. The total number of schools was 11,823, and of scholars 560,549. Of these, there were 9,352 pay schools, and 394,732 paying scholars. In the schools maintained by the public, the number of Protestants and Catholics was about equal; in the pay schools, the number of Protestants was 87,000, and of Catholics 307,000. From these facts we perceive that there is no indisposition for instruction on the part of the humbler classes of the Irish, whether Protestant or Catholic. The quality of the instruction may, in general, be bad; but the eagerness of the people to avail themselves of it, and the sacrifices they make for this object out of their miserable resources, form the best assurance that the first honest experiment for the education of the people without distinction will not be made in vain.

We have, at length, arrived at the main object of this article, that of furnishing a correct notion of what the government plan of education is.

The commissioners of 1824 were thoroughly aware of the radical defects of the only system, that of the Kildare Place Society, which made any approaches to a common ground of instruction for Catholic and Protestant. They knew, to use the words of Mr. Stanley's letter to the Duke of Leinster (October, 1831), "that the indiscriminate reading of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, by children, must be peculiarly obnoxious to a church which denies, even to adults, the right of unaided private interpretation of the sacred volume with respect to the articles of religious belief." The commissioners, adds the same letter, "sensible of the defects of the system, and of the ground as well as the strength of the objection taken, recommended the appointment of two teachers in every school, one Protestant and the other Roman Catholic, to superintend separately the religious education of the children; and they hoped to have been able to agree upon a selection from the Scriptures which might have been generally acquiesced in by both persuasions. But it was soon found that these schemes were impracticable; and, in 1828, a Committee of the House of Commons, to which were referred the various reports of the commissioners of education, recommended a system to be adopted which should afford, if possible, a combined literary and a separate religious education, and should be capable of being so far adapted to the views of the religious persuasions which prevailed in Ireland, as to render it, in truth, a system of national education for the poorer classes of the community." Upon these principles the existing board has been constituted. The commissioners have issued circulars announcing that they are ready to receive applications for aid towards the building and fitting up of schools, the paying of teachers, and the obtaining of books and school requisites, under certain conditions.—

1st. They require that local funds be raised to defray a regulated portion of the costs of these objects, such as one-third of the estimated expense of building a school-house.

2nd. They require that the schools be kept open for a certain number of hours on four or five days of the week, at the discretion of the commissioners, for moral and literary education only; and that the remaining one or two days in the week be set apart for giving, separately, such religious education to the children as may be approved of by the clergy of their respective persuasions. They also permit and encourage the clergy to give religious instruction, either before or after the ordinary school hours, on the other days of the week.

3rd. They require the entire control over all books to be used in the schools, whether in the combined moral and literary, or separate religious instruction; none to be employed in the former except under the sanction of the board, nor in the latter but with the approbation of those members of the board who are of the same religious persuasion with the children for whose use they are intended.*

4th. They require a register to be kept of the attendance or non-attendance of each child at divine worship on Sundays.

5th. The teachers, except of such schools as are at present existing, which are approved by the board, are to receive previous instruction in a model school at Dublin; and their future suspension or removal is to be under the control of the commissioners, who are to have the power of visiting the schools themselves, or by inspectors whenever they think fit.

The commissioners began their labours in November, 1831. On the 19th of March, 1832, the Bishop of Exeter proclaimed in the House of Lords, that as a scheme of national education, the government system for Ireland had failed, and ought to fail. To this learned prelate an answer may be fairly rendered in the words of the Rev. James Carlile, one of the commissioners:—"Could it be said of this system, as it may be said with truth of every former system, that it has been in operation for ten, twenty, fifty, or a hundred years, and yet that the state of the country seems to be in no degree ameliorated by it,—no more intelligence or religious knowledge and principle among the peasantry of Ireland,—no better feeling between Protestant and Roman Catholic; but, on the contrary, opposing parties retiring to a great distance, for the purpose of rushing against one another with greater violence,—he might well have said that the system had totally failed in its object."† It will certainly not be the fault of the exclusive party both in the Irish and the English church,—the proselytizing party, who for a century spent from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* a year in charter-schools, under the pretence of "instructing and converting the young generation,"—it will not be their fault if the government system is not destroyed, and the old system is not restored. The Archbishop of Dublin, whose zealous, prudent, tolerant, and truly Christian labours in the great work of bestowing knowledge upon a people whose crimes and miseries all spring from a want of knowledge, are above all praise, forcibly described in the House of Lords, on March 19, the spirit which the commissioners had to struggle against:—"Their Lordships would be astonished if they knew the arts of delusion which were practised in order to prevent children from attending the schools. They had heard some pretty strong language in that house, but that was nothing to what was employed in Ireland. The supporters of the new system were in that country accused of an anti-Protestant spirit, of infidelity, of atheism, of treachery, and apostacy. To such an extent was the system of intimidation carried, that individuals refused to allow their names to be mentioned in that house as the supporters of the system, because their characters would suffer moral assassination. While persons were murdered in the south, characters were assassinated in the north. A Presbyterian congregation in the north of Ireland had been prevailed upon to desert their pastor because he ventured to approve of the government plan; and the consequence was, that he had been deprived of the means of subsistence, and had even been insulted in the street." And what is the cry that is raised with such virulent perseverance? It is, "that the poor Protestant is

* It is not designed to exclude from the list of books for the combined instruction such portions of sacred history, or of religious and moral teaching, as may be approved of by the board

† The System of Education in Ireland Explained. Lond. 1832.

deprived of his bible."—Deprived of his bible,—because select parts of it upon which men of different persuasions do not disagree, such as the whole of the Gospel of St. Matthew, are taught in the schools as a part of the instruction of all the scholars; deprived of his bible, because at least one, if not two days in each week besides Sunday, is set apart for the religious instruction of the scholars by the clergymen of their own persuasion! "Ay, there's the rub." The richly endowed Protestant clergyman is not compelled by law—we wish he were—but may be roused by competition, to attend to the religious instruction of the children of his own flock. The government plan of education makes those peculiarly teachers of religion, who are supposed to be the best qualified to teach religion. The statute of Henry VIII. thought the same, but that the Irish clergy contrived to make a dead letter. The board of commissioners think the same, and seventeen Irish archbishops and bishops enter into a protest against the government plan. The Bishop of Exeter thus explained in the House of Lords the clerical horror of this measure: "He contended that this system would render impracticable the education of the children in the knowledge of the bible. They would not be allowed to read it in school-hours; and while they were out of school it would be physically impossible, from the extent of most of the parishes, for the Protestant clergyman to attend at the different schools to instruct them in it." Physically impossible! The unwendowed Catholic clergy will get over the physical impossibility.

In the midst of all this hostility, it is satisfactory to know that the board of commissioners, during the first year of its operations, has not been turned aside from its straightforward course. The number of schools already in connexion with the board is nearly 500; and 100 more are building. These are calculated to educate about 90,000 children.

In conclusion, we recommend to the attentive consideration of all persons—but more especially of those who, trembling as they must at the awful consequences in Ireland of that insubordination which is the result of ignorance, yet would deny the knowledge that can alone produce peace and good-will—the following extract from the Reply of the Archbishop of Dublin to the Memorial of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's:—

"It is the office of a *church*, as such, to instruct in its own religious principles persons of all ages, and children not the least. The duty of catechizing as well as preaching is fully recognized in our own church. And we possess *endowments*, held, I apprehend, under the equitable condition of our labouring for these objects. Whether those endowments are sufficiently ample, and whether the present state of the public finances will admit of an appropriation of any part of the national revenue in aid of them, are questions I do not undertake to decide. But it will surely be admitted, that it is the duty of the pastors of our church not only to devote their personal labour to the religious instruction both of children and adults, but also, as far as their benefices will allow, to contribute, and to call on their lay brethren to contribute, towards the expenses of books, catechists, &c. for these purposes. I have always myself acted on this principle. My own living in Suffolk was but poor; but, besides superintending, by myself and my curates, the national school established there, I procured a school-house to be built for it, chiefly at the cost of clergymen; by whom also a very large proportion of its annual expenses has been defrayed. Besides which, an adult school was established and carried on; and lately, an infant school, instituted at my sole cost. I mention these circumstances not as any matter of boast for myself and the other clergy in that neighbourhood, much less as implying that the conduct of the clergy here is different. on the contrary, I think, and I doubt not the most respectable Irish ministers think with me, that, in all this, we are only fulfilling a plain duty, and employing the church revenues aright.

"A provision then (whether adequate or scanty) for this object being *already* in existence, Government, I conceive, contemplated beyond this another and strictly *national* object. Finding a great part of the Irish poor to be in a state of almost barbarian ignorance, while others of them obtain some small rudiments of education mixed up with lessons of faction and turbulence, and that squalid poverty, ferocity, and insubordination are the results, they judge it, I conceive, desirable and possible to improve in some degree their condition,—to advance them in *civilization*, and to

make them more *orderly subjects*, by imparting to them such rudiments of education as they could be brought to receive. To this purpose it was resolved to appropriate a sum of money, not raised from the revenues of the church, or from the voluntary contributions of individuals towards some other object,—but, out of the *national* revenue, raised by the taxation (we should remember) of all denominations of the king's subjects.

"In disposing of this grant, with a view to the proposed object, two, and, I think, *only two*, modes could present themselves; viz.—1st, to divide the money among the different churches and sects; leaving each to educate, from first to last, the children under their care as they might think best: 2ndly, to combine those of different persuasions, in affording, where that might appear desirable, joint instruction in those parts of learning where religious differences do not preclude it; leaving the deficiencies to be filled up by those able and willing to labour in conveying religious knowledge.

"The latter plan was preferred in the first instance; partly, I suppose, because the funds might in this way be expected to go further; and likewise because one part of the very object proposed is the softening down of mutual animosity, and the cultivation of friendly feelings among the children of neighbours, by accustoming them to associate in the same school. I am not sanguine as to the success of the measure; but if the present plan should fail, and especially should it fail through our opposition to it, it seems highly probable that the *other* plan may be tried;—that *separate portions* of the grant may be placed at the disposal of different denominations of Christians, proportioned to the *numbers* and to the *poverty* of each class.

"Now if this should be done, and if, accordingly, a sum of (say) from 5000*l.* to 10,000*l.* per annum were bestowed on Protestants, and from 25,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* on Roman Catholics, the children of each would be educated, not only apart, but, I fear, with even aggravated feelings of unfriendly jealousy. I need not dilate on the consequences likely to result."

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS.

Metropolitan Police.

THE return of the expenditure and receipts of the Metropolitan Police Force, for the year 1832, has been laid before the House of Commons. The clear annual expense appears to have been 210,444*l.*; and 5000*l.*, part of a loan from the Treasury, has also been repaid. The warrants issued for the year 1832, amount to 206,189*l.*; and the amount receivable, including the arrears of 1831, to 268,599*l.*; of this sum, 198,211*l.* has been collected (arrears to the amount of 70,388*l.* standing over). 5000*l.* have been borrowed from the Treasury; 15,950*l.* received from the consolidated fund, as directed by 10 Geo. IV. c. 45; and 849*l.* has been received for attendance at theatres, races, &c.; making a total received of 220,010*l.* The warrants issued are computed at 8*d.* in the pound upon the total annual value of the entire property in every parish, township, precinct, and place within the Metropolitan Police District, according to the last valuation used in assessing the county rates, and show for such district an annual rental of 6,185,692*l.*

Courts of Revision.

For the purpose of revising the lists of voters, according to the provisions of the Act 2 Will. IV. c. 45 (the Reform Act), 165 barristers were employed, whose charges for upwards of 3600 days, at five guineas per day, together with their travelling and other expenses, form a total of 30,384*l.*

Crime.

The total number of persons committed for trial in England and Wales, during the year 1832, was 20,829, of whom 17,486 were males, and 3344 females. Of these 14,947 were convicted, 3716 acquitted, and 2166 either not prosecuted or the bills against them not found. The sentences on those convicted were as follows:—to death, 1449, of whom 54 were executed; to transportation for life, 546; to transportation for twenty-eight years, 1; for fourteen years, 764; for ten years, 1; for seven years, 2603; to be imprisoned and whipped, hard labour, &c., for three years, 3; for terms between one and two years, 230; between six and twelve months, 1304; six months and under, 7644; and to whipping and fine, 402. A circumstance, very deserving of notice, is the greater proportion of convictions to committals in the case of offences of which the punishment does not usually extend beyond

transportation or imprisonment, than in the case of those for which the punishment of death is inflicted; thus, for arson or other wilful burnings, out of 107 persons committed, only 35 were convicted, of whom 16 were executed; and for murder, 20 were convicted out of 66 committed, and of these 15 were executed; while for larceny 10,130 convictions were obtained out of 13,469 committals; and for larceny from the person, 1151 out of 1748.

A return has been presented of the number of prisoners indicted and tried at the last Michaelmas and Epiphany quarter-sessions in England and Wales, for offences which prior to the passing of the Acts 2 and 3 Will. IV. c. 34, 62, and 123, would have been capital felonies. The Acts above mentioned were for abolishing the punishment of death for offences relating to the coin, for horse, cattle, or sheep stealing, and in certain cases of forgery. The number of indictments in the two sessions amounts to 71, but the number of convictions is not stated.

Two half-yearly Reports relating to the Convict-Hulk establishments, have been just printed by order of the House of Commons. Those for England include returns of the expense, the place of confinement, the number of convicts, and the amount of earnings of the convicts, distinguishing artificers from labourers, for the year ending December 31, 1832. Those for Bermuda contain similar statements for the year ending June 30, 1832. In England, each day's labour is reckoned at 1s. 6d. for an artificer, and 1s. for a labourer. At Bermuda, 2s. per day is charged for both classes. The results are as follow.

In England the average number confined has been 4218*, the amount of expense 68,981*l.*, and the total amount of earnings 48,664*l.*; thus leaving 20,317*l.*, or about 5*l.* per head, per annum, to be defrayed by the public.

In Bermuda, the average number confined has been 996, the amount of expense 18,237*l.*, and the total amount of earnings 26,607*l.*; leaving a balance in favour of the public of 7370*l.*

The reports of the several chaplains of the different hulks are very favourable as to the behaviour of the convicts; but several of them recommend, and in this they are joined by the superintendents, the sending of the more youthful of the prisoners to Australia, or some other settlement, as, if discharged in this country, "and exposed to the baneful influence of old associations, there is but little hope of their pursuing an honest course of life."

Clerical Returns.

ACCORDING to the Diocesan Returns for the year 1831, it appears there are 10,560 benefices in England and Wales, the incumbents in 4649 of which are resident, 2506 are non-resident by exemption, 1968 non-resident by license, and 1437 non-resident from miscellaneous causes, such as dilapidations of churches, sinecures, &c. Of the first class of non-residents, (of whom, however, 428 perform the duty of their respective parishes) 2080 reside on other benefices, and 360 are officers, tutors, or fellows of the universities, or hold ecclesiastical, cathedral, or collegiate offices; and the remainder are chaplains to noblemen, masters of grammar-schools, &c. Of the second class, 1227 allege the want or unfitness of the parsonage-houses, but 769 perform the duties of their parishes, as do also 487 of the third class.

In the several dioceses there are 4373 curates; 1532 residing in the glebe-houses, and 1005 others residing in the parishes they serve. It is stated, that only 3915 of these curates are licensed. The stipends of two of these curates are returned as under 10*l.*; of 1278, the stipend does not exceed 60*l.*; of 1282, it does not exceed 110*l.*; and only 32 are returned whose stipend exceeds 200*l.* Of livings where the incumbent is non-resident, 2548 are returned as being of less than 300*l.* per annum of gross value, and 1139 as being above that sum.

Coals, &c.

The quantity of coals, culm, and cinders, imported into the port of London during the last three years has been, for

* In the first six months 386 boys are returned as on board the Euryalus, at Chatham: and the expense is stated at 1870*l.*: in the last six months, the expense is stated at 2055*l.*; but the number of boys is not returned. We have assumed it to be 400. It may also be added, that these boys are employed in making clothing and other articles for prisoners' use, which is not carried to account in the amount of earnings.

1830, 2,079,275 tons; 1831, 2,045,292 tons; and 1832, 2,139,078 tons.

Poor Rates.

A PAPER of great interest and importance has been printed by order of the House of Commons, under the title of an "Abstract of Returns of the Amount of Money levied and expended for the Relief of the Poor in each county in England and Wales, in the year ending 25th March, 1832." The total amount of the sums levied was 8,622,920*l.* 4s.; while the expenditure was, for the relief of the poor 7,036,968*l.* 10s., and for other purposes 1,646,492*l.* 17s., in all 8,683,461*l.* 7s.; being an increase at the rate of 4 per cent. for the whole country on the expenditure of the preceding year. In other words, the expenditure is greater than that of the preceding year by the sum of about 347,000*l.* The counties in which the rate of increase was the highest are Glamorgan, where it was 11 per cent.; Anglesey and Cardigan, where it was 9; Somerset and Sussex, where it was 8; Southampton, Surrey, and Montgomery, where it was 7; and Monmouth, Norfolk, and Brecon, where it was 6. In Devon, Hereford, and Middlesex, the increase was only at the rate of 1 per cent. In Stafford and Wilts, the amount was stationary. The only counties in which there was a diminution are Cornwall, where the decrease was at the rate of 1 per cent.; Westmoreland and Carnarvon, where it was 2; and Bedford, where it was 5. Upon the whole of England the increase was 3, and upon the whole of Wales 6 per cent. It also appears from this paper that the number of parishes in England and Wales, in which select vestries had then been formed was 2391; and of those in which assistant overseers had been appointed, 3345. The whole number of persons employed in the repair of roads during the year was 52,836, who were paid for their labour from the poor's rate the sum of 264,820*l.* 5s.; and the number of persons employed in other parish-work was 17,499, to whom was paid from the same fund 88,532*l.* 3s.

NOTICE.

THERE is a literary newspaper called the "Athenæum," which, some twelve months ago, endeavoured to force a circulation by heading its placards and advertisements "Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." When this *ruse* had lived its hour, the "Athenæum," of course, began to make furious war on the flag under which it had attempted to sail. With the abuse of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, by that publication, we have nothing to do. But we protest against the imputation which the "Athenæum" directs against the "Companion to the Newspaper," of imitating its own small artifices. We have no desire to hoist false colours. The publisher of this work, we presume, has a right to enter into any private speculation, and to employ the channels of trade which he has opened. He has stated that the "Companion to the Newspaper" is sold by the Agents of the "Penny Magazine;" and in this the "Athenæum" discovers a mystery and a plot. It was precisely because he had established so extensive an agency for the sale of cheap works that he ventured upon the publication of the "Companion to the Newspaper." But he took care to prevent the possibility of mistake, by writing to all these Agents that the work in question was *not* under the superintendence of the Society;—and this he did, not to meet objections from any party that had a right to make them, but to be prepared for the cavils even of the meddling. The "Athenæum" may forgive the Society for not contradicting an error of the "Times" upon this point, when it recollects that its own attempts to connect itself, in the public eye, with the "Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," were left to perish in quiet.

[The Supplement, No. 3, published April 1, is wholly devoted to the subject of the East India Company's Charter.]

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EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.

CONTENTS.

PAGE	PAGE
I. Introductory Remarks, and History of the Company to the present time	33
II. Government of India	36
III. Question regarding the propriety of permitting Europeans to reside in India	37
IV. Effects of the recent partial opening of the Trade to India	39
V. The Question as to the propriety of opening the Trade with China	40
VI. Propriety of separating the Political from the Commercial Character of the Company	46
Papers respecting the East India Company's Charter, issued March 27, 1833	47

I.—Introductory Remarks, and History of the Company to the present time.

THE period for which the Charter of the East India Company was renewed by the Act 53 Geo. III. cap. 155 (21 July, 1813), is now close upon its termination. The parliamentary notice of three years, given under the provisions of that act, will expire on the 22nd of April, 1834; so that discussions as to the further renewal of the Company's privileges must necessarily occupy the attention of parliament at an early period. The question is one of the highest moment to the various commercial interests of this kingdom, and, indeed, to the nation at large; and it appears to us we cannot better occupy the columns of our first supplement, than by bringing together, as concisely as its nature will allow, some of the various facts and circumstances which bear upon the subject.

A great mass of information connected with the trade and government of British India has been collected within the last three years by committees of both Houses of Parliament, and has been printed for the use of their members. The reports made by these committees are not, however, accessible to all; and, even if they were so, are too voluminous to be consulted by any but persons who have their time much at their own disposal *. To those who are in possession of the necessary degree of leisure, these reports will be highly valuable, relating as they do to subjects which involve the prosperity and happiness of our Indian subjects, and, in no small degree, our own prosperity as affected by commercial intercourse. To others who are not so circumstanced, we shall endeavour, in the following pages, to render the subject intelligible, at least to a degree which will enable them to form a judgment upon the propriety of the measures which will shortly be brought forward in Parliament.

Many of our readers are probably familiar with the prominent facts connected with the formation, constitution, and administrative functions of the East India Company; but as, without this knowledge, it would be in vain to attempt to grapple with the question, we think it better to give a short exposition of those matters for the information of such as are not already acquainted with them.

The first association for prosecuting trade between England and India was formed in London in the year 1599. Its capital was divided into 101 shares, and amounted to 30,000*l*. On the 31st of December in the following year, this association procured a Charter of privileges, to last for fifteen years, constituting the adventurers a body politic and corporate, by the name of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The proprietors, thus incorporated, appointed a committee of twenty-four of their number, and a chairman, who were to be chosen annually for the management of their affairs. In the prosecution of their object, five ships were provided, which sailed from Torbay on the 2nd of May, 1601, with cargoes of bullion and merchandize. The total expense of their equip-

ment and lading amounted to 75,000*l*. The difference between this sum and the amount brought forward by the original subscribers, was furnished by persons who adventured their money upon the result of this one voyage; so that the trading of the Company was conducted on the terms of a regulated, rather than a joint-stock company.

The result of this expedition was encouraging; and eight other voyages were performed, on similar terms of contribution, between 1603 and 1613. These voyages were successful, with the exception of one undertaken in 1607, when the two ships in which it was prosecuted were lost. The clear profits of the trade varied in the other seasons from 100 to 200 per cent. upon the capital employed.

In 1609 the Company obtained a renewal of its Charter for an indefinite period, subject, however, to its being dissolved by government upon three years' notice being given. About two years after this time, permission was granted to the Company to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goga, upon its agreeing to pay a duty of 3½ per cent. upon all shipments of merchandize.

The system of subscriptions, in order to provide the funds needed for the prosecution of each voyage, was discontinued in 1612, when the association assumed the character of a joint-stock Company. Capital was now raised amounting to 429,000*l*., which was embarked in four separate adventures or voyages, prosecuted in as many successive years. Although the result of these adventures was not equally profitable with those previously prosecuted by individuals under the regulation of the directors, the advantages derived (87½ per cent.) were sufficiently encouraging to produce a second set of subscriptions; and, in the year 1617-18, a new fund was raised to the amount of 1,600,000*l*. This, although employed under the management of the same directors, appears to have been kept distinct from the former capital, and the profits resulting from it seem to have been separately accounted for to the subscribers.

It forms an important era in the history of the Company, that in 1624 it obtained from the king authority to punish its servants abroad by municipal as well as by martial law. It does not appear that the authority of parliament was deemed necessary for giving to a private corporation the unlimited power of life and death over British subjects, in a situation where the temptation to its abuse was strongest, owing to the distance by which the Company's officers were removed from any restraining authority.

A third joint-stock was created in 1632, the subscriptions to which amounted to 420,700*l*. The system of management already explained was adopted in regard to this amount of capital also.

In 1636 a license to trade with India was granted by the king to a body of adventurers wholly distinct from the existing corporation, of whose rights this was deemed to be an invasion. The utmost efforts of the directors were unavailing, however, to procure the recall of the license thus granted, until 1640, when, upon the promise of its annulment, the corporation was required to raise a new joint-stock, in order to carry on the trade upon a sufficiently extensive scale.

It appears probable, from this and other circumstances, that, in this early period of the Company's operations, not only were the profits upon the adventures paid to the subscribers, but that the capital sum embarked was also returned to them at the winding up of each adventure.

It was probably owing to the competition carried on between the Company and its licensed rivals, that the profits upon its transactions had fallen so low as to hold out poor inducements to any new adventurers; and, accordingly, we find that the whole sum subscribed to its fourth joint-stock fund amounted to no more than 22,500*l*.; and the efforts of the directors were consequently feeble and unproductive. There

* The reports and returns presented to parliament on Indian affairs, from the year 1829, inclusive, and which have been examined for the compilation of this abstract, are above fifty-in number, and occupy upwards of 7000 closely printed folio pages.

years after this the subscription was advanced to the still inadequate sum of 105,000*l*.

It may have been owing to the political troubles of that time, that the engagement to withdraw the license from the rival Company was not fulfilled. Both associations seem, however, to have become aware of the disadvantages resulting from competition, so that in 1650 their interests were joined, and new subscriptions obtained under the denomination of "the United Joint-Stock."

The first of those peculiar privileges to which must be ascribed the growth of the Company's political power in India, was obtained in 1652. Upon the payment of a very inconsiderable sum, it obtained from the government of Bengal an unlimited right of trading throughout the province, without being subjected to the payment of any duties.

The management of the Company's concerns by the directors appears to have been so unsatisfactory to a body of its proprietors, that they obtained from the Protector, in 1655, a commission to fit out ships for trading with India. This body assumed the name of the Merchant Adventurers, and its concerns were managed by a committee.

In little more than two years from the date of their commission, the Merchant Adventurers formed a coalition with the Company; and this occasion was embraced for bringing into one common stock all the various funds in the hands of the directors, to a proprietorship in which claims were made by subscribers to each of the joint-stock funds previously raised. The directors, who had now only one distinct interest to pursue, were thus relieved from much confusion and embarrassment in their proceedings.

A new Charter was obtained by the Company on the 3rd of April, 1661, confirming its former privileges, and giving authority to make peace and war with any prince or people, *not being Christians*, as well as to seize all unlicensed persons found within the limits to which its trade extended, and to send them to England.

In 1668, the island of Bombay, which had been ceded by Portugal to Charles II., as part of the marriage portion of the Princess Catherine, was granted by the king to the Company "in free and common socage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, at an annual rent of 10*l*. in gold, on the 30th of Sept. in each year."

For a quarter of a century following the date of its coalition with the Merchant Adventurers, the Company remained without any competition in its trade, except on the part of a few individuals who were easily crushed. An attempt was made, in 1682-3, to establish a rival Company, which failed, owing to a want of sanction on the part of government. The nation was about this time, however, in the enjoyment of a considerable share of prosperity, and commercial capital was in consequence much increased. The people, too, began better to understand their political rights; and, foreseeing great advantages to follow from a trade with India, discovered that the Company's monopoly, being unsanctioned by parliament, ought not to be maintained. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed early in 1690, to inquire into the subject. Although its decision was hostile to the existing corporation, it simply recommended that a new Company should be established by act of parliament. In the following year, the house addressed the king to dissolve the existing Company, and to incorporate a new one.

Various individuals had, in the meanwhile, taken the question into their own hands, so far as to despatch ships to trade with India. These *interlopers*, as they were called, met with all kinds of opposition and oppression on the part of the Company, whose officers seized them wherever they could be found, and bringing them before their own tribunals upon various pretexts, found them guilty of piracy or any other crime wherewith it suited the officers to charge them. Sentence of death was passed upon several; and the Company took great credit to themselves for clemency in staying the execution of these sentences until the king's pleasure should be known, retaining the prisoners meanwhile in close confinement.

In 1693, the king granted a new Charter to the Company, under which it was required to augment its capital stock, then 756,000*l*., to 1,500,000*l*., and to export in every year British produce to the value of 100,000*l*. This Charter was to have had effect for twenty-one years; but the power of the crown to grant such exclusive privileges was questioned by the commons, who passed a resolution declaring, "that it is the right of all Englishmen to trade to

the East Indies, or any part of the world unless prohibited by act of Parliament."

To obtain the Charter of 1693, the most corrupt methods were employed. The books of the Company, on being examined by order of the House of Commons, shewed, that it had been long its practice to bribe men in power; that since the revolution the practice had greatly increased; and that in the year when the Charter was obtained, nearly 90,000*l*. had been distributed in bribes. The Duke of Leeds, charged with receiving 5000*l*., was impeached by the Commons, and it was said that double that amount was traced to a much higher quarter. This may have been the reason why all further inquiry was smothered, by the prorogation of parliament.

Under the sanction of the declaration of the House of Commons, to which no reply was attempted on the part of the crown, many new adventurers began to trade with India, and a powerful opposition was raised up by an association of merchants, whose proceedings threatened the old Company with destruction. With the view of retrieving their affairs, the directors took advantage of the necessities of the government, and offered to lend the sum of 700,000*l*. at 4 per cent. interest, on condition that their Charter should be confirmed, and the exclusive right of trading with India secured to the original Company. In this negotiation, the directors would probably have succeeded, but that their rivals, improving upon the suggestion, offered to lend the larger sum of 2,000,000*l*. at 8 per cent. interest, on condition that they should be invested with the monopoly, and allowed to manage their capital, whether as a joint-stock, or on the terms of a regulated Company, as they should see fit.

This larger bribe prevailed. An act was passed authorising the association to raise the sum of 2,000,000*l*. by subscription, for the service of government, at the rate of interest above-named. The subscribers were incorporated by the name of "The General Society," and authorized severally to trade with India, each to the amount of his individual subscription, such as desired it being allowed to join their stock and trade together. The old Company was entitled to three years' notice before its trade could be stopped. It had also acted upon the clause in the new act, which allowed corporations to subscribe towards the stock of the General Society, to which it accordingly contributed the sum of 315,000*l*.

The Charter of Incorporation of the General Society was speedily followed by another, uniting the greater part of its subscribers, who desired to trade on a joint stock. This corporation was distinguished as "The English Company Trading to the East Indies." The means of the new adventurers were so far crippled by the loan of its subscribed capital to government, that its commercial exertions were but feeble, and not at all commensurate with those of the old company, the members of which had influence enough to procure an act of parliament continuing them a corporation, and entitling them to trade on their own account in respect of the stock which they held in the new Company.

The rivalry of these two Companies was productive of much inconvenience both commercial and political, so that in the beginning of 1701, when the three years' notice to the old Company was about expiring, an union was effected between the two corporations. On the 22d July, 1702, an indenture accordingly passed under the Great Seal—the queen being made a party to the instrument in order to give full legal effect to the arrangement—and the two corporations took the common name of "The United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies." Seven years were allowed, during which each association was to manage separately the stocks actually engaged and to wind up its affairs, after which the union was to be complete and final. When this period arrived an act (6 Anne, cap. 17) was passed, obliging the United Company to advance to government the sum of 1,200,000*l*. without interest, which, when added to the former loan of 2,000,000*l*. at 8 per cent., raised the amount to 3,200,000*l*., and reduced the rate of interest to 5 per cent. upon the whole advance. In return for this stipulation, the Company was empowered to raise 1,500,000*l*. either on its common seal or by contributions from its members, and to add the 1,200,000*l*. to its capital stock. The Charter under the previous act might have been terminated in 1711, but was continued by this arrangement until after a notice of three years, which could not be given earlier than March, 1726, and further until the money borrowed should be repaid to the Company.

This act of parliament is the foundation of the privileges now enjoyed by the United East India Company. The exclusive privilege of trading eastward of the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, then granted, was confirmed and continued by successive acts of parliament until 1794.

The old Company had obtained a grant in 1698 of the towns of Chuttanuttee, Govindpore, and Calcutta, with leave to exercise jurisdiction over the inhabitants of the district, and to erect fortifications. A fortification, which they speedily constructed, received the name of Fort William, in compliment to the reigning King of England.

From the period of their first acquisition of territory in India, the directors of the Company had shown much anxiety respecting the claim which the government might make to its sovereignty. In 1767, an agreement was made between the public and the Company to the effect that in consideration of an annual payment of 400,000*l.* the territory should remain in possession of the Company for the term of two years. This term was afterwards extended to five years more from the 1st February, 1769. The sums paid to the public by the company under these two acts amounted to 2,169,398*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*

The revenues of the Company in India proving inadequate to defray the expenses of its government, added to the large annual payment reserved to the public, a petition was presented to Parliament, in 1773, praying for relief. In consequence, the sum of 1,400,000*l.* was lent to the Company for four years.

Parliament seized upon this occasion to assume a general regulation of the Company's affairs, and to effect a complete change in its constitution. It appointed a governor-general to reside in Bengal, to which station the other Indian presidencies were made subordinate. A supreme court of judicature was likewise established in Calcutta, with judges appointed by the crown. It determined the mode of electing directors and the qualification of voters. It restricted the amount of annual dividend upon the stock to six per cent., foregoing the annual payment of 400,000*l.* until the debt incurred under the arrangement should be discharged. It insisted upon the exhibition to the government of all correspondence between the directors and their officers which related to territorial affairs; and required half yearly statements to be rendered to the Treasury of the profit and loss upon the Company's trade and revenues, and of its debts in England.

In return for these exactions, Parliament, besides advancing the sum above-mentioned and foregoing for a time the annual payment of 400,000*l.*, confirmed to the Company its territorial possessions until the expiration of its then existing Charter.

The act of parliament passed in 1781, for renewing the charter until March, 1794, continued the territorial acquisitions and revenues in the Company for a period terminating upon three years' notice, to be given after March, 1791. Under this act the Company paid to the public 400,000*l.* in satisfaction of all claims, the loan of 1,400,000*l.* having been previously discharged.

In August, 1784, Mr. Pitt's celebrated India Bill was passed. By this enactment a Board of Control was established, composed of six privy-councillors to be selected by the king, whose duty it was declared to be to superintend the territorial concerns of the Company, to inspect all letters passing to and from India between the directors and their agents (with the exception of such only as are purely commercial) to alter and amend in such manner as they should think proper the despatches sent to India, and even, where the case should appear urgent, to transmit orders to the functionaries in India without the concurrence of the directors. By the same act, the Court of Proprietors were deprived of the power of controlling the directors in any matter which had met the concurrence of the Board of Control; a special tribunal was established for the punishment of delinquencies committed in India; the governor-general, presidents and members of council were still to be named by the directors, but subject to the approval of government; while the commander-in-chief of the army employed in India was to be chosen by the king, without any interference on the part of the Company. By a subsequent act (26 Geo. III. cap. 25) the king obtained the power of recalling the governor-general; so that while the appointment of that high officer is nominally with the Court of Directors, it rests virtually and substantially with the government.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of the principal

Secretaries of State are, by virtue of office, members of the Board of Control. Of the other four members, the senior is president of the Board, and with him the whole business of the Board has ordinarily rested, the other commissioners assembling but seldom, and being called upon to deliberate still more rarely. Under this arrangement it has been truly said that the president "is essentially a new Secretary of State—a Secretary for the Indian Department"—that "the powers of the Board of Control convert the Company's courts into agents of its will. The real, the sole governing power of India is the Board of Control, and it only makes use of the Court of Directors as an instrument, a subordinate office, for the management of details, and the preparation of business for the cognizance of the superior power.*" By a subsequent act, the commissioners are no longer required to be taken exclusively from the Privy Council, and it is provided, that their salaries shall be paid by the East India Company.

In 1793, the Act 33 Geo. III. c. 52, was passed, by which the possession of the British territories in India, together with the right of exclusive trading thither, were, under certain limitations, continued to the Company for the further term of twenty years. In 1813 the Charter was again renewed for twenty years. By this last act (53 Geo. III. c. 155,) the trade to India was thrown open to the public under certain regulations; while that to China and the trade in tea generally was reserved exclusively to the Company.

The capital stock of the Company, which in 1708 amounted to the sum of £3,200,000 was increased under the authority of successive enactments, as follows:—

In 1786	800,000
In 1789	1,000,000
In 1794	1,000,000

Making its capital stock amount to 6,000,000

Some portions of the capital thus raised were subscribed at rates exceeding the nominal amount. The sum actually subscribed in 1794 was 2,027,295*l.*; and the whole amount paid into the Company's treasury for capital stock has been 7,780,000*l.*

Under the provisions of the act of 1793, the Company engaged to pay to the public the sum of 500,000*l.* annually, unless prevented by war expenditure; but it so happened, that owing to the state of its finances throughout the period over which the engagement extended, which was one of continued hostilities, it was not found convenient to make more than two payments of 250,000*l.* each, in the years 1793-4 and 1794-5, notwithstanding that liberal dividends were regularly made to the proprietors.

On two occasions subsequently to 1793, the Company obtained pecuniary assistance from the public, under the authority of the legislature; once, in 1810, when 1,500,000*l.* was advanced in exchequer bills, and repaid soon after by advances made for the public service in India, and again in 1812, when a loan of 2,500,000*l.* was raised by government for the service of the Company: this loan was liquidated by annual payments, and was finally discharged in 1822.

In all the enactments of parliament down to that of 1793 inclusive, the territorial and commercial affairs of the Company had been considered as forming together one undivided concern. The revenues of the Company in India, and its profits realized in England, had indeed been separately appropriated; but no direct provision had ever been made for distinguishing either in India or in England those receipts and disbursements which partook of a political character, from those which were strictly commercial. To remedy this difficulty, the act of 1813 provided for a separation of the accounts as between the two branches of the Company's affairs. This act directs that "the Accounts of the Company, abroad and at home, shall be so kept and arranged, as to contain and exhibit the receipts, disbursements, debts, and assets appertaining to or connected with the territorial, political, and commercial branches of their affairs respectively; and that they shall be made up so as to exhibit the accounts of the territorial and political departments, separately and distinctly from such as appertain to, or are connected with, the commercial branch of their affairs." It also directs that the several accounts required to be annually laid before parliament shall be prepared in conformity with this plan of separation, and arranged according to forms to be submitted to, and approved by government.

* Mill's History of British India, vol. ii. p. 707, 4to. edition.

The directors are required in the month of May, in every year, "to lay before both Houses of Parliament, accounts territorial and commercial, made up according to the latest advices which shall have been received, and with as much accuracy as the nature of the case will admit." It has been stated, that accounts made up within the time which parliament has thus prescribed, cannot exhibit such balanced statements of results as preclude the risk of errors or omissions; and although it has been the practice to accompany the accounts thus given in with abstracts of the cash receipt and disbursement made up in India, yet that it is not possible, without further information, to deduce from them complete statements of the financial results.

II.—*Government of India.*

It has been found necessary by the directors of the East India Company, and by the Board of Control, to classify their business under six distinct branches or departments. The committee of the House of Commons, whose report was presented at the close of the last session, has adopted a similar arrangement in the prosecution of its inquiries.

These branches are,—

1. Public.
2. Finance and Accounts,—Trade.
3. Revenue.
4. Judicial.
5. Military.
6. Political or Foreign.

The branch denominated "Public" is made in the report of the committee to embrace many miscellaneous subjects of inquiry. Among these are,—

The constitution, powers, efficiency, and other characteristics of the different branches of the Indian government both at home and abroad.

The character and qualifications of Europeans appointed for the administration of the civil government in India.

The condition of the natives of India in reference to education:—their feelings in regard to our government, and the policy of employing them in Indian administration.

The propriety of introducing the use of the English language in the Company's courts of justice.

The laws under which our Indian empire is governed, their administration, and the degree in which they are applicable to European residents.

The condition and character of European settlers in India, and the policy of encouraging them.

The state of the press in India.

The church establishment, with reference to the actual state of Christianity in India, and—

The powers and practical effects of the king's courts at the different presidencies.

It is impossible to enter at length upon these numerous heads of inquiry. We must select for our examination such as appear of the greatest present importance, with reference to the public interest as connected with the question of the Company's Charter.

The home government of India is composed of,—1. The Court of Proprietors; 2. The Court of Directors; and 3. The Board of Control.

The proprietors vote according to the amount of stock which they possess. The lowest sum which entitles to a single vote is 1000*l.* stock. The number of proprietors recently entitled to vote were 1956, of whom 54 had four votes, 50 had three votes, 370 had two votes, and 1502 one vote each. The proprietors elect the directors and declare the dividend. They make bye-laws, which are binding when no act of parliament exists to the contrary. All proceedings in parliament affecting the Company's interest, and all grants of money beyond 600*l.* must have their approval; but they have no general control over the Court of Directors, nor can they interfere with any of its orders when sanctioned by the Board of Control.

The Court of Directors consists of twenty-four proprietors, who conduct the whole affairs of the Company, subject to the superintendence of the Board of Control. They are elected for four years, six going out annually by rotation. These are re-eligible at the expiration of a year, and are mostly re-elected: thirteen form a court. The election of its chairman and deputy-chairman is made annually, and rests with the directors.

The power of nominating the governors of the presidencies is vested in the directors, subject to the approval of the crown. They can recall the governors or any other of their servants

independently of the Board of Control. Subject to the supervision of the same Board, the despatches connected with the government of India, and, without that supervision, all commercial letters, are prepared by the directors. In case of any collision between them an appeal lies to the king in council, as an ultimate resort—an option of which it is not probable that the directors will ever avail themselves, since no good appears likely to result from an appeal from the king's council to the king in council.

For the despatch of business, the Court of Directors divides itself into three committees: the committee of correspondence—of buying and warehouses—and of shipping. Their functions are sufficiently indicated by their titles.

By the act of 1794 the directors were charged to appoint a secret committee, in order to forward to India such despatches as the Board of Control consider should be secret. This committee usually consists of the chairman, deputy-chairman, and the senior member of the Court of Directors. These all take the oath of secrecy, and form the organ for transmitting the orders and instructions of the Board of Control on all matters relating to war or peace.

The functions of the Board of Control have already been principally detailed, or may be gathered from what has been said with regard to the powers of the directors. It has the right of directing that permission be given to any individual to proceed to India, from whom the directors have withheld their license to that effect.

The correspondence of the directors is, as might be expected, voluminous and complicated. That part of it which originates in India comes in the form of despatches, and the explanatory matter in books or volumes. The total number of these folio volumes received in twenty-one years from 1793 to 1813, was 9094; and from 1814 to 1829, a period of sixteen years, the number was 12,414.

Collision between the co-ordinate authorities has sometimes occurred, and has been productive of much inconvenience. It is provided by act of parliament that despatches shall be returned by the Board to the directors within two months from the time of their being submitted. But it has sometimes happened that questions of importance submitted by the government of India to the home authorities have not been answered for a period of two and even three years, circumstances having so changed in the meantime that further reference has become necessary; and thus many years have elapsed before the adjustment of such questions. It is also affirmed that the desire of avoiding such collision has in many instances led to the indefinite postponement of instructions upon important subjects.

The executive government of the Company abroad is administered at three presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. In Bengal the government consists of a governor-general and three councillors, and at Madras and Bombay of a governor and the same number of councillors. The directors may appoint the commander-in-chief in each presidency to a seat in the council; the other two councillors are civilians, who must have resided ten years in India in the Company's service.

The governor-general has a controlling power over the governors of Madras and Bombay; and if he thinks fit to proceed to either of these presidencies he there assumes the chief authority.

The power of making and enforcing laws for the government of the respective presidencies rests in the governor-general, or governor, and the three councillors; subject, in some instances, to the consent of the supreme court of judicature to register their decrees, and likewise to the approval of the Board of Control and Court of Directors.

There exist in India two concurrent, and in some instances, conflicting systems of judicature;—the Company's courts, and the King's, or supreme courts.

In the Company's courts there are three grades of European judges; the district, the provincial, and the judges of the Sudder court. There are also two classes of native judges; moonsifs, of whom several are stationed in every district, and Sudder ameenes, established at the same stations with the European district judges. There are also magistrates, who exercise civil jurisdiction; and registrars, who decide such causes as may be referred to them by the judge.

Trial by jury is confined entirely within the limits of the supreme courts, the jurisdiction of which extends to Europeans generally, and to natives also, within a certain distance around the several presidencies.

No regulation made by the local government, affecting

individuals within the jurisdiction of the supreme court, becomes a valid law unless registered by the court. The exercise of this discretionary power of the court has often caused embarrassment to the local government, and has naturally enough been made the subject of complaints. It may be questioned, however, whether some such check is not necessary, to guard against assumptions of power on the part of a very small body of men, whose will would otherwise be law; the only power entitled to control their actions being separated from them by a distance of 13,000 miles.

One very important power committed to the authorities in India is that of arbitrary deportation, without trial. The exercise of this power is most generally attended with absolute ruin to the individual. It is difficult to believe it to be incompatible with the safety of the government; and upon no other plea can the exercise of so arbitrary a power be justified—to allow parties a regular trial upon the spot before so severe a sentence is put in execution. It is proper to state, that the cases in which this power has been exercised are extremely rare, not more than half-a-dozen instances having occurred during thirty years. This fact, if it shows the mildness of the government on the one hand, proves also, on the other, how little ground exists for the continuance of a power so foreign to all our ideas of equitable government.

None but subordinate situations in the revenue, judicial, and military departments, are at present open to the natives of India. There is ample evidence to prove that such a system of exclusion is not warranted either on the score of incapacity, want of application, or dishonesty; and it is contended by competent judges that the admission of the natives into higher offices, under European control, would have a beneficial effect upon their general moral character, would strengthen their attachment to British dominion, would conduce to the better administration of justice, and would occasion a great saving in the charges of administering the Indian government.

Education has recently been encouraged and extended among the natives; and a strong desire has been awakened for acquiring a knowledge of the sciences and literature of Europe. The progress of Protestant Missionaries in India appears to be daily becoming more successful. They have judiciously established schools both in the north and south of India. The number of their scholars in Bengal alone, amounts to about 50,000. This general diffusion of instruction is productive of the best effects, not only on the children educated, but also on the minds of their connexions.

By the act of parliament of 1813, the Company is obliged, out of surplus territorial revenue, to expend a lac of rupees (equivalent, when the rupee is at half-a-crown, to 10,000*l.* sterling) annually in promoting the education of the natives of India; and, in many years, the sums expended have gone greatly beyond the stipulated amount.

Many witnesses concur in the opinion that the general cultivation of the English language is highly desirable, both with the view of fitting the natives for admission to offices of trust, and as a powerful means of operating favourably on their habits and character. The partiality which many among them show for the English language and literature does not appear to have met with corresponding encouragement on the part of the government. It has not provided a sufficient number of teachers qualified for the purpose; so that, in most of the government schools, the English language is not taught at all. In other schools at Calcutta, many Hindoo boys are to be found who can read the most difficult English authors with fluency, and give proof of understanding them by explaining any passage that may be selected for the purpose. Many natives of rank are in the habit of sending their children to these schools. It must tend to spread the desire for acquiring our language, that the Bengal government has promulgated its intention eventually to render it the medium for transacting public business throughout the country.

It cannot be expected that a foreign language should make its way very rapidly among a numerous people who are dispersed over so vast a country; particularly as the number of English inhabitants is so small as to afford but few occasions where the knowledge of our tongue can prove advantageous. It is evident, however, that the Company does take active measures for otherwise informing the minds of the natives. Moslem and Hindoo colleges have been established in Calcutta, Delhi, Agra, and

Benares. Schools have been established in other parts of the country, and aid has been afforded to seminaries originating with individuals. These efforts cannot fail to exercise a beneficial influence upon the character of the native population; and, apart from all higher considerations, must be productive in the end of great advantages to our commerce with India, by promoting the arts of civilization among its inhabitants.

It has been asserted, that the removal of the censorship at Calcutta and Bombay, by Lord Hastings, and the same measure more recently adopted at Madras, have rendered the press in India as free as the press of this country. It is hard to believe this assertion, in connexion with the facts that no person is allowed to use a printing press without a license, which may be withdrawn without the assignment of any reasons on the part of the authorities; and that the power of deportation without trial or appeal may be used against any individual who proves obnoxious to the government,—a power which has indeed been employed within these few years against the editors of two journals in Calcutta. It has been attempted to justify this order of things upon the ground that the civil government of India, which contains a population of near 100,000,000, being conducted by about 1100 strangers, it becomes a matter of necessity for their self-preservation that those who hold the reins of government should be able to prevent any discussions which may weaken the influence which they possess over the minds of the natives. It has, besides, been broadly asserted, and with great apparent truth, that “a free press, and what may be called an arbitrary or despotic government, seem to be wholly unsuited to each other.” Journals are published by natives in Calcutta and Bombay, and are under the same regulations as those conducted by Europeans, with the exception that the government cannot in their case exercise the practice of deportation. The servants of the Company are forbidden to engage in writing or publishing any political papers.

III.—*Question regarding the Propriety of permitting Europeans to Reside in India.*

§ The directors of the East India Company have, for a long time, evinced great jealousy in regard to the admission of Europeans into their territories. Serious apprehensions were expressed lest the great influx of Europeans, consequent upon the opening of the trade in 1813, would have a dangerous effect. It appears, however, that, in the space of thirteen years, from 1815 to 1828, the increase of British-born subjects in India, not in the service of the East India Company, did not exceed 515; and that these reside principally at the three presidencies, or are employed in ships belonging to the respective ports. The evil of the oppression to which it was foretold the natives in the internal districts would be exposed from the presence of Europeans not under the immediate control of the Company's government, has not hitherto, therefore, been experienced. Nor does it appear that good grounds for alarm on this score can ever exist: The expense of transporting themselves to so great a distance would deter needy adventurers from resorting thither; labourers have no motive for emigrating to India, where they could not compete with the native ryots (cultivators) either in the cheapness of their living, or in the power of supporting labour in so hot a climate; and mechanics would encounter the rivalry of remarkably good workmen among the natives, whom they would little resemble in the fewness of their artificial wants.

That men of a superior class to those just mentioned, and who would introduce skill and capital into the country, should by their conduct oppress the people among whom they settled, or cause any well-founded alarm to the government, is an idea but little honourable to the character of the educated classes of our countrymen. Fortunately, this question is not left to conjecture. The settlement, in the interior of the provinces, of Europeans who employ their capital in the manufacture of indigo, has shown that the residence among them of the better class of Europeans is anything but a misfortune to the native cultivators.

As early as 1766, the Court of Directors prohibited British-born subjects from renting lands. The prohibition was then directed against their own servants who were in the practice of holding public lands, it being feared that they might convert their power and influence to purposes of oppression against the natives. The evidence given before the com-

mittee of the House of Commons shows that the prohibition was liable, at all times, to be rendered little more than nominal, since Europeans could and did hold lands in farm in the names of natives, and in their names, also, sued and were sued in the courts. The necessity for having recourse to this indirect mode of proceeding did not deter Europeans from embarking their capitals in the establishment of indigo factories, which have had a beneficial influence through the employment which they provide for the native population.

The chief difficulty opposed to the free admission of Europeans appears to arise out of the defective state of the judicial establishments, civil and criminal. This consideration does, indeed, show a necessity for improving the system of those establishments; but it should never be urged against a permission to which no other objection can be brought, that it is rendered inexpedient by reason of bad or defective government. Facilities of intercourse have, of late years, been greatly increased. License to proceed to India is said to be now never withheld, if the applicant can show any reasonable motive for wishing to proceed to India other than mere speculation. Many instances have formerly occurred in which a refusal on the part of the directors has been superseded by the Board of Control. The total number of licenses authorizing Europeans to reside in India, granted by the Court of Directors from 1814 to 1831, was 1,253. The total number of licenses refused by the Court during that time was 294; and that of those granted by the Board of Control was 71.

The subject of restrictions against the free emigration of British subjects to India, and their right to a continued residence in that country subject only to the sentence of a legal tribunal, together with the permission to hold leases of lands in their own names, will probably occupy an important place in the impending discussion of the terms of renewal of the Company's Charter. It appears, therefore, necessary to state such arguments bearing upon the continuance of those restrictions, as have been brought forward by parties who may be thought best qualified to assist the judgment of the public on the subject.

In a memorial presented by the principal merchants and agency houses at Calcutta to the governor-general, dated 28th of January, 1829, we find it stated that "the various inconveniences experienced by indigo planters, from their inability to hold lands in their own names, have opposed such obstacles to the successful prosecution of their industry as could never have been compensated but by extraordinary fertility of soil and cheapness of labour. The losses resulting from the insecurity of lands held in the names of natives, from the failure of ryots, who have received advances to perform their contracts, and from the litigation and affrays they are liable to be involved in by the relations in which existing regulations compel them to stand to such persons, are an unnecessary expense which cannot be estimated at less than 25 per cent. on the total outlay, and a serious bar to all experimental improvements in agriculture. Notwithstanding the disadvantageous nature of the tenure, about one-third of the entire quantity of indigo plant is grown by the planters themselves, and two-thirds purchased on contract from ryots.

"The value of the indigo annually produced is from two and a half to three crore of rupees (2,500,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l.*) whereof, perhaps, two crore are expended in India for rent, stock, wages, interest of capital, &c., and a large portion, probably three-fourths, of the balance is remitted to England. Competition among planters has increased the cost of production from 80 to 100 per cent., so as greatly to reduce the superiority which this country has long possessed over the other countries from which Europe is supplied with indigo. The necessity of removing artificial obstructions, in order to secure the success of this most important branch of trade, and to promote the manifest interests of this country and of England, is thus continually rendered more urgent."

Permission had been given in 1824 to some Europeans, to hold a limited quantity of land upon lease for the purpose of making the experiment whether coffee could be advantageously cultivated in Bengal, which concession had been afterwards sanctioned by the directors; and the request preferred in the letter above quoted was to the effect that a regulation might be passed by the governor-general in council, rendering the same provisions applicable to the cultivation of indigo and other agricultural produce.

The concession thus sought was granted by a resolution of the government of Bengal, dated 17th of February, 1829, in

which the propriety of the measure is fully recognised; and this resolution was followed by minutes drawn up by Sir Charles Metcalfe and by Lord William Bentinck, whose reasoning upon the subject is just and conclusive. The following paragraph exhibits the course of reasoning by which the government of Bengal supported this concession:

"On whatever side the subject is considered, the more does it present the prospect of advantage from the free resort of Englishmen to India. On one supposition only can I entertain the apprehension of danger. Undoubtedly, the presence of our countrymen, and the knowledge which they are likely to diffuse, will render the people more conscious of their rights, and better able to understand the duties of their governors. Were it our purpose to pursue a course of injustice; to withhold from the people the privileges they may fairly claim, and could advantageously exercise; to sport with their lives, their properties, or their feelings, by arbitrary acts, by grinding extortions, or by capricious innovation; we should act most unwisely in permitting one British subject to enter the country, excepting as an accomplice in the scheme; we should be acting madly in spreading abroad the lights of knowledge. But our designs being benevolent towards India, let us not withhold what best would serve her. Our duty being to maintain the dominion of England, let us not reject the best means of confirming it: our care being equally the interests of both countries, let us not exclude those who would best promote and combine them."

The Court of Directors, however, were not influenced by this course of reasoning; they disapproved of the concession, and directed the Indian government "to retrace their steps in regard to it as far as is practicable." When this fiat reached Bengal, only five applications for leases of land had been complied with in favour of Europeans, and to the extent of about five thousand acres. Very scanty means will therefore be afforded for judging of the amount of benefit, or otherwise, which might have attended the measure, if acted upon extensively.

The field which India presents for the successful employment of British enterprise, has been made sufficiently apparent by the result of the indigo cultivation. In the hands of native manufacturers, the indigo of India was not qualified to compete with the produce of the west; but no sooner had Europeans embarked in the pursuit, with their superior science and more extensive means, than Indian indigo was rendered so superior, that it drove the cultivators of Spanish America, in a great degree, to forego the production of the plant; and the factories of Bengal now supply not only almost the entire consumption of England, but also four fifths of that of the whole world.

The improved methods of manufacture introduced by British settlers have been extensively adopted by the natives. Hitherto, however, the indigo manufactured by the latter has been decidedly inferior to that produced in the factories of Europeans. This inferiority is said to be equal to fifteen per cent. of its value; while the dye produced by the old native process, still in some cases adhered to, is said to be wholly unfit for exportation.

It is worthy of remark, that while the improvement just mentioned has been taking place in the manufacture of indigo, through the employment of European capital and direction, all other articles from which that advantage has been withheld have continued in a state of inferiority. It is impossible to account for this on any other ground than that of incompetent skill on the part of the producers. The soil and climate cannot justly be charged with the rudeness and imperfections exhibited by Indian products. In the immense range of territory under the dominion of Great Britain are included a prodigious diversity of soils and climate, from which a countless variety of productions may be raised, wanting only the productive power of British skill, capital, and enterprise, to render them of qualities that must make them desirable objects of commerce. It is proved that without this aid the native Indians are incapable of giving such a character to their productions as will fit them to enter into successful competition with similar articles produced under more effective management in other quarters. Why should the sugar of India not equal in its quality that of our western colonies? Why should it be so inferior to the sugar of China, that the latter is suffered to find its way into consumption in the presidencies to the exclusion of the native produce? Simply, because capital is required which the Indian cultivator has not; joined to skill which he cannot or will not acquire.

The same remarks may be applied to the growth of cotton, which, in India, is entirely left to the rude and slovenly industry of the natives. Few attempts have been made to improve the cotton of India, notwithstanding the strong recommendations of the government to that effect, which we find have been made to the East India Directors. Such as it was two hundred, or perhaps two thousand, years ago, such is now the cotton of India; and such it may remain unless Europeans are permitted to take an interest in its cultivation, or until the native growers are roused to the necessity of seeking after improvements. Without the inciting example or the powerful aid of Europeans, such an effect may not be produced until another equally lengthened period shall have elapsed. There is scarcely a part of the Company's territories in which the plant might not be cultivated; and yet the whole quantity of cotton wool brought to the market of Calcutta in the year 1827, amounted to just as much as would furnish an average supply for three weeks to the spinning mills of this kingdom. It may be safely predicted, that in a few years after the restrictions upon the settlement of Europeans in India shall have been removed, a better kind of cotton will be cultivated, in such abundance, that it will, in a great degree, supersede the produce of the slave states of America, where labour is, out of all proportion, dearer than in India. We have before us the statement of an attempt, on the part of an European gentleman resident at Benares, to produce cotton of superior quality to that usually grown in India. This gentleman procured a few seeds of Brazil cotton, and planted them in his garden, where the plants were carefully tended for two or three successive years. The produce then amounted to three bales, which were sold in London for one shilling a pound, at the time that ordinary Bengal and Surat cotton were selling at from fourpence to five-pence per pound.

A small Indian farmer at Labercoire, near Bombay, has, for several years, produced a superior kind of cotton, which has been sold in this country at prices 50 per cent. higher than the prices of ordinary cotton shipped from the same place. The manuscripts of Dr. Roxburgh contain an account of the Dacca cotton, the staple of which is longer than the common cotton of India. Dacca has always been celebrated for the superior quality of its muslins. Many other instances are given, in the evidence reported by the Committee, of cotton having been produced in India, superior to the quality of the general shipments from that quarter. If such an effect has been produced in partial instances, through the application of skill, is it unreasonable to suppose that a more extensive application of that skill is the only thing needed to place the produce of India generally upon an equal footing with that of America,—whence we now receive consignments of cotton of the annual value of more than five millions sterling?

A statement furnished by the East India Directors, estimates the number of Europeans resident at the several presidencies in India, in 1828, as follows:—

Bengal	1595
Fort St. George	116
Bombay	236
Other parts	19
	2016

These persons are in addition to, and wholly unconnected with, the servants of the East India Company, or with individuals in his Majesty's service. About two-thirds of their number are resident in towns, in the capacity of merchants, tradesmen, or artisans. All parties, natives and Europeans, concur in the opinion, that the presence of these settlers has been productive of unmixed benefit to India. New trades and manufactures, and knowledge of various sorts, have been communicated by their means to the natives; while their capital has furnished employment for the working classes, and enriched the country. The progress made by the natives in social, moral, and political knowledge, in places where Europeans chiefly reside, is universally acknowledged to be great. A celebrated native of Bengal, now in England, Rammohun Roy, whose authority is unquestionable upon such a subject, expressed this opinion in the following words, at a public meeting of his countrymen in Calcutta: "From personal experience I am impressed with the conviction, that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social, and political affairs; a fact which can easily be proved by comparing the condition of those of my

countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage, with that of those who have unfortunately not had that opportunity." Additional evidence to the same effect is abundantly supplied throughout the reports of the committees.

IV.—*Effects of the recent partial Opening of the Trade to India.*

Although the pursuits of European settlers in India connected with agriculture, have hitherto been almost exclusively directed to the manufacture of indigo, it must not be imagined that there are no other branches of production which might be opened to them. On this point we may quote the evidence of Dr. N. Wallich, the superintendent of the East India Company's Botanic Garden at Calcutta, who, after going through a long list of productions to which the soil and climate are adapted, winds up with the following striking assertion:—"I will only state, that the Company's territories in India are productive of every article which can conduce to the happiness of man; and it only requires skill and ingenuity, and encouragement, both to the natives and to Europeans in India, to select every thing that can possibly be desired."

It must not be disguised, that so long as the East India Company continues to join commercial pursuits to its political character, its power in the latter capacity may always be employed in a manner detrimental, and even ruinous to individual traders and cultivators. By purchasing an article extensively at one time, and neglecting it at another, its price may be raised unnaturally, and its production forced; or it may be as violently depressed, and the producers ruined. The dread of this interference must always have a tendency to deter capitalists from embarking in a rivalry with so powerful an opponent; so that the business of cultivation would remain as at present, either under the control of the Company's agents, or in the hands of small independent native agriculturists, from whom no improvements can be expected. The necessary consequence of this state of things must be to enhance the cost of production, which as necessarily limits consumption, and thus checks the extension of commerce. The mercantile operations of so great a body as the Company must always be conducted upon a large scale, so that it is found impossible to conceal its dealings, and to prevent advantage being taken of the fact on the part of the producers, who immediately advance the price of every article in demand by the Company. Merchants are in this manner interfered with in their dealings: or if they consent to pay the enhanced price for Indian produce, wherewith to remit funds to Europe, they must do so at a great risk of loss; since a corresponding rise of prices in the markets of Europe is so far from being induced by the investments of the Company in Indian produce, that the contrary effect is usually experienced. Still it naturally follows from the unsettled state in which the markets for most descriptions of the productions of India are thus kept, that their average prices in Europe are greatly enhanced; consumption, as a necessary consequence, is limited; and the manufacturing industry of this kingdom is to a certain extent without that employment which it would otherwise find in the preparation of goods to be sent in payment for Indian produce.

If the markets of India were not liable to be thus injuriously acted upon, and if European skill and capital were allowed free scope in the Company's territory, there is every reason to expect, not only that the prices of Indian produce would be permanently brought more within the compass of European purchasers, but that a substantial improvement would take place in the condition of the native population. In that case, they would either be employed by European settlers, or incited by them, as in the instance of indigo, to an honourable rivalry. The taste which the natives already show for luxuries and conveniences of European production, could then be more frequently and more extensively gratified; and we should gradually enlarge the number of those with whom we could exchange our own products, to an extent that would act most beneficially upon the commercial prosperity of these kingdoms.

It is alleged that the Company, being under the necessity of transmitting funds from India to Europe, in payment for military and other stores, as well as to provide for the payment of the half-yearly dividends to the proprietors of its stock, is in a manner compelled to purchase goods for that purpose. It is not pretended, however, that the desire of consuming these goods is created, or the power of paying for them increased, by the fact of their purchase and

transmission to Europe by the Company; or that the productions of India would be kept out of our markets, although its trading should be altogether abandoned. In 1822, it discontinued the importation of nankeens, and in 1824, that of raw silk from China; its investments in both articles having been for some years previously attended with loss. Have the markets of Europe been less adequately supplied with those articles since the Company ceased to deal in them? Decidedly not; for it is notorious that the supplies have increased in a very important degree, and that a trade which involved the Company in loss while carried on directly with the country of production, has since become a source of profit to private traders; although they are obliged to resort to an intermediate market to make their purchases, and are consequently burthened with additional charges.

Had the advocates of the Company been listened to in 1813, when the trade to India was thrown open, our manufacturers would have been in a great measure deprived of what has proved a most important market for their productions. On that occasion, it was confidently stated in a report which the directors forwarded to the Board of Control, "that all the expectations then entertained by British merchants, as to the wished-for opening of the Indian trade, were groundless and delusive; that those who should act upon them, if the trade were opened, would be sure to experience ruin, loss, and disappointment; and that the abolition of the Company's commercial privileges would be, in effect, the extinction of the whole of the present Indian system."

It may be worth while to inquire how far these assertions have been borne out by the result. In 1814, the first year after the throwing open of the trade, the declared value of the goods shipped by private adventurers was 1,048,132*l*. Since that time, notwithstanding the great reduction in the prices of most of the commodities which make up our export trade with India, the value of the shipments has increased by a steady rate of progression to four times that amount. It would occupy too much space to particularize the articles of merchandise in which this increase has been experienced; the following statement of the quantities and value of British cottons exported will suffice to show how important this trade has become to one principal branch of our manufacturing industry:—

Years.	Number of Yards Exported.	Val. of Exports by the Comp'y.	Val. of Exports by Private Trade.	Total Value.
1814	818,202	£ 17,778	£ 91,702	£ 109,480
1815	1,355,476	4,948	137,462	142,410
1816	1,705,758	372	160,162	160,534
1817	5,316,729	35	422,779	422,814
1818	8,842,046	349	700,543	700,892
1819	7,127,661	181	461,087	461,268
1820	14,326,276	1,605	832,513	834,118
1821	19,920,602	6,108	1,078,332	1,084,440
1822	23,500,667	5,281	1,139,776	1,145,057
1823	25,001,385	.	1,128,468	1,128,468
1824	22,705,426	13,092	1,100,385	1,113,477
1825	27,169,729	2,798	1,034,073	1,036,871
1826	43,826,138	2,960	991,059	994,019
1827	45,016,850	786	1,613,731	1,624,517
1828	42,247,207	.	.	1,985,535*
1829	43,755,634	.	.	1,631,724*
1830	56,914,709	.	.	2,077,239*
1831	50,403,496	.	.	1,919,126*

The prodigious increase here shown is the more worthy of notice, as occurring with regard to a species of manufactures, for our supply of which, within the memory of some among us, we were dependent upon the looms of India.

V.—*The Question as to the Propriety of Opening the Trade with China.*

The unfitness of a large corporation, like that of the East India Company, to carry on a successful competition with private traders is rendered fully apparent by the fact, that while the vouchers presented to parliament show an absolute loss upon its commercial dealings for some years past with India, the transactions of private merchants have gone on in a continued rate of progression, which it is impossible they should have done upon any other supposition than that of their terminating profitably. If the trading interests of the Company were limited to its own territorial possessions, it might not perhaps be so necessary to make these statements, since the commerce with those possessions is now almost

* The accounts of these four years do not distinguish the Company's from the private trade.

entirely engrossed by private traders. For some few years past, the goods imported into the three presidencies by the Company have amounted to very little more than one tenth part of the aggregate shipments from this country; while a very large proportion of even these diminished shipments have consisted of military stores, and consequently do not partake of a commercial character. Its trade with Hindostan is now, in fact, almost exclusively confined to the object of providing remittances to England. This inquiry is, however, necessary, in order to lead us to form a correct estimate upon another very important branch of eastern trade—that with China,—the monopoly of which was continued to the Company by the act of 1813. This trade, according to the statements of the directors, has been uniformly profitable, to a degree which has enabled them to bear the losses upon their India trade, to pay the dividends to their proprietors, and to make good, in a great degree, deficiencies in the Company's territorial revenue.

The evidence which has been collected by Parliament upon this very important branch of the subject is complete. In the elaborate report which was made in July, 1830, by a committee of the House of Commons appointed to consider the affairs of the East India Company, the evidence which it reported was classed and considered under five heads. It may serve to simplify our task, if in the short summary we are able to give, the same points of inquiry are adopted; they are as follows:—

1. The disposition of the Chinese in respect to foreign trade, and the mode in which their transactions with foreigners are conducted at Canton.

2. The state of the British trade with China, particularly of that in tea.

3. The mode in which the Company's sales of tea in England are conducted, and the effects of the laws which regulate the trade in that article upon the Company and upon the public respectively.

4. The trade of the Americans and other foreigners with China.

5. The effects expected from the abolition of the Company's exclusive privilege.

§ 1. The first of these heads is, without doubt, the most important,—for if it can be established, as the advocates for the Company's continued monopoly assert, that the Chinese government and people are "decidedly anti-commercial in their disposition; that they have a particular objection to increasing their intercourse in any way with Europeans, and more particularly with the English, on account of our close approximation to their frontiers through Tartary and in Ava,"—then it can be of little interest to the people at large whether the monopoly is continued or abolished.

The evidence given before the Committee may still leave this question in some degree of uncertainty as regards the Chinese government; but the proofs which are furnished of the prevalence of a contrary disposition on the part of the people of that country are so strong, that, as regards them, we do not see how it is possible any longer to entertain a doubt upon the subject. Because it was a leading precept of their great philosopher Kan-foo, or, as Europeans have determined to call him, Confucius, upon whose maxims the institutions of the country are built, "to despise foreign commodities," the government is said to be decidedly hostile to all foreign intercourse. It affords, perhaps, a more probable solution of the question why obstacles are thrown in the way of foreign commerce, that the government, knowing how our Indian empire has been acquired, is jealous of us and apprehensive of our intrusion; that it is with this feeling it restricts our trading to a single port of the empire, and limits the nature of our intercourse with its subjects. The foreign trade of China produces an immediate revenue to its government of 650,000*l*.; and as all beneficial appointments in the empire—of which those connected with Canton, the port where the trade with Europeans is conducted, are the most valuable—are always sold to the highest bidder, the emperor has a strong motive for desiring the continuance of our intercourse. But this is really a matter of secondary importance; for if it can be shown that the people are imbued with a spirit of commercial enterprise, and have acquired a taste for foreign productions, we need not go across the seas for arguments to prove that not all the power of the government nor the vigilance of its officers would be able to shut out those productions. It so happens, however, that the Chinese have themselves afforded us the strongest proof of the futility of all govern-

ment restrictions to prevent the introduction of an article of commerce, to the use of which the people are addicted. Edict after edict has been issued by the Emperor of China forbidding the introduction and the use of opium within his dominions, but in vain. It is known that upwards of 12,000 chests of this drug, valued at ten millions of dollars, are annually smuggled into and distributed throughout the country with perfect security; the only effect of the prohibition being to convey the money which the government might obtain in the shape of duties into the pockets of the officers who connive at the traffic and the smugglers who carry it on. The whole of this trade is prosecuted by private individuals. The Company is of course aware of the whole proceeding, and in fact governs, in some measure, its production of the drug, which it strives to make a perfect monopoly in India, by the indications of the Chinese market; but it abstains from taking any part in its actual introduction, from a desire of avoiding collision with the government of China.

As regards this important article of commerce, it is clear that no evil results from the trade with China being open to private adventurers. This being the case, may we not ask, why greater risk of encountering the alleged exclusive spirit of the Chinese government should accompany the prosecution of an allowed and legalized trade, than is seen to attend upon the pursuit of one which is prohibited? The disposition of the Chinese people to engage in commercial pursuits is rendered sufficiently manifest by the extent of the trade which they actually carry on. The number of these people who are settled in different parts of the Indian Archipelago, and whose object is trade, is exceedingly numerous. It is computed that about 20,000 are settled at and near Batavia; that 40,000 more are located in other parts of Java; and that throughout the Archipelago, in the Malayan peninsula, Siam, and Cochin-China, more than half a million of Chinese settlers are to be found. Some of these are traders; some are mechanics; and others, especially those settled in Java, are occupiers of land, superintending its cultivation. They conduct, almost exclusively, the culture of the cane and the manufacture of sugar in Java, Siam, and the Philippine islands; as well as the cultivation and manufacture of catechu, or terra japonica, in the straits of Malacca. They are engaged, also, in the pepper cultivation of Siam. They are, further, much disposed, by their enterprising disposition, to enter into mining speculations; and it is they who are chiefly engaged in working the silver mines of Tonquin, the gold mines of Borneo and the Malay peninsula, as well as the tin mines of the latter country and of Banca. In their character as traders, they are represented as being keen and enterprising, extremely expert in their dealings, and understanding the nature of the trade of those countries in which they are settled, better, perhaps, than any other people. They employ means for obtaining early and accurate information upon points connected with their interest as merchants; so that it is an acknowledged fact in Java that they receive commercial information at much earlier periods than Europeans who avail themselves of the regular government post. Many among them are persons of considerable wealth, acquired by commerce; they are extremely tenacious of their reputation for uprightness, and are scrupulously punctual in all their dealings.

The Chinese carry on trade in large vessels called junks, with the Philippine isles, the Soo-loo islands, Celebes, the Moluccas, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Singapore, Rhio, the east coast of the Malayan peninsula, Siam, Cochin-China, Cambodia and Tonquin. It is said that, in their trade with Siam, they employ 200 vessels, several of which are of not less than from 300 to 400 tons burden: some of their junks are of 800 or 900 tons burden. The officers and crews of these vessels are very numerous. The commander receives no pay, but has the advantage of the cabin accommodation for passengers, who are usually numerous. He, acts as agent or supercargo, receiving a commission, commonly of 10 per cent., upon the profits of the owners' adventure. The other officers and the seamen are paid for their services by being allowed a certain tonnage of the ship, which they may occupy with goods upon their own account, or dispose of to other people as they see fit; but none receive money wages, with the exception, perhaps, of the pilot.

The Chinese junks are extremely clumsy in their construction. They appear, nevertheless, to be so well adapted for the navigation in which they are employed, that Mr. Crawford, speaking from an acquaintance of thirteen years

with the trade of the Indian Archipelago, declares that he can recollect hearing of but four shipwrecks, and that, in all these instances, the crews were saved.

That an external trade of this magnitude should be prosecuted by Chinese subjects, affords a sufficient refutation of the pretended hostility of the government to all foreign commerce. There is nothing clandestine in the trade thus carried on. Its prosecution is not only acknowledged by the laws of China, but every adventure has the express sanction of the viceroy or governor of the province whence the vessels are despatched. It is true, that, like other rulers who are reputed wiser, these officers do interfere in the regulation of each branch of trade, determine how many vessels shall engage in it, and even proceed to the length of enumerating the articles which it shall be legal to import and export, doubtless with the paternal, but mistaken idea of protecting native industry, and of fostering exotic manufactures on its own soil. The merit of the notable plan of benefiting a people by compelling them to purchase foreign articles at a dear rate, and by depriving them of markets for their own superabundant productions, cannot be exclusively claimed by Europeans.

A stronger proof of the legality of foreign commerce in China, and of the anxiety even of the government to foster it, is afforded by the fact, that at every port whence it is carried on, there is a "Hong," or body of security merchants, as at Canton, who are mutually bound for the payment of each other's engagements.

Proofs without number are to be found in the reports before us, that the Chinese people are anxious for the extension of their foreign commerce. To the important detail of these reports we must refer our readers when they are told, that the attempt to open the trade of China to our countrymen at large, would prove the means of actually excluding them from it; and that the Chinese authorities are so favourably disposed towards a monopoly of English creation, that, putting out of consideration all thought of the public revenue, they would not only deny to their people the advantage of trading with any others of our nation, but would cause them to cease mercantile transactions with the Company itself from the moment that their monopoly should be destroyed.

§ 2. The second head of information adopted by the committee comprises an exposition of the state of the British trade with China, and particularly of that in tea.

This trade, which, in the aggregate, greatly exceeds that carried on by all other foreigners, is exclusively vested in the East India Company, until the expiration of its charter of monopoly in April, 1834. Nor can the Company itself trade, or authorize any others to do so, except within the limits of its Charter, or between Canton and the United Kingdom; with the exceptions, that for the purposes of this trade, the Cape of Good Hope is included within the Company's limits, and that permission has been given by the Act 5 Geo. IV. cap. 88, for the Company to trade direct between China and our colonies in North America.

It has formed a subject of great complaint, that even under no restrictions and regulations are British ships allowed to trade between China and the ports of continental Europe; so that British merchants, who have desired to embark in that line of commerce, have been compelled to cover their dealings by employing foreign ships, and by using the cloak of foreign names.

While the Company reserves to itself all the trade between the United Kingdom and China, excepting only a small portion allowed as a privilege to the commanders and officers of its ships, it grants licenses to the owners of Indian vessels, usually called "country ships," to trade between India and China, with liberty to export from the latter country a limited quantity of tea—not exceeding 400 chests in each ship—and to dispose of the same at any intermediate port between Canton and the port in India to which the ship belongs. In these ports New South Wales is included.

This licensed trade between India and China has grown up to be one of considerable importance. It is conducted quite distinct from the transactions of the Company. The Company does not license British subjects out of its service to reside in China. A small number are indeed resident there, and carry on mercantile dealings, but these persons are removed from the control of the Company, by holding foreign consular appointments; their number is therefore necessarily limited. The captains of all vessels employed in this country trade are compelled to sign a bond, obliging themselves to conform to the orders of the Company's ser-

vants at Canton. The dealings in respect of their cargoes are sometimes conducted by these captains, sometimes by supercargoes who accompany them; but the foreign consuls just mentioned, and some Parsee merchants resident at Canton, are usually employed as agents.

The trade with China thus carried on for private account, in the year ending 30th June, 1828, amounted to the sum of 25,502,410 dollars. Of this amount, nearly 3,500,000 of dollars was made up of the imports of cotton-wool into Canton, principally from Bombay. The value of 10,271 chests of opium was 11,243,496 dollars. The remainder of the imports consisted of pepper, betel-nut, sandal-wood, ivory, rattans, cloves, iron, lead, tin, and spelter, woollen and cotton cloths, pearls and cornelians, clocks and machinery, with various other articles in small quantities. The exports consisted of raw silk, nankeen cloths, sugar, cassia lignea, tortoise-shell, silk goods, China-ware, cochineal, damasks, camphor, and several others of less importance. A considerable value, upwards of 6,000,000 of dollars, was likewise brought back in the shape of gold and silver bullion.

The trade in cotton between India and China was greatly increased in the following year. According to a statement extracted from the Canton Register, said to be a very respectable authority, the imports consisted of "

112,631	bales from	Bombay
58,326	————	Bengal
13,643	————	Madras

Altogether 184,600 Bales

weighing 474,223 peculs, or 62,229,700 pounds, and valued at 5,552,875 dollars.

The value of goods imported into Canton on private account very considerably exceeds that of the goods exported in return; while, on the other hand, the shipments of tea made by the Company are of very much greater value than its outward investment. The balance is adjusted through the private merchants, by means of bills of exchange drawn by the Company's servants, at Canton, upon the Bengal Government, and to a small amount also on the Court of Directors in London.

The Company's affairs at Canton are managed by an expensive establishment of twenty supercargoes and writers, with two inspectors of tea. Three or four of the senior supercargoes are appointed a select committee, which, under the orders of the Court of Directors, forms a sort of government for the management of British interests in China. This committee is invested with considerable power over British subjects when in China; and assumes authority, not only over the Company's servants and traders, but likewise over persons engaged in the country trade.

It is stated that the influence of this committee is very great with the Chinese authorities,—a fact not quite in agreement with the alleged dislike of the government to all foreign intercourse. It is natural, that a body whose dealings are so much greater than those of individuals, and whose transactions, for a long series of years, have been conducted with good faith and regularity, should have established itself in the good opinion of the government. It is, however, very much doubted by many of the witnesses examined before the committee, whether the influence of the Company's servants has at any time proved advantageous to any but to that body: neither private British traders, nor foreigners, it is alleged, have derived any benefit from the Company's influence. The advantages of the establishment had need be great in some way or other, since the expense at which it is maintained amounts to more than 100,000*l.* annually.

The principal, it may be said the only, object of the Company's trade with China is to provide tea for the consumption of the United Kingdom. The Act 24 Geo. III. cap. 38, commonly called 'The Commutation Act,' requires that the Company shall, from time to time, send orders for the purchase of such quantities of tea, and provide sufficient ships to import the same, as being added to the stock in their warehouses, and to the quantities ordered and not arrived, shall amount to a sufficient supply for the keeping a stock, at least equal to one year's consumption, according to the sales of the last preceding year, always before hand.

Previous to the great extension of the country trade, the tea purchased by the Company was principally paid for with bullion exported from England; its exports of goods, which principally consisted of woollen-cloths, with a small

quantity of iron, being wholly inadequate to that purpose. The balance is now differently provided for, as already mentioned.

The conditions upon which the Company makes its purchases of goods for export from this country are exceedingly strict, so that the persons who furnish them are accustomed to indemnify themselves from the risk of rejection by charging high prices. The strictness of the Company in this respect is said to be productive of this valuable effect, that goods with its mark are held in such reputation, as to pass from Canton into the interior of the country, without the necessity of previous examination. The reason assigned by the Directors for their continuance of a trade which is but little profitable is 'the desire to promote the interests of the manufacturers, and of the growers of British wool, and a conviction, that their conduct in this respect is in accordance with a policy prescribed in charters and legislative enactments.'

It appears that the trade thus carried on is, in a great measure, a forced one. Woollen goods are much used in the northern part of the Chinese empire during a portion of the year; but in the district where our trade is carried on, the demand is only limited, while the transmission of such bulky goods to any distance is difficult and expensive, and renders them liable to heavy transit duties. The Company, whose dealings are confined entirely to the Hong merchants, finds in them, it is said, unwilling purchasers, who are induced to take the goods only in consideration of the advantages resulting to them, from the Company's large purchases of tea; and it is given in evidence, that the Hong merchants, unable to put off their goods profitably in the regular way of trade, stipulate in turn with the people who bring the tea to market, that they shall take the goods in part payment.

The Company's tea trade, which has very considerably increased of late years, now comprises the whole of its exports from China. A large proportion of its purchases of tea are made under previous contracts with the Hong merchants, who, on their part, form corresponding engagements with the cultivators. This mode of contracting, in one season, for deliveries in the next, is thought to be necessary, in order to secure a regular and sufficient supply. It may be questioned, however, whether such a mode of dealing is best adapted to secure this end. If the cultivators were left to themselves in this respect, they would equally bring forward their produce for sale, and might then be dealt with more advantageously to the purchaser. The market at Canton fluctuates considerably; and it is probable that if the contract system were abandoned, the competition among the sellers at the period of the greatest supply would cause the price to be lower than that which the growers are likely to accept prospectively. To entertain fears as to the sufficiency of the supply, under any system of dealing, appears preposterous, when it is considered that, throughout the populous empire of China, tea is an article of universal consumption among all classes. It is used at all hours of the day, as the general beverage; so that you can hardly enter a house in which there is not, in the principal apartment, a vessel containing it, ready for use and available to all comers. This being the case, the quantity taken for exportation would form only a small proportion of that which is grown, if even the demand should be very greatly increased.

The officers of the Company, being the largest buyers of black tea in Canton, have a kind of pre-emption of all of that description which is brought in for sale: while the Americans, whose purchases exceed those of the Company in green tea, have the same advantage as regards that kind.

§ 3. The third head of inquiry comprises the mode in which the Company's sales of tea in England are conducted, and the effects of the laws which regulate the trade in that article, upon the Company and upon the public respectively.

The Company is obliged to hold four sales of tea within the year, at each of which sales a quantity shall be brought forward, equal to the supposed demand, and sold without reserve to the highest bidder, provided an advance of one penny per pound shall be offered upon the price at which each lot respectively is put up. With regard to this upset price, the act declares, that 'it shall not be lawful for the Company to put up their tea for sale at any prices which shall, upon the whole of the teas so put up at any one sale, exceed the *prime cost* thereof, with the *freight* and *charges* of importation, together with lawful *interest* from the time of the arrival of such tea in Great Britain, and the common

premium of *insurance*, as the compensation for the sea-risk incurred thereon.'

It is necessary to offer some explanation of the manner in which, complying with the letter of the act, the Company estimates these five component parts of the price of tea.

The prime cost is computed at the sums expended in making the consignments and remittances to Canton, which are required to pay for their homeward investment. In this computation, the charges on the outward consignments, including insurance, are added together, with interest on the cost and charges, until the time of the arrival of the tea in England. Their computation of the cost of the tea at Canton is further made according to the Mint price of standard silver, which considerably exceeds the market price. It appears from the report of the Committee, that by the mode of reckoning which has been described, the upset prices of tea at the Company's sales are about 25 per cent. above the actual money expended.

The freight of tea is necessarily enhanced to the Company, in consequence of its ships being equipped more expensively, and navigated at greater charge than private ships, a fact which is consequent upon the political capacity of the Company, the ships being employed in the conveyance of troops. The difference in the rate of freight incurred by the Company, and that for which private ships would carry tea from Canton to Europe, is said to be 40 per cent.

The charges included under that name, in computing the upset prices of tea, are only those on the tea itself, the charges on the outward shipments being included in the prime cost. These homeward charges include the expense of the Company's establishment at Canton.

The interest added to the upset price of tea is charged at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, from the time of the first expenditure in providing funds, till eighteen months after the arrival of the tea in England.

No charge is directly incurred for insurance by the Company, which is, in all cases, its own insurer. The rate added on this account is 3 per cent.; while the losses of the Company at sea, during fifteen years, are stated not to have exceeded one fourth of that rate.

The sale price of the Company's tea has generally much exceeded the upset price; an effect which may be easily produced where the supply of a market is under the control of one body. In the present case, such an effect must necessarily have accompanied the increasing demand for the article on the part of the public, without supposing that the Company has departed from the letter of the law, which obliges it to put up at its quarterly sales "such quantities as shall be judged equal to the demand."

It is difficult to enter into comparative estimates, with regard to the prices in different markets, of an article which comprises such various qualities as tea. That the prices paid by the consumer in Great Britain are greater than those paid on the continent of Europe—after deducting the duty—has been shown by a comparison of prices affixed by London brokers, as their value here, to samples of tea purchased on the continent, and mostly obtained there at lower rates. The profits of the Company's tea trade, as disclosed by them in returns to parliament, are in fact such as no persons unprotected by exclusive privileges of trading could hope to realise.

§ 4. The trade of the Americans, and of other foreigners, with China, forms the fourth head of the Committee's inquiry.

In consequence of the privilege they enjoy of trading overland with China, Russian vessels are not allowed by the Chinese government to enter Canton. The trade carried on by Dutch, French, Swedish, Danish, and Austrian vessels is trifling. The Dutch trade is principally conducted by an association, although the trade is open to all the merchants of Holland. The object of this association was avowedly to encourage the exportation of their home manufactures to China,—an object which has not been attended with much success, the trade of the association having very greatly declined of late years.

The American trade with Canton has fluctuated considerably. Much overtrading occurred in it a few years back, and great losses were sustained in consequence. It is probable, however, that the recent repeal by congress of the importation duty upon tea, and the reduction in that on the silk manufactures of India and China, may have an important influence in reviving this branch of industry. It is much to be wished, on the part of our manufacturers, that this should prove to be the case; since the outward invest-

ments of American merchants were in part composed of British manufactured goods. The trade between China and the United States is not confined to the article of tea; a large quantity of manufactured silk goods being likewise brought home for use in America. The trade between the Chinese and Americans has not experienced any greater interruption than that of the East India Company. An American consul is resident at Canton, whose good offices appear to have been in all cases sufficient to protect the interests of his countrymen. This gentleman undertakes the agency of any merchants who may employ him; but the management of the American trade is divided between several merchants from the United States, who are resident in China.

§ 5. The last head of inquiry proposed by the committee on this branch of the subject, viz.—"the effects expected from the abolition of the Company's exclusive privilege"—is one upon which it is probable that the discussion in parliament will principally turn.

Much pains have been taken to impress upon the members of the legislature, and upon the public, the belief that the personal interference of the Company's servants, resident at Canton, has at different times been exerted with an effect which no other individuals or body of men could have produced. That intelligent and respectable gentlemen should be able, after a continued residence of many years in a foreign country, to render themselves personally acceptable to the authorities with whom they have dealings, will readily be conceded. Feelings thus created, however, can never influence the policy of a government. Interest or fear are the only motives by which any people is wont to be swayed in the manner alleged. It were absurd to suppose that fear has any agency in the matter. One word from the emperor would in a moment effect the expulsion of every foreigner from his kingdom. It must be interest, and interest alone, which disposes the Chinese government to admit our traders; and if the opening of the trade should cause a greater number of vessels to resort to China—and it cannot be doubted this would be the case—the increase thereby occasioned to the public revenue, and to the gains of public functionaries, would add materially to the influence of this powerful motive, and render the trade less liable to interruption than at present. The expulsion of British traders from Canton, even if that were a direct consequence of a change of system, would not be an evil of great amount. As a general principle, it cannot be controverted, that trade carried on directly with any place must be more profitable, and therefore more considerable, than that conducted circuitously. It may be doubted, however, whether, under the peculiar policy of China, which restricts the access of foreigners to only one port of the empire, this principle will hold good; whether more extensive markets might not be eventually opened for the sale of our manufactures, and for procuring acceptable returns, if, through the expulsion of our ships from that port, the native merchants were led to seek our goods in the neighbouring settlements. The trade in this case would assuredly not be confined to Canton.

We have already alluded to the fact, that when the Company ceased to make purchases of raw silk at Canton, supplies to a greater extent were conveyed by Chinese traders to Singapore, and thence found their way, in private ships, to this country.

It is not pretended by any one, that if the trade with China were opened, the price of tea to English consumers would continue as high as it has hitherto been; and none will deny, that to reduce the cost of an article of such general use, must be beneficial to the country at large. The principal arguments by which it has been attempted to show the impolicy of effecting this reduction are—the probability of the trade being altogether stopped—the effect of competition in raising the price at Canton—and the fact that, as the government duty in this kingdom is charged according to the prices at which the tea is sold, the higher those prices are maintained, the more advantageous it must be for the public.

The first of these positions has been noticed above: the third hardly deserves an answer; the wonder being how it could ever be gravely advanced. The duty at present charged is 96 per cent. upon tea sold under two shillings per pound, and 100 per cent. upon all sold above that price. Assuming then, that, owing to the Company's monopoly, the public are made to pay 25 per cent. more than they would if the trade were opened, it would, in the latter case, be better to increase the rate of duty so that the consumer might

The account delivered to the committee on the 3d of March, 1832, and which is inserted in the Minutes of Evidence taken on the second branch of the inquiry, (Finance and Accounts, pp. 66, 69.) shows that, but for this monopoly, no funds would have existed out of which any dividend could have been paid to the proprietors of stock. The profits of the China trade are herein stated to be 813,234*l.*, which sum is reduced to 354,261*l.* by losses sustained upon the trade with India; so that, to make up a show of profits sufficient to provide a fund for payment of the dividends, other sums must be brought into the account. Among these sums are 238,753*l.* for interest and discounts, including an adjustment for former years in respect of the interest charged in the territorial invoices outwards, and 197,785*l.* interest on the balance due from the territorial to the commercial branch at the close of the season 1827-28. As regards the first of these items, upwards of 200,000*l.* of it belong to 'adjustments for former years,' commencing in 1814; and no similar amount can, consequently, be reckoned upon in any future year. With regard to the second amount, it is difficult to justify its insertion upon any other ground than the necessity for exhibiting an apparent fund, out of which the proprietors of India stock are to be paid. The Company in its political capacity is burthened with a heavy debt, incurred in the prosecution of numerous wars; and in its necessities has borrowed from itself, in its commercial capacity, a sum upon which an interest account is raised, the amount of which is here brought forward. It would sorely puzzle the Accountant-general by whom the statement is furnished to show that the amount thus exhibited exists anywhere except on the books of the Company—that it can really be considered as an item of profit, or indeed as an item at all. The proprietors of the Company's stock are as much proprietors in respect of its territorial as of its commercial concerns,—proprietors, in fact, of its debts as well as its assets. The corporation must indeed, in this sense, be really, as it is held to be legally, one individual; and how, it may be asked, can any individual owe money to himself? The whole affair of the payment of dividends by the Company out of gains acquired in one capacity, while it has been constantly accumulating debts in another, is a species of mystification which, we should suppose, will not be tolerated under the regulations to be prescribed for the Company's future guidance.

Not even this factitious aid, however, would suffice to accomplish this object, if it were not for the real amount of profit obtained from the Company's homeward investments from China. Deprived of this, the balance of the profit and loss account of the commercial branch would appear on the wrong side of the account. In fact, a sum equal to 10½ per cent. upon its stock, is annually divided among the proprietors of a corporation, which, according to a statement drawn out by its Accountant-general, in August last, is burthened with a "a deficient balance" of no less a sum than 12,228,137*l.*, while its territorial debt in India, bearing interest, amounts to about 40,000,000*l.* sterl.

Notwithstanding this unpromising appearance, we are far from believing, that in the event of parliament annulling the commercial privileges of the Company, the Directors would be unable to realize sufficient surplus funds for paying dividends to the proprietors. In the event supposed, the capital now employed in the prosecution of commercial objects would be progressively applicable to the reduction of debt, and consequently to a diminution of the charge which it brings; the continually growing commerce of India would render one principal branch of its revenue, the customs, more and more productive;* and the land revenue, which has of late years experienced a constant and steady improvement, may be expected to go forward at the same advantageous rate of progression. If, too, the regulations of the Company affecting the settlement of Europeans in its dominions were abolished or materially relaxed, in a few years such an improvement might be expected in the habits and means of the native inhabitants, as would occasion not only an important increase in the commerce of the East, and in the revenue thence derived, but would also produce an aug-

mentation in the territorial revenues of the Company, to which the present rate of increase is trifling.

To show that these anticipated improvements are not mere visionary speculation without warrant or foundation, we will mention, that the annual average amount of the gross revenues of India, which in the three last years of the term which expired in 1814, was 16,764,700*l.*, was, in the three years up to 1828-9 inclusive, as high as 22,987,472*l.*

This increase has arisen from a variety of sources, and through different causes. Among these may be mentioned the acquisition of new territory; enlarged commercial dealings among private traders; increase of population; the enactment of better laws; a more efficient management on the part of the Company's officers; the imposition of new stamp duties; and the greater profit of the opium monopoly arising out of the continually growing consumption of that article in China.

During the time that the revenues of the Company in India have been augmented in the degree above stated, the annual charges of government have, on the other hand, gone on increasing in a still greater ratio. This effect has followed from the expensive wars in which the Company has been engaged, and particularly from that carried on against the Burmese, during the continuance of which the debt was increased by the sum of 13,007,823*l.* The success of the Indian government in these wars has been such as materially to change its position relatively to other powers. Formerly, its territory was so situated and distributed, that it was surrounded by countries ready and willing, upon every occasion, to take up arms against their European neighbours; whereas now, there is no enemy, properly so called, to be found within the whole Peninsula of India. If this favourable alteration were followed up by further measures of conciliation towards the native subjects of the Company, to which nothing would tend more than an improved system of jurisprudence, the permanent military establishment of the Company might be securely lessened, and a variety of economical plans adopted which have hitherto been impracticable.

It is urged with considerable earnestness by the advocates of the Company, in favour of the continuance of its commercial monopoly, that the remittances which must be made from India, to meet the territorial charges defrayed in England, and which necessarily amount to 3,000,000*l.* annually, cannot be effected with so much advantage through any other means than the commercial branch. The remittances for this purposes are now made by purchases of goods in India, and by the homeward investment from China.

In support of this opinion, it is alleged, that upon the average of the whole period since the last renewal of the charter, the Company's remittances have been made more advantageously through the medium of their trade, than if bills of exchange had been purchased from private merchants in India, who, by combining together, might have raised the price of their bills against the Company; and that, if recourse had been had to bullion for making remittances, great inconvenience and probably distress would have been occasioned to the commercial body in India. It has been argued, on the other hand, that the extent of the annual imports from India and China, which would equally find their way to Europe, although the Company should not engage in making them, and which, in all probability, would be shipped in larger quantities if the Company did not so engage, would render it difficult for the private merchants to combine against the Company, which being the only, or nearly the only, purchaser of bills in the market, would be better able to regulate the exchanges with reference to its own peculiar interest; and that, in any case, its servants might resort to the alternative of remitting bullion, a course which would be more detrimental to the merchants than to any other class or body, so that a consciousness of this power being held against them would raise up yet another security against combination. The directors have used as a further argument for the retaining of their commercial privileges, that it would be unjustifiable in them to take upon the Company the risk of the solvency of so many persons, and for such large amounts, as they must remit to Europe. It does not appear, however, that it would be necessary to incur any such risk, since the merchants who might sell their bills would be willing to accompany them by a security upon their bills of lading, so that the goods which might form the foundation for their drafts would be pledged as security for their payment. Another mode of effecting the

* The produce of this branch of revenue is stated by the Company to be as follows:—

1823-24 . . .	£1,353,587	1826-27 . . .	£1,469,608
1824-25 . . .	1,403,889	1827-28 . . .	1,565,270
1825-26 . . .	1,418,466	1828-29 . . .	1,641,657

necessary remittances is offered by the sale of bills in England drawn upon the Indian treasuries.

Among the reasons alleged by the Company in favour of a renewal of its monopoly, it has been stated that the perfect security and great facility now experienced in collecting the duty on tea, could not possibly continue if the trade were thrown open; and that the management of the warehousing and sale branch of the Company's business is conducted with great economy, and at less charge to the public than would then be experienced.

With regard to the collection of the duty, it might be found proper to confine the trade with China to such ports in the United Kingdom as are warehousing ports, and possessed of warehouses of special security; in which case we have the evidence of Sir John Hall, the secretary to the Saint Katharine Dock Company, for asserting that the duty on teas deposited in the warehouses of that Company could be equally well collected and secured to the crown, as under the existing regulations with the East India Company. If this security could be obtained from one establishment, it follows, that the same security could be given by other similar establishments. The collection of the tea duty has hitherto been managed by the excise officers. By a recent regulation, the article will very shortly be placed under the supervision of the customs, where, as an article of foreign trade, it seems proper to place it. The expense to the government is stated at 10,000*l.* per annum, or very little more than a quarter per cent. upon the amount collected. This is independent of the salaries of excise officers, who have the supervision of the stock of tea in the hands of dealers; and of the expense of the coast blockade. As this rate is very greatly below that incurred in the collection of the custom duty generally, it is argued that the difference between the rates is so much saving, occasioned by the peculiar conveniences offered by the Company. It would, perhaps, be nearer to the truth to assert, that, as in every port to which tea would be brought, there are already existing custom houses, with their long array of collectors, comptrollers, searchers, waiters, and clerks, the additional labour which would attach to these officers, if required to receive the duty upon one article in addition to those already under their charge, would call for no additional outlay; and that the sum now paid, however small its per centage rate upon the duty collected, is unnecessarily paid, and may be altogether saved to the country by a new arrangement.

With respect to the argument grounded upon the low charges on merchandise made by the Company, we have the same evidence to prove that it is without foundation; that the Saint Katharine Dock Company, and consequently that other establishments, could perform the service much cheaper than the rate incurred by the East India Company. Nor is this mere assertion without at least analogous proof. The East India Company's charge upon the article of indigo is stated to amount to 32*s.* per chest, while the rates and charges of the St. Katharine Dock Company upon the same article do not exceed 21*s.* per chest.

VI.—*Propriety of Separating the Political from the Commercial Character of the Company.*

Under the act of 1813, the Directors are enjoined to apply the surplus commercial profits of the Company to the reduction of its Indian debt, or home bond debt. The surplus profits thus applicable, which have accrued since the passing of the act up to the session 1830-31 inclusive, are stated by the Company's accountant to have amounted to 8,135,567*l.*, of which sum 5,333,198*l.* has been appropriated accordingly, the Directors assuming the right to retain a considerable balance unappropriated, in order to make provision against unforeseen losses in subsequent years.

Much conflicting evidence was adduced before the Committee of 1830, upon the subject of the real or supposed advantage which, previously to the year 1794, one branch of the Company's affairs obtained at the expense of the other. On one hand it was contended that, during the period in question, commerce derived considerable benefit at the expense of territory; while, on the other, a directly contrary opinion has been maintained.

Opinions not less conflicting were offered to the Committee, as to the state of the account between the two branches during the Company's last term. Statements have been drawn out by different parties, at variance with those presented by the Company, and which equally differ from each

other, both in principle and details. The Committee does not attempt to draw any conclusion from the conflicting statements thus brought forward, but contents itself with drawing the attention of the House to the controversy. It is quite impossible within our limits to attempt any elucidation of so complicated a subject. We will merely state, that the accountant employed by the government for the examination of the accounts of the Company discredits the views taken by the parties who controvert the statements of the Company.

Great anxiety is shown by the Directors to establish the existence of a considerable debt owing to the commercial by the territorial branch; and the reason for this anxiety is sufficiently obvious. If Parliament should determine upon confirming its territorial possessions to the Company, an argument is hence furnished why that confirmation should be accompanied by a continuance of commercial privileges, thus shown to be so important towards the administration of political functions. If, on the other hand, the state should determine to take those territorial possessions into its own hands, the Company will have made out a claim to a very considerable compensation in its commercial capacity. This is one reason why, in continuing to the Company its political functions, that continuance should be accompanied by commercial privileges; and that reason would be its inability to provide, by any other means, the revenue necessary for the proper administration of the government. Let us examine, by means of the accounts before us, how far the surplus profits derived from trade can be made instrumental to this end.

A statement of the profits derived by the Company from the whole of its commercial dealings, in the ten years from 1819-20 to 1828-29 inclusive, shows an average sum of 815,900*l.*, which, being chargeable with the dividends to the proprietors, amounting to 630,000*l.* per annum, leaves only 185,900*l.* annually applicable in aid of the Indian revenues. The territorial debts in India bearing interest amounted, on May 1, 1830, to 39,948,488*l.*, and it does not appear that any material alteration has been subsequently made in its amount. The interest annually payable in respect of this debt amounts to 2,153,430*l.*, being an average interest of about 5½ per cent. The balance in favour of the commercial branch is stated by the Company's accountant to be 21,102,182*l.* If from this sum we deduct the Company's home bond debt, 3,795,892*l.*, we have a sum remaining applicable to the reduction of the debt of 17,306,290*l.* Of this sum 5,926,674*l.* consists of the fixed capital of the Company in warehouses, &c., and payments made on account of the territorial branch. Some considerable loss would be sustained by the sale of property constituting the first item, and the last is evidently not available. Leaving these sums, therefore, out of the question, and making a liberal allowance for other losses which might be sustained in realizing all the assets, the Company might still apply 10,000,000*l.* of liberated commercial capital towards the extinction of its Indian debt; and this, effected at the average rate of interest above stated, would cancel an annual charge to the amount of 537,500*l.* But a considerable portion of the debt bears interest at the rates of 6 and 8 per cent.; and if the redemption took place in those portions, the annual saving would amount to more than 600,000*l.*, a sum but little short of the average commercial profits as stated above, and very far beyond the realized profits of the year 1829-30, the last of which the reports furnish any detailed statement.

In the Appendix, No. 7 to Part II. (Finance and Trade), of the Report of 1832, we find a statement of reductions, civil, marine, and military, ordered by the Court of Directors and the several local governments since the close of the year 1827-28. These reductions amount to more than 1,700,000*l.* per annum; and, although it may not be practicable all at once to effect so sweeping a reform, there can be no doubt that fully as much as is contemplated in these orders may be effected in the course of a few years, provided no fresh hostilities should be offered on the part of any of the native powers. A variety of circumstances lead to the conclusion that such an event is less likely to happen now than at any period since our first conquests were effected in India; and it may even be, that, by depriving the Company of its commercial character, one fruitful source of jealousies may be dried up, and wars may by that means be rendered less probable. We see besides, from the evidence before us, that the territorial and fiscal revenues of the Company

have for some time been in a course of progressive improvement. We cannot doubt, therefore, that if the minds of the Company's servants were directed undividedly to improve the system of government in the vast empire over which it rules, the amount of revenue at present drawn from it might be further augmented, while the charges of government might be lessened.

There are many points connected with the Company's government, which are embraced in the documents before us, of importance to be understood by those who wish to make themselves fully masters of a very large and complicated subject. The matters which we have here taken up are

those which have the greatest interest for the commercial and manufacturing portions of the community at this present moment. The branches which we have passed over although not so immediately connected with the matters that will form the subjects of parliamentary discussion as those upon which we have entered, are yet replete with interest. We may be induced, upon a future occasion, to devote some pages to an account of the Company's system of internal management, as pursued in the financial and judicial government of its possessions; in the meanwhile, a very short account of the revenue branch of this system, as disclosed in parliamentary reports, may be seen in the Companion to the Almanac for the present year.

AN ACCOUNT of the Profit or Loss upon the Trade of the East India Company between Europe and India, Europe and China, India and China, and between China and the British North American Colonies.												
Imports from India.		Exports to India.		Imports from China.		Exports to China.		Trade between India and China.		Trade between China & Brit. N. A. Colonies.		
Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.	Loss.
£.	£	£	£	£	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1819-20	40,523		39,128	1,020,670		80,977				10,566		
1820-21		165,556	9,066	1,052,417		104,610				71,094		
1821-22		83,459	10,150	1,246,786		9,752				186,337		
1822-23		118,549	49,740	1,116,387			92,018			45,838		
1823-24		365,875	35,749	1,145,383		10,924				40,460		
1824-25		44,192	39,457	1,141,454			2,424			3,678		
1825-26		119,172	21,942	1,067,166		21,261		24,310		18,557		
1826-27		401,174		935,868		60,551				8,744		12,225
1827-28		348,060	13,563	788,094		18,024				70,470		13,796
1828-29		507,627	18,835	763,434			22,084			14,970		
	40,523	2,153,464	199,500	41,466		306,099	116,526	24,310	437,177			
		40,523	41,466			116,526			24,310			
Profit			158,034		10,277,659		189,573			59,548		
Loss		2,112,941							412,867			
				Profits	£10,684,814							
				Losses	2,525,803							
				Balance of Gain	£8,159,006							
1829-30		519,541	66,399			34,644				68,605	20,055	

The Trade carried on with China by American merchants during fifteen years, from 1813-14 to 1827-28 inclusive, is stated in the Appendix to the Lords' Report of 1830 as follows:—

	Ships.	Tons.	Val. of Imports. Dollars.	Val. of Exp. Dollars.
1813-14	9	2,854	451,500	572,000
1814-15	30	10,208	2,527,500	4,220,000
1815-16	38	13,096	5,609,600	5,703,000
1816-17	39	14,325	7,076,828	6,777,000
1817-18	46	16,022	10,017,151	9,041,755
1818-19	39	13,641	8,153,961	8,182,016
1819-20	25	8,470	not stated	
1820-21	42	14,702	8,199,741	7,058,741
1821-22	31	11,297	8,339,398	7,523,492
1822-23	35	13,633	6,313,126	5,677,149
1823-24	37	14,452	8,962,045	8,501,121
1824-25	38	not stated	7,756,031	8,752,562
1825-26	19	7,034	3,843,717	4,363,788
1826-27	20	8,597	6,238,788	6,659,925
1827-28				

The Imports, of which the value is above stated, consisted of ginseng, opium, quicksilver, metals, skins, cochineal, pepper, and other spices, cotton, and cotton goods, woollen goods, linen goods, rice cleaned and in the husk, sandal wood, and dollars.

The exports consisted of tea, nankeen cloth, raw and wrought silks, cassia, china ware, mats and matting, sugar, and drugs.

The declared value of British Produce and Manufactures, exported from the United Kingdom to China in foreign ships, was—

1818	£ 2,527	1824	£
1819	29,324	1825	
1820	178,362	1826	143,897
1821	135,954	1827	70,985
1822	12,500	1828	66,253
1823	104,165	1829	

These goods consisted principally of cotton and woollen manufactures, glass-ware, guns and pistols, copper, iron wrought and unwrought, lead and shot, machinery, plate, plated ware, jewellery, and watches.

PAPERS RESPECTING THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER, ISSUED MARCH 27, 1833.

Since the above article was in type, and just as we were about to proceed to press, a correspondence of considerable length between the Court of Directors and the Right Hon. Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, accompanied with other papers relating to the renewal of the Company's Charter, has been printed by order of the Court of Proprietors. The negotiations of which these papers contain the history commenced on the 12th of October, 1830, on which day a conference took place at Apsley-house between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough on the one part, and the Chairman and Deputy-chairman of the Company on the other, "in order," as his Grace stated, "to ascertain what the views and intentions of the Company would be in the event of its being considered expedient that the Court of Directors should continue to exercise functions similar to those now intrusted to them in the government of India, but that the Company should no longer possess the monopoly of the China trade." After the accession of the present ministry, the negotiations were resumed by an interview which took place at the India Board between Mr. Grant and the two Chairmen of the Company, and which appears to have been followed by several others, of which the memoranda are not given. But the more important part of the correspondence is that which has taken place since the 10th of December last, on which day Earl Grey and Mr. Grant submitted to the Chairman the following "Paper of Hints," being an outline of the plan which the government was prepared to propose to Parliament for the future regulation of the Company:—

The China monopoly to cease.

The East India Company to retain their political functions.

The Company's assets, commercial and territorial, with all their possessions and rights, to be assigned to the Crown, on behalf of the territorial government of India.

An annuity of 630,000*l.* to be granted to the proprietors, to be

paid in England by half-yearly instalments, and to be charged upon the territorial revenues of India exclusively, and to form part of the territorial debt of that country, not to be redeemable before the 30th of April, 18—, and then, at the option of Parliament, by the payment of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity.

Such part of the commercial assets as is convertible into money to be so converted, and the proceeds, with the cash balance of the commercial department, as exhibited in the account of stock by computation for the 30th of April, 1834, appropriated to the discharge of an amount of the present territorial debt equal to a capital producing 630,000*l.* a year.

The territorial revenue of India to be chargeable with all expenses incurred on account of that country at home and abroad.

The new annuitants to retain the character of a joint stock company.

The qualification of the proprietors, and the right of voting, to remain as at present.

The number of directors to be ; one fourth to go out by rotation every year, but to be immediately re-eligible.

The patronage to remain vested in the directors.

The military patronage to be exercised as at present.

The civil servants to be educated at Haileybury.

The details of the arrangement to be settled hereafter; but, perhaps, something of the following nature might answer:—

The students at the college to be considered only as competitors for writerships.

Their number to be so regulated that there may be always more candidates than appointments.

Each student to remain at the college no longer than years.

Vacancies for civil appointments in India to be filled from the college, on public examination, by the students approved the most able.

The directors to fill up the vacancies at the college each year: each director to nominate in succession.

The plans and arrangements respecting the course and subjects of study to be formed by the Board and the professors.

The 47th section of the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155, to remain, but made applicable to removal as well as appointment, and to Professors as well as Principals.

The Governor-general in council to report annually, on his responsibility, the number of writers and cadets and assistant-surgeons required for the service of the next year.

The Board of Control to have the power of reducing, but not of augmenting, that number.

Every British subject to have the right of going out to the seats of government of the three presidencies of India, without license; but his right of visiting the interior, or of residing there, and of acquiring and holding property, to be subject to the restraints and regulations which the local government may impose.

The powers of the Court, and its relations with the India Board, to remain as at present, except as modified in the following summary:—

The Court, on the Board's final and conclusive order, are to send the despatch by the first ship that goes after such order.

In the event of the Court refusing to prepare a despatch, or to send a despatch as altered by the Board, the Board to have the power of sending it themselves.

Appointment of Governors subject, as now, to the approbation of the King; but the Board to have a veto on the recall.

The same with regard to commanders of the forces.

The Board to have the same power with regard to pensions or salaries below 200*l.* a year, and to gratuities below 600*l.*, that they have now with respect to salaries, pensions, or gratuities above those amounts.

Home expenditure and establishment to be under the control of the Board.

The subsequent correspondence refers, of course, entirely to these propositions; and the following are the principal points which come into discussion. On the important subject of the monopoly of the trade to China, Mr. Grant's declaration in his letter of the 12th of February, is perfectly explicit. After a long and elaborate argument, he concludes by saying:—"Whatever may be the decision of the Company, I must repeat, that it is not the intention of the government to recommend to Parliament the renewal of the Company's exclusive privilege of trade with China." He adds, in the same communication, "I am bound to state frankly, that his Majesty's ministers being, on the fullest consideration, convinced of the justice and liberality of the terms now offered, will be prepared, in the event of a rejection of them, to propose to Parliament a plan for the future government of India without the instrumentality of the Company." He concludes by intimating that if no decision of the proprietors is communicated to him by the 23d of March, he will feel himself compelled to consider that the proposal is declined. In a subsequent letter, however, dated the 14th March, he states that he had no desire to adhere to the period here specified as the limit of deliberation on the subject.

The directors demand, as an indispensable preliminary to their acceptance of the government of India on the terms submitted, that they "should be secured in the regular supply of funds to defray the territorial payments in England, amounting to between 2,000,000*l.* and 3,000,000*l.* annually;" but to this Mr. Grant replies, "that the funds requisite to meet the expenses of the Indian empire must be sought, and will be found, in the resources of that empire itself;" and "that the means of making available in England any part of those resources, will be furnished by some of the different modes of remittance which are usual in the commercial world, and which are never found wanting where remittance is required, either for commercial or political purposes." Another demand of the directors is, that some collateral security should be provided "for the regular payment of the dividend, and, ultimately, if necessary, the principal, in the shape of an effective sinking-fund, based upon the investment in the national stocks of some portion of the commercial assets." They wish that a sum of 3,000,000*l.* should be devoted to this purpose. To meet these views, the government make the following proposal:—

"That there shall be taken out of the commercial assets of the company the sum of 1,200,000*l.* sterling, which shall be invested in the national stocks or other public securities of this country, and shall, with its accumulated interest, form a fund, as a guarantee or collateral security for the capital stock of the Company, and applicable to its future redemption. That this sum shall not, nor shall any part of it, nor of the dividends arising from it, be applied to any other purpose than the formation of such guarantee fund for the object just mentioned; but that it shall be suffered to accumulate until it shall be applied, as hereinafter mentioned, towards the redemption of the annuity of 630,000*l.*, or until it shall, together with its accumulations, amount to the sum of twelve millions; after which, no further accumulation shall take place, but all the subsequent interests or dividends shall be applied, at the option of the directors and the board, either towards the discharge of the principal of the general territorial debt of India, or in some other manner for the benefit of the territory."

The security, therefore, it will be observed, is not to be applied to the payment of the dividend, but only to the redemption of the capital. It is afterwards stated that ministers, expecting that the guarantee-fund thus established will, in the course of forty years, amount to 6,000,000*l.*, are ready to recommend it to Parliament to declare that the annuity shall not be liable to a compulsory discharge within that term. That the repayment shall be at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* is declared by Mr. Grant to be considered by him as a *sine quâ non*. With the commercial property of the Company it is also intimated that there will be transferred to the government "all the obligations, whether of a legal kind, or binding on the ground of equity and liberality, which may attach to that property." Finally, the period during which the political functions of the Company shall be continued, it is proposed to fix at about fifteen years; and it is hinted that meanwhile, as the duties of the Directors will, under the new arrangement, be considerably diminished, it may be proper that their number should be reduced in a corresponding ratio. This correspondence, we have only further to add, was read to a General Court of Proprietors on Monday, the 25th inst., when no debate took place, but the discussion was adjourned to the 15th of April. The manner in which the plan of the government is likely to be received by the proprietors and the public may be anticipated from the fact that on the day after this communication was made, India stock rose immediately not less than 12 per cent.

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CONTENTS.	
PAGE	PAGE
The Banking System of Great Britain	49
Reforms in the Law of Real Property	54
Courts of Local Jurisdiction	55
Crime in London	56
Present State of Private Bills	60
Public Petitions	60
New Patent Bill	61
Results of Election Petitions, and Alterations in the Representation	63
Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	63
Post Office Arrangements with France	64
Notice	64

THE BANKING SYSTEM OF GREAT BRITAIN.

It was our intention to have devoted a *Supplementary* Number to an analysis of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons (August, 1832) on the affairs of the Bank of England; and, incidentally, to have added some remarks on the subject of banking generally. We have, however, thought it more advisable to limit the publication of Supplements to *one in each Quarter*; and, therefore, as the question of the renewal of the Bank Charter will almost immediately come under the consideration of Parliament, it has appeared to us right, at the risk of affording little variety in the present Number, to give the main facts of this important subject without delay. The knowledge of these facts may throw some light upon the general question of the currency, which has just been disposed of by Parliament. The subject will divide itself into two parts:—1st, The rise, progress, and present state of the Bank of England. 2dly, The operations of the Provincial Banks of England and of the Banks of Ireland and Scotland; with a notice of the improvements in our banking system that naturally arise out of the renewal of the Bank Charter. To the first division of the subject we shall confine ourselves in the present Number.

ORIGIN OF BANKING AND EARLY BANKS.

All banks were originally for the purpose of deposit; money, jewels, and other portable effects of great value for the space they occupied, being lodged there for safe custody. By degrees, the value of the deposits increased, and banks became useful for mercantile and financial purposes. In these, as in other commercial institutions, the Italians took the lead of the rest of modern Europe, in consequence, not as some writers imagine, of any particular intelligence or power of invention in the inhabitants of Italy, but of the earlier progress of civilization and trade in that country. A commercial intercourse was maintained on the part of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, with Constantinople and Alexandria in Egypt, in an age when transactions with foreign countries were, in a manner, unknown in the north and west of Europe. Italy thus derived advantage from two causes; she preserved the remains of the civilization of antiquity, and was in a fit state to profit by intercourse with her contemporaries when, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the dawn of improvement appeared in Germany, France, and England. Hence, a considerable increase in her town population at a time when, in the rest of Europe, nine-tenths of the inhabitants lived in the open country.

Bank of Venice.—Of the commercial towns of Italy, Venice was the first to attain wealth and a large population, in consequence of the security from attack afforded by her peculiar position. It was in the latter half of the twelfth century (in the year 1171) that the Bank of Venice was founded, and received a regular constitution from the government of the republic. The first point was to provide for the security of the deposits, whether of coin, bullion, jewellery, or bills of exchange; the next, to make it the interest of the depositors that the money or effects should remain in the bank. This could be done only by enabling the depositors to transfer their property by orders, in writing, without an actual removal of the articles. With that view, the bank opened an account in its books with each depo-

sitor; giving him credit for the amount of the money, or the value of effects sent in by him. The holder of such credits was said to be the holder of so much bank-money; and the effect of certain public regulations, emanating from the government, was to render bank-money fully equal, or rather more than equal, in value to the current money of the city. Compared with the latter, bank-money bore a premium or *agio*, small in amount, but sufficient to induce the owner, when making a payment to a third party, to do so by cheque or order, instead of withdrawing the money or effects. The same motive operated with the persons receiving the cheque or transfer ticket; so that the property remained generally in the bank.

Bank of Amsterdam.—About four centuries later, Amsterdam attained great importance in trade. Several circumstances concurred to this fortunate result;—the extensive opening to the north-east of Germany afforded by the Zuyder-zee; the vicinity of Flanders, at that time the most improved part of the north of Europe; and, after the siege and capture of Antwerp in 1535, the removal of many of the principal merchants of that city to Amsterdam. The consequence was a great extension of the Dutch trade with foreign parts—with the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and the central part of Europe; so that, in buying and selling, much inconvenience was experienced from the number and diversity of foreign coins. Hence the establishment of a bank, on a plan similar to that of Venice,—viz., giving credit to depositors for specific sums in the books of the bank; hence, also, regulations on the part of the magistracy, calculated to enhance the value of bank-money, compared to metallic currency. With that view, it was enacted, that all bills of exchange, payable in Amsterdam, should be acquitted in bank-money; also, that coins, when deposited at the bank, should be entered to the credit of the depositors, in a manner which rendered bank-money more valuable than the metallic currency.

The directors thus attained their object of inducing depositors to make payments by cheques or written transfers, instead of actual removal of the money or effects. From these and other regulations, the bank acquired the complete confidence of merchants and the public; bank-money bore a regular premium or *agio*; and, during the seventeenth century, the period of a great extension of the trade of Holland, the deposits in the Bank of Amsterdam were successively on the increase.

Bank of Hamburg.—Hamburg, like Amsterdam, was a place of trade in the middle ages; but, notwithstanding its spacious river, it was much longer in acquiring extensive commerce, in consequence, doubtless, of the poverty of the adjacent country. The Bank of Hamburg was established in 1619 under the guarantee of the magistrates, two of whom are *ex officio* members of the bank direction. It has been all along a well-conducted establishment, accommodating the public by discounts, as well as by loans on deposits of gold, silver, and jewels. The rule is, to advance to the depositor three-fourths of the value, and continue the loan from six to twelve months.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

The Bank of England received its first charter in 1694, in the midst of the arduous contest maintained by England, Germany, and Holland, against the restless ambition of Louis XIV. The finances of government being straitened, a loan of 1,200,000*l.* was made by respectable merchants in London, on condition of receiving interest at the rate of 8 per cent. and a charter of incorporation as a bank, under the title of Governor and Company of the Bank of England.

The charter specified, at some length, the fundamental duties and privileges of the corporation; and was drawn in such a manner as to indicate a considerable advance in the knowledge of commercial principles. Thus, instead of ob-

taining exclusive privileges in trading,—which a century before would have been an object of ambition with a society of merchants,—the bank was limited to a specific department of business, viz., dealing in bills of exchange and in gold and silver. It was prohibited from taking part in any mercantile concern; but it was authorized to make advances, like the Bank of Hamburgh, on the security of merchandise lodged with it, or pledged to it by written documents. Loans on goods, which in later times have been so seldom required from the bank, would, it was then thought, form a principal part of its business; so limited in those days was the monied capital of bankers, brokers, or merchants. One part of the functions of the new association was the management of the public debt; for which (the amount being then very small), the allowance from government was fixed at 4000*l.* a year.

Such was the original constitution of the Bank of England. The merits or demerits of such an establishment being then very little understood, the first charter was limited to eleven years; but the reign of Anne being, like that of King William, a period of war, and of war on a very expensive scale, the bank directors had little difficulty in obtaining its renewal. This took place in 1708, in the midst of the successes of Marlborough, when government and the public accounted a loan of money the greatest service that patriotic subjects could render to their country. In that year the bank added about 2,000,000*l.* to their original advance to government, making their total advance 3,375,000*l.*—in return for which, their charter received an extension of upwards of twenty years, viz. to 1732. The current rate of interest having fallen during the fifteen years that had elapsed since the establishment of the bank, the charge to government was now reduced from 8 to 6 per cent.; which, high as it now seems, was a more moderate rate of interest than then prevailed in any part of Europe except Holland.

The extent of the advances to government now made it necessary for the bank directors to increase their capital; that is, to call on the persons holding bank stock to advance more money, receiving stock in return. Thus, in 1708, the capital was doubled; the holder of 100*l.* bank stock being offered a further 100*l.* stock, if he thought fit to advance to the bank a further 100*l.* in money. As to such an exchange, there was and could be little hesitation on the part of the proprietors, the affairs of the bank being prosperous, and yielding a yearly dividend of 8 or 9 per cent. Its stock was consequently at a premium; that is, a person acquiring 100*l.* bank stock could readily dispose of it on the Stock Exchange for more than 100*l.* in money.

The long war, caused by the ambition of Louis XIV., came at last to a close: England, Holland, and Austria, all laid down their arms; and financiers as well as merchants calculated on a long continuance of peace. The bank now received a further extension of its charter; and in 1717 increased its advances to government by 2,000,000*l.*, reducing, at the same time, its yearly charge to the Treasury from 6 to 5 per cent.

The years 1720 and 1721 were the æra of the South Sea Company; the career of which, when compared with that of the Bank of England, afforded a striking proof of the superiority of careful management, and limited profit, over blind confidence and sanguine speculation. The distress, consequent on the failure of the South Sea Scheme, was general and great: government and the bank now came forward to relieve the unfortunate shareholders. The bank had money to advance; and government, by obtaining an Act of Parliament to secure the payment of the interest on a given sum of South Sea stock, was able to render that stock of equal value with other funded property. This was accordingly done: the bank bought South Sea Stock to the extent of 4,000,000*l.*, on the responsibility of government, and paid that large sum by calling, as before, on its proprietors; viz., by giving to those who chose it, 100*l.* of bank stock for 100*l.* in money; an exchange very readily accepted, because the former was, as on the preceding occasion, at a premium—100*l.* bank stock selling on the Stock Exchange for more than 100*l.* money.

We are now arrived at the administration of Sir Robert Walpole in this country, and of Cardinal Fleury in France; a period marked by more than twenty years of peace, and by an anxious attention, on the part of either minister, to financial reform and the reduction of the public burdens. The sinking fund, instituted by Walpole, paid off in 1727, 1,000,000*l.* of the debt of government to the bank; and if

we question the policy of a sinking fund, formed by continuing taxes which might and ought to have been repealed, there can be no doubt of the advantage of a measure which soon followed; we mean, reducing the rate of interest paid by government to the bank from 5 to 4 per cent. That reduction, the largest as yet made, afforded another striking example of the abundance of disposable capital attendant on a continuance of peace.

Sir Robert Walpole was driven from the ministry in 1741 by the clamour of faction and the impatience of the public for a war with Spain. The contest soon extended to France; and in 1742 the aid of the Bank of England was again called in by government. The result was, on the one hand, an increased advance by the bank to the Treasury; on the other, a continuation of the bank charter to the year 1764. This war was of very varied success: by sea, our countrymen maintained their accustomed superiority; by land, the French, commanded by Marshal Saxe, had, in general, the advantage of the allies. Money, abundant during the early part of the war, became scarce as it proceeded, and as the scale of our expenditure increased. In 1746 the bank advanced nearly 1,000,000*l.* to government, and raised the money from the proprietors of bank stock, by giving them, as before, the option of receiving 100*l.* stock for 100*l.* money. At last came peace and a returning abundance of capital, which enabled government to reduce the interest payable to the bank, first from 4 to 3½ per cent., and eventually to 3 per cent.

The next war, begun in 1756, was conducted, under the able administration of Lord Chatham, with vigour and success: the credit of government with the mercantile body stood high; there was little difficulty in raising money by public loan, so that it was not necessary for ministers to call on the bank for any permanent loan. Besides, the amount already lent by the bank to government (above 11,000,000*l.*) was as great as was consistent with prudence, or with the means of the proprietors of bank stock. Next came, in 1775, the war with our American colonies, which extended, in 1778, to a war with France, Spain, and eventually Holland. Still no advance beyond the usual amount took place, on the part of the bank, till towards the close of the war (the year 1781), when a temporary loan was made to government in consideration of an extension of the bank charter to the year 1812.

The peace of 1783 relieved this country from a most arduous and expensive contest: a state of confirmed peace directed to a productive purpose the thousands of men and millions of capital lately wasted in destructive hostility. The public recovered gradually from the apprehension of loss of power caused by the separation of the North American colonies; our town population increased; our manufactures extended, favoured as they were by the easy conveyance of fuel, raw materials, and bulky goods, on canals. Add to this the animating effect of the increase of country banking, which at this time was extended without being abused. The revenue improved slowly but progressively; and Mr. Pitt was enabled to conduct our finances during ten years without any aid from the bank beyond that of temporary advances.

Such was the condition of the country until the close of the year 1792, when the affairs of France unfortunately assumed an aspect which led to the relinquishment of a state of peace, and of the various reforms for which that state was indispensable. The transition from peace to war was unexpected, and the shock to our productive industry was great. The circulation of our country banks had increased, and a number of manufacturing and other establishments had been formed on the faith of the continuance of peace, and of a low interest of money. All this was now reversed. Hence that succession of failures among merchants and country bankers, which gave so gloomy a colouring to the early part of 1793, and led to a heavy drain of specie from the Bank of England. During three years, the advance of the bank to government averaged eight millions; in 1795, our subsidy to Austria was increased, and the advance of the bank in that year, and in 1796, rose first to ten, afterwards to twelve millions. This produced the greatest inconvenience to the bank, because a deficiency in our crops had, at that time, rendered necessary the purchase and import of foreign corn, to pay for which required large sums in gold and silver. The export of these sums reduced the bullion reserve in the bank, and prevented the directors from increasing their discounts to merchants. To this was added, in the beginning of the year 1797, a general apprehension of invasion, and a further drain of specie from the bank on the part of country bankers,

so that, towards the end of February, the bullion in the bank coffers was reduced to little more than 1,200,000*l.* sterling. A further drain being apprehended, ministers took a step which formed a memorable era in the history of our trade and finance, we mean exempting the bank from paying in cash, and authorising it to issue small notes (of 1*l.* and 2*l.*) in lieu of gold.

Our war expenditure, hitherto kept within bounds by pecuniary difficulties, now increased every year, rising from thirty to forty and even fifty millions. These very large sums were raised without much pressure on the bank by the Treasury, because the general ease in regard to money consequent on the exemption from cash payments, was for a time highly favourable to the circumstances of individuals, producing that progressive rise of prices, wages, salaries, and incomes generally, which facilitates the payment of taxes, and admits of a progressive addition to their amount.

The peace of Amiens was signed in May, 1802, and the existing law required a resumption of cash payments six months after that date. This was postponed for a year, on account of the serious inconvenience it would have caused to trade, and after the rupture, in 1803, the public called loudly for a continuance of the exemption from cash payments. In fact the ease with which that exemption enabled us to meet our expenditure, was a main cause of the popularity of the war with the government of Napoleon. It continued during twelve years, and throughout that long period our financial means continued abundant, enabling ministers to give an unexampled latitude to our operations, both by sea and land. In those days of excitement and sanguine expectation, the abundance of money was ascribed to an increase of national wealth: but the painful experience of nearly twenty years has shown that it was in a great measure artificial and temporary.

In 1810, when the Bullion Committee was appointed, the exemption of the bank from paying in cash had lasted twelve years, and to men of reflection it had often been a matter of surprise that our paper currency should have been so long inconvertible without incurring any serious depreciation. Our public expenditure, during the period in question, took place almost wholly at home, and was defrayed in bank paper, which being returned to government in loans and taxes, the whole was *little more than a circulation*. Bank notes were put to the test only when sent to the Continent; and for some time certain favourable circumstances, principally to be ascribed to the neutral commerce of the United States, prevented their sudden and violent depreciation. Our war expenditure in Spain and Portugal, and the necessity of purchasing foreign corn, occasioned, during the years 1811, 1812, 1813, a very serious depreciation of our bank paper abroad, to an extent exceeding 15 and even 20 per cent.

Resumption of Cash Payments; Act of 1819.—So early as the year 1815, an Act of Parliament passed, declaring in the preamble, that “it was highly desirable that the Bank of England should return as soon as possible to the payment of its notes in cash.” But the year following (1816) being one of great commercial distress, the return to cash payments was, by a further act, postponed during two years, at the end of which the resumption was fixed to take place in July, 1819. In the years 1817 and 1818, the bank directors made a partial trial of the practicability of returning to a gold currency, having in those years issued above 6,000,000*l.* in guineas and sovereigns. But this was productive of no permanent good, the chief part of this large sum having soon disappeared from circulation, and been exported to the Continent in consequences of a fall in the exchanges. In 1819 a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the subject generally, of which committee Mr. Peel was chairman. Upon the recommendation of their Report, an Act was passed enjoining the bank to make arrangements for resuming cash payments, at the expiration of three years, viz., in 1822. The directors of the Bank of England considered themselves bound by this Act, (Evidence of the Governor, page 69,) to provide gold to the amount of no less than twenty millions sterling.

Discounts by the Bank to Merchants.—We have already stated in what manner the permanent capital of the bank, or the sums raised by calls on the holders of bank stock, was lent to government. The amount thus lent is, in all, 14,686,800*l.*; and the rate of interest paid by government is, since the year 1757, not more than 3 per cent. With this large amount the bank directors have nothing to do,

except receiving the interest from government and paying it to the proprietors. It may, therefore, be called the fixed part of the bank capital; the loan of which to government, in an age when it was difficult to effect a loan, was the inducement to confer on the bank the exclusive privilege of circulating paper money. This loan will be repayable by government only when the Bank of England charter shall expire and not be renewed.

The disposable capital of the Bank is larger than the permanent, and consists of the

Amount raised by the issue of notes;

Amount held by deposit from government and individuals; and lastly,

Profits realized, but not divided among the proprietors.

These form the capital under the management of the directors; of which part is vested in coin and bullion, but a larger part in securities producing interest, such as Exchequer bills and mercantile acceptances. The Appendix to the Report of last year's Committee contains an official return of the assets of the bank, and of the mode of employing them, since the year 1778, being somewhat more than half a century. The average annual amount of mercantile bills discounted by the bank has greatly varied: in 1809 and 1810 they rose to the very large average of seventeen millions. During the last six years, we mean from 1827 to the present time, the amount of discounts at the bank has averaged only the comparatively small sum of a million and a half. The decrease of discounts since the peace is a consequence of the abundance of money in the hands of individual banking-houses, and of their charge for interest being lower than that of the bank.

Quarterly advances made by the Bank.—The issue of the dividends on government stock makes money plenty in January, April, July, and October; but the preceding months, being the time of making payments into the Exchequer to prepare for the dividends, have, till lately, been periods of scarcity of money. During the last three years, the bank has come forward to meet the wants of the public in a very plain and easy manner, viz. by making advances on the deposit of Exchequer bills, bills of exchange, and other securities, during the interval of scarcity, and resuming these advances as soon as money became plentiful by the issue of the dividends. This course has been followed every three months, and has been found completely to answer. The discount charged by the bank on these temporary advances varies, according to the market rate of interest, from 3 to 4 per cent. The applicants are, in general, merchants or brokers, and the securities tendered must amount to 2000*l.* or upwards.

Assistance by the Bank on financial emergencies.—The directors have at different times, particularly during the panic in December, 1825, issued their notes largely for the purpose of relieving individuals, considering themselves bound to come forward in a season of distress, and assist the public, even at a degree of risk to their establishment. The amount of Bank of England notes in circulation on 3d December 1825, was not 17,500,000*l.*; but on the 25th of that month it exceeded 25,500,000*l.* This arose from an issue of no less than 8,000,000*l.* to bankers and merchants; made in the case of merchants in the discount of bills of exchange; in the case of bankers on the deposit partly of bills, partly of title deeds and other securities. At such a time of alarm no notes except those of a body of undoubted stability like the Bank of England would have been current; and large issues of them were required to replace the void caused as well by the discredit of country bank paper as by that hoarding of gold, on the part of timid persons, which always takes place in seasons of alarm. On one memorable day, the number of mercantile bills discounted by the bank was 4200. On a former emergency in the history of the bank, viz., in the year 1746, when the Pretender was marching towards the capital, at the head of his Highland followers, the bank had sought to gain time by making its payments in silver; but in 1825, gold was handed over as soon as called for, and in the quickest manner; not by tale, but in bags of twenty-five sovereigns each. The run on the bank for gold, in December, 1825, was the greatest that had taken place since February, 1797. Comparing the two occasions, we find that in 1797, the directors lessened their discounts, and withheld their issues, apprehending that to continue them would lead to the exhaustion of their treasure; but their successors, in 1825, took the bold course of continuing their advances.

Advances by the Bank of England to Government.—The advances made by the directors out of their disposable capital, half a century ago, averaged 8,000,000*l.*, and continued to increase in succeeding years, particularly on the exemption of the bank from cash payments, in 1797. After that remarkable event, the bank advances to government rose to 14,000,000*l.*, continued at that sum or upwards during the war, and are at present considerably above it; because in a time of profound peace, the bank leave the discount of mercantile bills to individual banking houses, and invest their money in government securities. The following is a summary for the last thirty-five years.

Average of the advances of the bank to government, on the security chiefly of Exchequer bills.

During the ten years, from 1797 to 1807	14,000,000 <i>l.</i>
do. do. from 1807 to 1817	22,000,000
do. do. from 1817 to 1827	19,000,000
do. five years, from 1827 to 1832	19,000,000

It thus appears that the bank advances to government are as large since the peace as during the war, but at a very different rate of charge, Exchequer bills bearing now only 2½ instead of 5 per cent. interest. A somewhat higher interest might be obtained for the bank, by vesting money in the public funds, but these necessarily vary in price, and it is a rule in banking to avoid investing in a security of fluctuating value.

Foreign Exchanges; their Effect on the Bank.—Although the bank has no commercial transactions, not even in drawing or receiving bills from abroad, it is incumbent on the directors to look attentively at the exchanges, from their influence, on the export and import of the precious metals.

The mercantile intercourse between places of such magnitude as London, Paris, Amsterdam, Hamburg, implies the frequent transmission of money and bills of exchange; and the rate of exchange is, of course, regulated by the nature of the existing transactions. In time of peace the value of specie is nearly the same in all parts of Europe, because the transmission of gold takes place at a very small charge, less than 5*s.* per 100*l.*

The rate of exchange varies very little in peace, for whenever it exceeds ¼ per cent., the merchants who are desirous of remitting, draw coin or bullion from the Bank of England, and send it abroad through the medium of those who make the conveyance of the precious metals a branch of business. In the year 1823, the exchanges were favourable to this country, and large sums of gold came in; in the autumn of 1824, they turned against us, and exports of coin and bullion took place on a large scale. After the panic in December, 1825, there was a general fall in the price of merchandise; and the exchanges turned once more in our favour, according to the law in mercantile intercourse, that a decline in the price of goods tends to bring gold and silver into the country of the decline, for the plain reason that merchandise can be bought more cheaply there than elsewhere. Again in the autumn of 1828, our harvest being partially deficient, the foreign exchanges turned, in some measure, against us, it being foreseen that money would be required on the Continent to purchase corn for this country.

To all such circumstances the bank directors are obliged to attend, and to limit their circulation accordingly. This forms the difference in the situation of the bank now, and at the time of the exemption from cash payments; a time when it was unnecessary to watch the exchanges, because the bank could not be subjected to any drain of bullion or coin. The difference is very great; for in the one case the bank is under a direct and peremptory check; in the other, it was wholly independent, and, the currency being in paper, the directors could with ease furnish the advances required by either government or the mercantile body.

The Bank of England possesses the power of expanding or contracting the amount of its notes in circulation; but, in the exercise of that power, the directors act with great caution. Thus, when the foreign exchanges are likely to fall, and it appears incumbent on the bank to contract its paper, the directors do not act on opinion, but wait until an actual demand for gold has been made on the bank. Even then they do not make a direct contraction of their circulation; they merely forbear to issue notes in the place of those which have been paid in by the public for gold. They (the directors) are aware, that, under any circumstances, a diminution of the currency is unfavourable to trade, lower-

ing the price of commodities and producing a general dullness in markets.

The price of gold in the bullion-market of London varies very little in time of peace, being regulated by the rate at which the bank makes its purchases: at present, that rate is 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* per ounce. The price of silver depends on the foreign exchanges, and rises or falls with them. The bank seldom attempts to influence the rate of exchange; but on particular occasions, when it seemed of consequence to prevent a fall of the exchange with Paris, the bank has sent abroad a quantity of silver, as a means of lessening the number of bills to be drawn on London. Such exports are seldom large, not exceeding a few hundred thousand pounds; and they take place either in bullion, foreign coin, or bar-silver.

The Cash Reserve at the Bank.—It is a rule at the bank to keep in treasure a sum equal to a third, or nearly a third, of the amount of their notes in circulation. Thus when the amount of the latter is eighteen millions, six millions form a fair proportion for the cash reserve, and twelve millions are vested so as to produce interest. Such a reserve has almost always been found sufficient; for even in the latter part of that year of wild speculation, 1825, the gold drawn from the bank had paid for all our foreign purchases, and the exchanges were turning in our favour; when, unfortunately, the failure of a number of country banks caused a farther drain of gold from the Bank of England to the extent of several millions, and brought the reserve very low. After that came a long interval of tranquillity, for there was no serious drain of gold from the bank during four or five years; till, after August, 1830, the troubled state of France and Belgium made money scarce in those countries, and obliged foreign merchants to apply to their correspondents in England to obtain loans of money. The sums thus required were drawn from the bank, so that in less than a year the gold in the bank was reduced from eleven to six millions.

These examples of sudden drain make it incumbent on the directors to keep a considerable reserve in coin and bullion. They reckon on having to supply the money market of London with coin, as well as to be provided against the possible occurrence of a commercial panic, which would force both town and country bankers to drain gold in large sums from the bank. With that view most of the disposable capital of the bank is invested in securities, which can, if required, be brought to sale on the Stock Exchange; such is the case, not only with exchequer bills and government stock, but with the greatest of all their assets, the annuity on the dead weight. That annuity might be divided or subdivided, so that portions of it might, if necessary, be sold to public companies or individual capitalists.

Monies deposited in the Bank.—The public consider the Bank of England chiefly as a bank of issue, as the quarter for supplying paper money to the metropolis, and in some degree to England in general. That is, doubtless, its most important function; but it has transactions also on a very large scale as a bank of deposit. It receives, in this manner, for safe custody;—

Money from bankers whether in town or country.

Money from merchants and others in London, who are not bankers; and, above all,

The money of government; rendering to the Treasury and other public offices, in daily paying and receiving sums of money, the same services as a banking-house in Lombard-Street does to its mercantile connexions.

Deposits by Merchants and Private Individuals.—The amount of notes deposited in the bank by merchants and others for safe custody was at all times considerable, but not great until of late years. Before the war of 1793, the amount varied from one to two millions; during the war, it continued nearly the same; also during ten years of peace, merchants having, in general, great confidence in their respective bankers. But this underwent a change after the panic in December, 1825, when four banking-houses in London, and twenty in the country, suddenly stopped payment. Many persons now considered their money safe only in the Bank of England; they removed it thither; and the result was, that the deposits in the bank by individuals increased gradually from two to three, four, and eventually to six millions, which is their present amount.

Deposits on Account of Government.—The balances remaining at the bank on account of the government offices are, in general, large. Before the war of 1793, the amount of

the whole was usually from three to four millions; but as the war proceeded, and loans and taxes increased, the average amount rose until it became seven, eight, ten, and even eleven millions. These sums were so large as to fix the attention of a Parliamentary Committee in 1807, and to lead to an arrangement by which, in consideration of the magnitude of these balances, the bank agreed to lend government three millions without interest.

Since the peace and the cessation of public loans, the deposits in the bank for government have decreased greatly, and now average only three or four millions.

Capital of the Bank of England; its amount, and how invested.—The bank capital is composed of the following:—

(1) The sums paid up at different periods, between 1694 and 1781, by proprietors or holders of bank stock, in all	£11,642,400
(2) Added in 1806, from accumulated profits, 25 per cent. to the existing capital	2,910,600

Together . . . £14,553,000

This is the capital on which the holders of bank stock receive dividends, and, being permanently lent to government, may be called the fixed capital of the bank.

(3) The disposable capital of the bank, consisting of the following:—

The amount of the bank notes in circulation; the amount of the deposits in the bank by government and individuals; and lastly, the rest or undivided profits of the bank proprietors. The large sums of money arising from these sources are never permanently lent, but remain at the disposal of the directors, and are invested by them in securities which fall due at fixed periods, and are consequently changed from time to time. On 29th February, 1832, the date of the latest published return, the disposable assets or capital of the bank were as follows:

Exchequer bills	£6,834,940
Amount advanced by the bank to government towards the "dead weight," or half-pay and pensions of the army and navy. This advance was made in the five years between April, 1823, and April, 1828, to the amount of	10,897,880
In return, the bank are entitled to receive from government 585,740 <i>l.</i> annually, until the year 1867.	
Government 3 per cent. stock purchased by the bank	764,000
The bank hold of government 3 per cent. stock	£14,686,800
While there is due by the bank to its proprietors, only	14,553,000

Leaving a surplus of	133,800
City bonds	500,000
Mercantile bills and notes under discount	2,951,970
Lent on mortgages	1,452,100
Lent to the London Dock Company	227,500
Advanced on various securities	570,690
Coin and bullion in bank	5,293,150

Total of disposable assets . . . £29,626,030

Responsibilities of the Bank.

Bank-notes in circulation	£18,051,710
Ditto deposited in the bank by the government offices	2,034,790
Ditto by bankers and other individuals	5,738,430
Due to government for balance of Audit Roll, Exchequer bills deposited, and unpaid annuities	1,163,940
Surplus in favour of the bank	2,637,160
Total	£29,626,030

Annuity on account of the Dead Weight.—The advance made by the bank to government on account of the "dead-weight," or half-pay and pensions of retired officers of the army, navy, and ordnance, is of such importance as to require explanation. Ten years ago (in 1823) the sums thus payable by government amounted to the very large sum of five millions annually. Ministers saw on one side that the pressure of taxation was very severe; on the

other, that our population returns showed a regular increase of numbers, which, added to the prospect of continued peace, justified them in assuming that, as time passed on, the nation would gradually be less oppressed by the burden; thence the plan of obtaining present relief by transferring a part of the burden to the next generation. The debt in question was not in its nature permanent; the deaths occurring among the officers lessened the amount to be paid by nearly 100,000*l.* annually; and it was calculated that, on the average of mortality, the whole would come to a close in the course of forty-four years. This suggested the idea of offering to a great public body a fixed annuity for that term of years, in consideration of their coming forward and relieving the public of a part of the present payments. The South Sea directors entertained the project for a time, but soon discovered that it was beyond their means; ministers had then recourse to the Bank of England, who accepted the offer to a limited extent, and advanced, in the course of five years, nearly eleven millions of money, receiving from government an engagement to pay them an annuity of 585,740*l.* until the year 1867.

Yearly Income of the Bank.—The income of the bank arises from the following sources:—

Interest on Exchequer bills and other government securities. Ditto on mercantile bills discounted.

Ditto, 3 per cent. on the permanent capital at the bank, 14,553,600*l.* belonging to the proprietors and lent to government.

Allowance from government for managing the public debt.

The Bank of England has at all times had a steady income or profit, because its business has been conducted with caution; but the same reason prevented its profit, at least in former times, from exceeding a certain moderate limit. 7 per cent. was the usual annual dividend to the proprietors of bank stock during almost the whole of the eighteenth century; but in 1797 the exemption from cash payments made a complete change in its situation. The exemption increased the income of the bank in two ways; by extending its circulation, and by saving it the large sum of interest sacrificed till then in keeping a cash reserve. Hence a great addition to the income of the proprietors of bank stock; which was given to them in occasional distributions or extra allowances, as follows:—10 per cent. in 1799, 5 per cent. in 1801, 2½ per cent. in 1802, 5 per cent. in 1804, 5 per cent. in 1805, and 5 per cent. in 1806.

After this, the extra allowances were suspended, and the annual dividend was raised from 7 to 10 per cent., at which it continued till the peace in 1815. It then became incumbent on the directors to make a final settlement with the proprietors for the accumulated profits; and, accordingly, a sum of no less than 25 per cent. on the existing capital was carried to the credit of the account of each proprietor in the bank books. The annual dividend was continued at 10 per cent. until the year 1823, when, from a decrease in the profits, consequent on the recall of the small notes and the resumption of cash payments, the dividend was reduced to 8 per cent., at which it has since continued.

The Rest or Surplus of undivided Profits.—The amount of these was about 3,000,000*l.* until 1797, after which, the bank being exempt from cash payments, the surplus increased to four, five, and six millions; attaining its greatest amount at the end of the war, which led, in 1816, to the above-mentioned dividend. Considerable expense was incurred by the bank in procuring gold from abroad, in 1817 and 1818; and still more in 1820, 1821, and 1822; after which, the surplus fund of profits was reduced to two and a half millions, its present amount.

Profit from the Circulation of Bank Notes.—The notes issued by the bank are invested so as to afford several different rates of profit: Exchequer bills yield only 2½ per cent.; government stock somewhat more than 3 per cent.; and mercantile bills, 4 per cent., annually; the medium being 3 per cent. This, on so great a sum as is circulated by the bank, would afford a very large income; but it is a rule, that the same notes shall be issued only once: as soon as they are brought back to the bank, they are cancelled, even though very lately issued, and consequently unimpaired by wear. The motive for this extra trouble and expense is, that whenever notes are called for, there should be ready for delivery a regular succession of numbers, which to bankers is a great convenience in counting money. But so extensive a fabrication of notes is attended with considerable expense; and it is computed, that though the interest

obtained by the bank, on the amount of its circulation, averages 3 per cent., the net profit arising from the circulation does not exceed $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

This great reduction arises mainly from two causes; the cost of stamps, or rather the composition with the Stamp Office, which, for the whole circulation of the bank, averages 75,000*l.* annually; and the various charges attending the preparing and issuing the notes computed at 100,000*l.*

Summary of the income and expenditure of the bank for the year 1832.

EXPENDITURE.		INCOME.	
Salaries, &c. as above	£339,400	Discounts	£248,321
Forgeries, losses, and sundry items	89,274	Interest on Exchequer bills and other government securities	670,598
Stamp duty on notes	70,875	Ditto on capital 3 per cent. received from government	446,502
Dividend to proprietors, 8 per cent. on permanent capital	1,164,235	Allowance for managing the public debt	251,896
Surplus on the year	25,392	Profits on bullion, agency, &c.	71,859
Total	£1,689,176	Total	£1,689,176

Regulations of the Bank of England; its Interior Management.—There are four general meetings of proprietors in the course of a year; viz., in March or April, July, September, and December. A proprietor, to vote at these meetings, must hold 500*l.* of bank stock. The qualification, as it is called, of a director, or the sum that a proprietor must hold to enable him to be a director, is 2000*l.*; and few, if any, of the directors hold more.

A committee of three directors sit daily at the bank. On the Wednesday, a court of ten directors sit, to consider all London notes and bills sent in for discount. On Thursday, there is a meeting of the whole court, when all notes of more than 2000*l.* come under their review. No step of importance is taken without the assent of a majority of the court. Communications between the bank directors and government take place with the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The directors account it their duty to inform these ministers of the state of their cash reserve, and of other points of importance; but there is no interference, on the part of government, with the affairs of the bank. "There is," said the governor to the late Committee, "no concealment in our communication with the Treasury; not even on the confidential part of the business at the bank. Ministers have no legal authority for enforcing any change in the arrangements of the bank, but their opinions are always considered with attention by the directors."

Accounts of the Bank.—In former times, the practice of the Bank of England, like that of Venice and Amsterdam, was to observe strict secrecy in regard to its accounts, whether relating to the amount of its notes in circulation, its treasure in hand, or its yearly profits. In 1797, the suspension of cash payments made it incumbent on the directors to deviate in some degree from this mystery; and the result was, that they thenceforth reported regularly to government the amount of their notes in circulation, which was afterwards made known to the public by the newspapers. Everything else, however, was kept secret until last year, when the Appendix to the Report of the Committee on Bank Affairs gave to the public a great deal of information on topics hitherto considered confidential: viz., the amount of discounts, the coin and bullion in hand, the yearly expenses and profits of the bank. The question now is, whether the publication shall be continued, particularly in regard to the amount of coin and bullion in hand. The objection to stating it to the public is, that at a time when it might be low, as in the autumn of 1825, a combination might be formed to bring it still lower, and to seek individual profit from the general distress. However, such an apprehension is not at all general, intelligent men taking a different view of the probabilities of the case, and considering, that on such an emergency the bank would receive the willing support of many capitalists, which, joined to the extent of its own resources and the ready means of importing gold from abroad, would soon baffle so reprehensible a combination. The question, as to continuing to publish, is not yet decided; but the confidence with which documents of all kinds were last year laid before the Committee, and subsequently before the public, affords the prospect of a similar pub-

licity being continued by the directors. Of this there is already an example in the case of the Bank of France, where the amounts of discounts and of cash in hand are communicated in print, every half-year, to the proprietors of bank stock.

REFORMS IN THE LAW OF REAL PROPERTY.

DURING the present session several bills have been introduced, having for their object to reform various parts of our law, which needed alteration, from being inconsistent with good sense, or from having been established in times, and under circumstances, different from the present. The common law of England grew up in an age when the wealth and population of the country were comparatively insignificant,—when the spirit and temper of men were interwoven with the feudal system—when there was little manufacturing or commercial enterprise—when land was almost the only possession of substantial value,—its cultivation badly understood—and its transfer not very frequent. The common law was never fixed upon any regular principles of jurisprudence, or upon any comprehensive plan, but is nothing more than the ancient and general customs of the realm, just as the customs of a manor are recognized as the law of that manor, by the common consent of the lord and the tenants. The relation of the king to the owners of land is analogous to that of the lord of a manor to his copyholders. The king's judges sanction the customs whose force has been anciently recognized, and confirmed by judicial decisions, or by statutes. But many of these customs, or laws, have been found by experience to be inconvenient, and it is proposed to make some alterations which we are about to notice. Five bills, intended to come into operation on the 1st of January, 1834, have been brought in by the Solicitor-general, at the recommendation of the commissioners appointed a few years since to inquire into the state of the law of real property, of which the titles are:

1. A Bill for the Limitation of Actions and Suits relating to Real Property, and for simplifying the Remedies for trying the Rights thereto.
2. A Bill for the Amendment of the Law relating to Dower.
3. A Bill for the Amendment of the Law relating to the Estate of a Tenant by the courtesy of England.
4. A Bill for the Amendment of the Law of Inheritance.
5. A Bill for the Abolition of Fines and Recoveries, and for the substitution of more simple modes of Assurance.

The first bill limits to twenty years from the period of the right accruing, the time for making any entry or distress, or bringing any action to recover any land, or rent; so that twenty years possession will now, generally speaking, confer a good title, instead of sixty years, for which it has generally been necessary to deduce titles. This will not only prevent litigation by claimants of old standing, but will materially abridge the expense of making out titles, for the purposes of sale, mortgage, or otherwise. Mortgagees of land are to be limited, in redeeming from mortgagees in possession, to the period of twenty years from the time when possession was taken, or an acknowledgment of title given. No lands are to be recovered by ecclesiastical or eleemosynary corporations sole, (such as bishops, parsons, &c.) but within two incumbencies and six years, or otherwise within sixty years after the right accruing. No advowsons are to be recovered but within three adverse incumbencies, or sixty years, and no advowson is to be recovered after a hundred years, unless a clerk presented by the claimant shall subsequently have obtained possession. All real and mixed actions, except those of dower, *quare impedit*, and ejectment, are to be abolished—a very important provision, which gets rid of no less than sixty-two antiquated and expensive forms of actions having reference to land, so that the only proceedings will now be, a writ for women's dower, a *quare impedit* for rights of presentation, and an action of ejectment to recover the possession of land. Money charged in any manner upon land, and legacies, are to be deemed satisfied at the end of twenty years, unless there be a payment of interest, or an acknowledgment, and no arrears of dower, of rent, or of interest, are to be recovered for more than six years, which puts them on the footing of simple contract debts. Such are the leading provisions of this bill, and it is to be hoped they will be found conducive to the desired ends—namely, the prevention of litigation, the security of property, and the diminution of legal expenses.

✱ The second bill makes alterations in the present law, which gives to widows dower, or thirds, out of any estates of which

their husbands were legally seised in their life-time. It provides that equitable as well as legal estates shall confer dower, and that a right, as well as a seisin or possession, on the part of the husband, shall give it. It enacts that there shall be no dower out of estates sold or devised by the husband—that dower shall be subject to all debts and engagements of the husband—and that a husband may bar his wife's dower either by deed or will. This is an important change, inasmuch as it takes away the ancient legal provision for widows, and subjects their rights either to the pleasure of the husband, or to the disposition of a marriage-settlement. The rights of dower have been found very inconvenient in cases of transfers of property, it being at present necessary to bar them by fine. The limitation of dower to lands of which the husband died possessed is the same thing which exists in most manors in regard to copyholds, and seems quite as fair as the limitation of the right of inheritance, which only applies to land of which a man died possessed. When it is considered that a marriage scarcely ever takes place without a settlement, where there is any property in the case, there does not seem much reason to apprehend that widows will suffer much by these restrictions upon their right of dower.

The third bill declares that a husband may enjoy his wife's estate as tenant by the courtesy, although actual possession of it in his life-time may not have been had, and although there may not have been issue of the marriage,—and also that, where there is issue of the wife by a former husband, the estate by the courtesy shall only extend to one child. These changes appear reasonable, but tenancy by the courtesy is not now very common, as women's property is usually settled at the time of their marriage.

The fourth bill, among several technical regulations as to tracing descent, &c. makes the following just and reasonable alterations in the law of inheritance, viz. that the lineal ancestor may inherit in preference to collaterals, so that a father will be preferred to a brother or sister;—that relations of the half-blood may inherit after those of the whole blood of the same degree;—and that the descendants of an alien, or an attainted person, may inherit. The propriety of these enactments has been advocated by lawyers, as well as others, for many years past.

The fifth bill is intended to abolish fines and recoveries. Fines is a fictitious action mostly used for barring dower, in which the husband and wife acknowledge the land demanded that chiefe property of the demandant, and so it passes from years of a recovery is also a fictitious action commenced are frequent to recover lands in which a tenant in tail is interested. The tenant appoints an attorney to appear at the bar them an court of Common Pleas, who appears there accordingly a witness and vouches a person, who does not come, whereby judgment by default is obtained by the demandant, and so the entail is barred. This proceeding was invented by the ingenuity of the early judges, in order to evade an old statute, called the statute *de donis*, which declares that the will of the donor of lands shall be observed, and entails never be cut off. Both fines and recoveries have useful objects, but the fictions they rest upon are objectionable, and the expenses of them, composed chiefly of the fees paid at the law-offices, are much greater in general than the property can conveniently be subjected to. The present bill, therefore, enables the same object to be effected by simpler means. It gives to tenants in tail the power of disposing of lands entailed upon them, without suffering any recovery, just as if they held the lands absolutely, or in fee-simple. It also puts an end to fines, and enables married women, with their husbands' concurrence, to dispose of their estates in right of dower, or otherwise, by deed to be executed in the presence of a judge, or master in chancery, or commissioner properly authorised. Probably it might have been practicable to have retained the forms of fines and recoveries, with a diminution of their expenses, but this does not appear to us at all desirable, and we do not see how any simpler mode could have been devised than that prescribed by the present bill.

We should add, that a bill was introduced last session, at the like recommendation of the commissioners of inquiry, for establishing a general register for all deeds and instruments affecting real property, in England and Wales. It is intended that, in due time, this register shall be the place where all titles may be traced, and it will, in fact, gradually become a repository for all the titles in the kingdom. Its advantages seem to be that it will prevent the possibility of frauds in the way of secret incumbrances, and that it will

afford a simple means for deducing titles to land, just as is at present the case with regard to shipping, the ownership of which is registered at the Custom-House. Registration has long been practised in Scotland, and also, it is said, in several parts of the continent, particularly in the towns in Germany, with great public convenience and advantage. On the other hand, the system is not generally agreeable to the landed interest, who seem to fear the disclosure of incumbrances on their estates, and many petitions have been presented against it, on the ground, in a great measure, that it will be injurious to commercial credit by publishing the mortgages and charges on estates. To this, however, it has been replied, that the register will only be allowed to be searched by parties interested in doing so, and not for purposes of curiosity. We certainly do not dread much the evil of making deeds public, for we think it would, in the long run, be much better if the exact state of every man's property was known to those with whom he has dealings, but we have some doubts whether it might not be advisable to delay the establishment of the register until the system of conveyancing be generally reformed. The late Mr. Humphreys, in his book on the subject, pointed out more clearly, perhaps, than any one else, how that might be done. If it should be found possible to simplify and shorten deeds to any considerable extent, and to bring to an end many superfluous ceremonies with which conveyancing is now embarrassed, then we should say that a register of deeds would be the crown of the other reforms. But it is not very clear that a general Metropolitan Register would be preferable to local registers in counties or districts; and there are other doubtful questions in regard to the present bill, which deserve mature consideration before it is finally adopted. We believe it is not intended to press it during the present session.

COURTS OF LOCAL JURISDICTION.

The Lord Chancellor has introduced into the House of Lords, a bill for establishing courts of local jurisdiction, the preamble of which recites, "That the means should be afforded to the people of this realm of having their suits tried as speedily and as near to their own homes as may be, whereby expense, vexation, and delay, may be avoided; and that it is fitting that, at the first, the provisions for this purpose should be confined to certain parts of the country, to the end that the rest thereof may profit of the improvements suggested by experience, when the same shall be extended over the whole of the kingdom, and that the due administration of justice may be placed upon a sure foundation." This is one of the most important reforms which has yet reached our civil jurisprudence, and the heads of the bill ought to be generally known, in order that its value may be duly appreciated.

The bill enables the crown to appoint judges in ordinary for counties or districts, who are not to be removable except by parliamentary address, together with registrars, in order to form local courts. These courts are to take cognizance of debts not exceeding 20*l.*, and of torts, such as assaults, libels, *crima. cons.*, &c. not exceeding 50*l.*, provided the title to land does not come in question, and by consent of parties their jurisdiction is to extend to all actions generally. The actions are to be brought in the courts of the counties where both parties, or the defendants, reside. The parties are to be allowed to examine each other in the presence of the judge before trial. The trial may be had without a jury, if desired by both parties, or otherwise by a jury of six. The judges are to hold courts of reconciliation, and if the parties agree to abide by the judge's advice, and do not abide by it, they may sue each other for breach of the agreement. The bankruptcy business is to be administered by the local judges, and official assignees are to be appointed in the country. There are other minor provisions, which we do not recapitulate here.

One of the first objects of governments ought to be to secure the due administration of justice at the least possible inconvenience to the parties. But under the present system, if a man residing in Yorkshire is obliged to sue his neighbour for a debt or injury, he must commence his proceedings in London, and continue them there until the trial, which takes place at the assize town, at the distance of, perhaps, thirty or forty miles from the residence of himself, his attorney, and witnesses. In this manner an expense of 50*l.* may be incurred in an action for 5*l.*, and an action commenced in August may not be tried till the next Lent assizes in March.

Now the great majority of actions that are brought at all, are brought for very trifling sums, and hence the time of the judges of assize is for the most part occupied with matters which might be otherwise disposed of with great advantage to all parties. All this is very contrary to the rule laid down by that eminent jurist, Mr. Bentham, that there ought to be a court of justice so near every man, that he may go to it, obtain justice, and return before night. The whole of the administration of civil justice is centred in London, with the exception of the trials at the assizes. It is a system of centralization, like that of many institutions of imperial origin in France, excellent as far its uniformity goes, but highly inconvenient to those upon whom it operates.

The most perfect scheme of jurisprudence would be that which brought home to every man's door both civil and criminal justice, in all cases whatever. But inasmuch as our procedure has been established on a directly opposite system, the difficulty lies in approximating to a plan totally different from the present. It must be admitted that uniformity of legal decisions and proceedings throughout the kingdom is highly desirable; but this uniformity might be obtained by means of a superior court of appeal, or revision, like the court of cassation in France, which revises the judgments of the local tribunals there. We do not imagine it would be impracticable to preserve uniformity of law, even if each county had an entirely distinct administration of justice of its own, supposing there were in London one superior court of appeal to reconcile and control any errors in the local courts. But the present bill is only a very distant approximation to a regular system of local jurisprudence, its scope being, as already stated, very limited, and its operation being intended to be confined, at first, to a few counties, among which Kent and Yorkshire have been named.

It is not merely the principle of the bill which is good, but it contains several excellent provisions hitherto unknown in our law, such as the enabling the parties to examine each other, and the establishment of courts of reconciliation or arbitration, for the amicable settlement of differences before going to trial. This institution has been found to answer extremely well in Denmark, and some other foreign states, and is based not only upon good sense, but upon Christian principles. We hope the judges may have the most employment in their character of peacemakers.

A jury of six will, we apprehend, be found quite a sufficient number, and will lessen the inconvenience which jurymen are obliged to sustain in the public service. Indeed, looking at the kind of actions to be tried, it is probable that the permission to try before the judge, without a jury, will be often availed of.

The local judges will afford a good opportunity for extending to the country the benefits of the new administration of the bankruptcy laws now in operation in London, and they will also be useful in furthering incidental proceedings and inquiries for the courts of equity.

We should have supposed that the jurisdiction of the local courts might safely have extended to debts of 100*l.* and torts of 200*l.*, if the Lord Chancellor had not stated that he concurred in the opinions of the judges that the sums fixed by the bill were a proper limit. But at all events the measure is highly valuable as the first departure from a bad system, and the first step toward a general system of local judicature, which will, we trust, sooner or later, be established in this country.

CRIME IN LONDON.

THE suppression of crime is the first duty and the first interest of society. It is that upon which its very existence depends. If a free country were even to be conquered and reduced to subjection by another state, such a calamity would not be so great as would be the entire overthrow of the law which protects person and property. In the one case the community would lose only its political independence, and its power of self-movement and self-regulation; in the other, it would be utterly broken up and dissolved.

A people, when their political independence is in danger, would think it strange to be dissuaded from attempting the defence of so invaluable a possession, on the ground that the effort would probably cost much money. The universal cry would justly be, that the cost in such a case was not deserving of a thought. The thing to be preserved has

ever, in such circumstances, been felt to be one, the price of which could not be measured in money.

Now, on the subject of a police for the prevention of crime, it may be equally laid down as a first principle, that the mere expense of such an establishment, in so far as such an expense is necessary for the object aimed at, is a matter which has no claim to be considered at all. We think, that in this country such a view of the case has not usually been admitted so fully as it ought to have been. We have spent immense sums upon many other objects, of different degrees of importance,—upon wars, necessary or otherwise—upon state establishments of various kinds—upon colonies—upon the support of the agricultural interest—upon the maintenance of the poor in idleness: but to the institution of any comprehensive and effective system of contrivances for the prevention of offences against the law, the public feeling seems to have been hitherto indifferent and almost repugnant; and any portion of the national resources that has been occasionally allowed to flow in that direction has been parsimoniously and grudgingly given. The matter has scarcely been regarded as a perfectly legitimate object of public expenditure.

This aversion, which is so general a feeling in England, has originated, there can be no doubt, whatever shape it may sometimes assume, in considerations very different from any of a merely economical character. If it had been quite evident, that even at a very large cost in money the perpetration of crimes could be prevented, or much more completely restrained than it is, without any equivoqualing evil of any other kind following the attempt, the popular prejudice which we have now to contend with never would have sprung up. But in this, as in every other question of politics, there is the balance of advantages and disadvantages to be considered,—that intermixture of the evil with every good, and of the good with every evil, which the shallow declaimer for what he calls a principle, usually overlooks, but which the true politician knows to be, in every case, the whole problem which his science has to resolve. A police to restrain crime might, it was apprehended, interfere with and shackle the liberty of all others as well as criminals. It might be made an instrument in the hands of the government to abridge the public freedom, and lay the foundations of a despotism. One might, without this perversion, turn out to be an annoyance and intolerable impediment in every man's way, to him in his most secluded and domestic movements of the depriving him of all refuge from publicity as entreaty, or he were caged in a panopticon. And, doubtless, so that these apprehended results are such as, if they were, confer avoidable consequences of any great extension of our general police, would make it better for us to continue to surmount the inconveniences which its imperfection entails upon us than to attempt its improvement.

It is right, however, at any rate, that we should be fully aware of the amount and character of the evils to which we are, and long have been, subjected under the existing system—of the price which we deem ourselves compelled to pay for our peculiar immunities. If the public attention were brought to bear as fully as it ought upon this part of the subject, we are quite certain that more anxious efforts than any that have hitherto been made, would be applied to the contrivance of means for the reconciliation of those two great but often interfering and conflicting ends of civil society, the maintenance of liberty on the one hand, and that of order on the other. Nor should we despair of such a system—partly of police, and partly of institutions of a different character—being in consequence discovered and put in force, as should greatly reduce the present amount of crime in these kingdoms, without any abridgment of the freedom of individual action whatever.

The subject is so large a one, that an examination of it, in all its parts, would occupy many volumes. All that we propose to do on the present occasion is to introduce it to the attention of our readers by some notices of the state of crime in the present day and at various past times, in what has always been its chief haunt, this immense metropolis.

The fullest account that has been given of the modern criminal state of London is to be found in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons which was appointed to examine into the subject in 1828, and in the evidence thereto appended. Other committees had sat and made reports in 1772, 1793, 1812, 1818, and 1822; but on none of these occasions had anything like the same amount of

information being collected. It is very interesting to compare some of the statements contained in the Report of 1828 with the notices we have of the state of things at different former periods; nor is such an inquiry without its useful lessons. If there are any descriptions of offences, formerly prevailing to a large extent, which in the progress of time have greatly diminished among us, or altogether disappeared, we may probably in this way be able to trace the causes to which we owe our deliverance from them; and in so far, at least, as the evil has been put down by the successful operation of expedients which have been expressly devised and carried into execution for that end, the fact ought to furnish us with an important direction as to the methods to be adopted in those other cases, in which no such amelioration has taken place. We shall confine our present remarks to a few of those criminal pursuits which have been carried on in the metropolis for centuries, and are still followed as extensively, and with nearly as much impunity, as ever.

Do these boys attend any school?—None, as I believe.

Are there not many boys of that age who sleep in baskets and on the offal round Covent Garden?—Yes; I have taken some of them up, and I have saved one or two from destruction, by taking charge of them in the night and handing them over to their parents. There was an instance of a son of a surveyor at Marylebone: I found him in company with some professed thieves at three o'clock one morning; he had a watch and some shirts, and other things, which were the property of his father, and he was then only waiting for daylight to get a ship to go off; and I took him to the watch-house for the night, and he was restored to his anxious father the next day.

Are there not certain classes of boys that have no regular lodgings, who live in the market, and who sleep in the baskets at night?—Yes, there are, and not only at night, but in the day. We can take nearly a hundred of them, particularly at the time the oranges are about; they come there picking up the bits of oranges, both boys and girls; and there are prostitutes at eleven, twelve, and thirteen years of age. * * * I counted last night, at the king's entrance of the theatre, seventeen individuals, men and women, that were apparently houseless, sleeping there.

Mr. Dyer, the police magistrate, states, in his evidence, that children are frequently brought before him, of "ten years of age, and even under." These juvenile delinquents are frequently employed by the older thieves to assist them in cases in which the smallness of their persons gives them an advantage; as, for instance, in entering a house by a window from which one of the panes has been removed. In committing their ordinary depredations, they generally prowl about the streets in companies of two or three, of whom each has his particular part to act, one snatching up the plunder, and another receiving it from him and running off with it.

It is very obvious that no mere police regulations are at all likely to be effectual in putting down this description of criminals, so long as the destitution and abandonment by which they are bred continue to exist. They are the natural produce of that hotbed of vice and misery; and will continue to issue from it while it remains unremoved. Any punishments that may be inflicted can, in the nature of things, operate but very imperfectly in restraining either their growth or their delinquencies. To send them to jail, as most of our jails are at present conducted, is only to send them to the best school of crime. But even worth, it is itself prison discipline were made over so per-ascertain how many of these persons there are at present, but four of the principal have been pointed out. One was lately the farmer of one of the greatest turnpike-trusts in the metropolis. . . . Another has, it is said, been a surgeon in the army. The two others of the four have no trade, but live like men of property; and one of these, who appears to be the chief of the whole set, is well known on the turf, and is stated, on good grounds, to be worth 30,000*l*.

In 1796 appeared the first edition of the well-known "Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis," by the late Mr. Colquhoun, then one of the magistrates attached to the office in Worship Street, Finsbury Square. We look upon this work as one of the most important expositions ever published on the social condition of this or any other country. Some of its statements have been charged with

exaggeration; and, considering the impossibility of attaining perfect accuracy in regard to such subjects, it is possible that one or two of the author's conjectural estimates, as to the numbers of the various descriptions of criminals, may be beyond the truth; although we are not aware that he has yet been proved to be in error as to any of those points respecting which his authority has been disputed by persons whose inquiries and means of ascertaining the facts had not been nearly so ample as his. But, be our confidence in these enumerations what it may, there can be no question as to the substantial correctness of the information given in the work, with regard to the practices and habits of the several classes of persons engaged in the systematic violation of the law. On the general subject of police and criminal jurisprudence, also, the views which it advocates are greatly in advance of those which were generally entertained at the time when it appeared. There is almost no improvement, which has been since introduced into our system of police, which is not pointed out by Mr. Colquhoun; and most of the great principles which for the last twenty or thirty years have been contended for by the most enlightened of our law reformers—such, for example, as the mitigation of the criminal code, the substitution of certain for sanguinary punishments, the application of punishment to the reformation of the offender and retribution to the party whom he has injured, the classification of prisoners, &c.—are to be found strenuously recommended in his publication. The book excited great attention when it first appeared; and it has been many times reprinted since. It is probable, however, that the period at which the intelligent author proposed his reforms operated unfavourably to their adoption by the government; which, while the French revolution was running its course of blood and madness, opposed itself to all change, with a determination in which it was supported by the alarmed feelings of the country in general. Had it not been for this cause, it is difficult to understand how Mr. Colquhoun's statements and suggestions should have, for many years, produced so little effect in the improvement of the system, the faults of which he so ably and so clearly pointed out. Many of the most important of them, indeed, yet remain to be adopted.

But to return to the system of receivers. According to the late Report, the persons by whom the ordinary business of this infamous traffic is principally carried on, are those low buyers and sellers of old metal, designated "Dealers in Marine Stores," whose apparently wretched shops, so inscribed, may be seen in many of the lowest streets of the metropolis. All pewter pots pilfered from publicans, and pieces of lead, brass, and iron, stolen by workmen and others, are immediately carried to these depositories, and converted into money. The reader may form some conception of the extent to which thefts of this description are committed, when he is told that the publicans of London and its vicinity, in a petition to the House of Commons in 1796, estimated their loss, in pewter pots, at no less a sum than 100,000*l*. per annum; Mr. Colquhoun has set it down in his list at 55,000*l*. At the time when he published his work, the old iron, rag, and store shops, which, with scarcely an exception, were well known to be kept mainly for the purpose of receiving stolen goods, amounted, in London alone, to upwards of three thousand. And within the preceding twenty years they had multiplied nearly tenfold,—having, at the commencement of that period, been only between three and four hundred in number. Although these shops exhibited to public view only a beggarly appearance of old iron, many of them, it is stated, had large premises behind, filled with a great variety of valuable articles, almost all of which had been pilfered.

Formerly it was the pawnbrokers who principally carried on this trade; and although there are now many respectable members of that body, it is well known that there are still some who continue the practices of their predecessors. About the middle of the last century, all pawnbrokers appear to have been looked upon as in league with thieves. Fielding, the novelist, who was for many years a magistrate of the Bow Street police office, and who, in 1751, published a curious pamphlet, entitled "An Inquiry into the Causes of the Increase of Robbers," speaks of them in that work, almost without any qualification, as merely receivers of stolen goods. "Is it impossible," he asks, "to find any means of regulating brokers and pawnbrokers? If so, what arguments are there against extirpating entirely a set of miscreants, which, like other vermin, harbour only about

the poor, and grow fat by sucking their blood?" He afterwards (p. 75) expresses himself as doubtful if there ever be any honest trade between the pawnbroker and the poor.

The trade of a pawnbroker, however, has been since put under regulation by an Act passed in 1775, and other subsequent statutes; and the consequence has been, as we have just remarked, a decided improvement in the mode in which it is generally conducted. But even before the passing of the first of these Acts, a system had been adopted of sending round notices to the different pawnbrokers, as soon as it was known that any burglary had been committed or property stolen; which seems to have had the effect of deterring them from purchasing articles respecting which they had been thus forewarned. This innovation transferred a great part of the trade of receiving stolen goods into other hands. Among the witnesses examined by the Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1772 was Fielding's brother, Sir John Fielding, who was also for many years an active police magistrate. Having laid before the Committee some statements in proof of the great increase of housebreaking for some years preceding, he was asked to what, in his opinion, the increase was to be attributed; when he said "that felons formerly carried their goods to pawnbrokers; but by the present method of quick notice to pawnbrokers, silversmiths, and others, that plan is defeated; and the housebreakers now go to Jews, who melt the plate immediately, and destroy other things that might be evidence, which in burglary can be nothing but the goods, though in other cases the person may be sworn to; that they disguise jewels by knocking them out of the sockets, so that they cannot be sworn to." The new plan, therefore, we see, although it had corrected one evil, had in its stead produced another and a still greater. It had, in a great measure, put down the malpractices of the pawnbrokers; but by sharpening the ingenuity of the thieves to find out a new mode of disposing of their spoil, it had enabled them to institute a still more effective plan for that purpose, and hence to carry on their depredations to a greater extent than ever.

The compounding of a felony was not punishable by law before 1752: up to which time it was common for persons, who had lost property by robberies, openly to advertise a reward to whoever would bring it back, which should be paid without any questions being asked. But in that year an Act was passed, inflicting a penalty of fifty pounds on any person, including the printer and publisher, from whom such an advertisement should proceed. Yet the practice of compounding, as we have seen, has continued to be carried on, on a large scale, down to the present day. Colquhoun states that, in his time, the number of receivers, or, as they are called in the cant language, *fences*, in immediate connexion with thieves, burglars, and highway robbers, was understood to be about fifty or sixty,—"of whom," he adds, "not more than ten (whose names and places of abode are well known) can be said to be persons of property, who can raise money to purchase articles of value." The most notorious case on record, of a person carrying on a regular and extensive trade in the receiving of stolen property, is that of Jonathan Wild, who was executed in 1725, and whom Fielding has immortalized as the hero of one of his works. More ample details, however, of his life and actions, than are given in that performance, may be found in some of the publications which appeared immediately after he fell into the hands of justice. The following extract from one of these, entitled "The Life of Jonathan Wild, by H. D., late Clerk to Justice R.," while it affords a curious sample of his mode of doing business, places in a striking light the extent and completeness to which he had carried his arrangements. In giving an account of the many expert thieves, whom he had in his employment, the writer says:—"These people sometimes went disguised like chairmen, in great-coats and harness; and a couple of them meeting together, stole the young Duchess of Marlborough's chair, as her Grace was visiting at Mrs. H—n's in Piccadilly; her chairmen and footmen being gone to a neighbouring alehouse. One of her servants thought immediately of applying to Mr. Wild, who told him that, if he would leave ten guineas, he might have the chair the next day. The man made some difficulty of leaving the money beforehand, but Mr. Wild told him he was a man of honour, and scorned to wrong him; and, indeed, his character was by this time established as a man that dealt honourably in his way; so that the man ventured at last to

leave the money: wherefore Mr. Wild bade him direct the Duchess's chairmen to attend the morning prayers at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, and there they should find the chair; which the fellows did accordingly, and they found the chair with the crimson velvet cushion and damask curtains, all safe and unhurt. And it must be observed that whenever Jonathan obliged the parties to leave the money beforehand, he very punctually complied with the terms of his agreement as to the delivery of the goods; for one of his common sayings was, that *honesty was the best policy*."

The audacity of Wild's proceedings occasioned an amendment of the law against the receiving of stolen goods, and the taking of a reward for helping any person to their recovery; the former of which offences was, in 1719, made punishable by transportation for fourteen years, and the latter by death. These penalties deterred Wild for some time from prosecuting his trade; but after a while he got over his fears, and proceeding again, with nearly as much boldness as ever, was at length caught in the fatal meshes of the new statute.

The matter has scarcely been regarded as a perfectly legitimate object of public expenditure.

This aversion, which is so general a feeling in England, has originated, there can be no doubt, whatever shape it may sometimes assume, in considerations very different from any of a merely economical character. If it had been quite evident, that even at a very large cost in money the perpetration of crimes could be prevented, or much more completely restrained than it is, without any equipping evil of any other kind following the attempt, the popular prejudice which we have now to contend with never would have sprung up. But in this, as in every other question of politics, there is the balance of advantages and disadvantages to be considered,—that intermixture of the evil with every good, and of the good with every evil, which the shallow declaimer for what he calls a principle, usually overlooks, but which the true politician knows to be, in every case, the whole problem which his science has to resolve. A police to restrain crime might, it was apprehended, interfere with and shackle the liberty of all others as well as criminals. It might be made an instrument in the hands of the government to abridge the public freedom, and lay the foundations of a despotism. Once, night, without this perversion, turn out to be an annoyance, and intolerable impediment in every man's way, no man in his most secluded and domestic movement of the depriving him of all refuge from publicity as an annoyance, or were caged in a panopticon. And, doubtless, so that these apprehended results are such as, if they were, confer inevitable consequences of any great extension of our moral police, would make it better for us to continue to surmount the inconveniences which its imperfection entails upon all than to attempt its improvement.

It is right, however, at any rate, that we should be fully aware of the amount and character of the evils to which we are, and long have been, subjected under the existing system—of the price which we deem ourselves compelled to pay for our peculiar immunities. If the public attention were brought to bear as fully as it ought upon this part of the subject, we are quite certain that more anxious efforts than any that have hitherto been made, would be applied to the contrivance of means for the reconciliation of those two great but often interfering and conflicting ends of civil society, the maintenance of liberty on the one hand, and that of order on the other. Nor should we despair of such a system—partly of police, and partly of institutions of a different character—being in consequence discovered and put in force, as should greatly reduce the present evil attached to the Report of the Committee of 1828 contains many statements upon this head. The following passages from the evidence of Mr. J. S. Thomas (now one of the superintendents of police) present a view of a part of the evil:—

"According to your observation, are there many boys employed about the theatres in picking pockets?—Yes; I have taken seven or eight at a time: I speak of boys that are bill-deliverers. There is a publication called the Theatrical Observer, and those boys deliver the bills, and, if they possibly can, they pick pockets. There are from fifty to sixty immediately round the theatre: I took eight of them before Sir Richard Birnie, one night, to try how far we could interfere in dispersing them; and Sir Richard Birnie spoke to them: one gave one account and one

another; some came from a part of the town called Mutton Hill, at the end of Hatton Garden, some from St. Giles's, and some from Tothill-fields, Westminster; and they place themselves all down Brydges-street, Catharine-street, Charles-street, Bow-street, and round the piazzas at Covent Garden, and even as far as St. Martin's-court, Leicester-fields.

"What are their parents?—In many instances they are fatherless, and in some instances they have proved to have neither father nor mother. There was one little fellow, a most intelligent and interesting-looking lad as ever I saw, who stated that his father was an officer; that he had been born in Colchester barracks; he was illegitimate; and that his father in the first instance had abandoned him, and finally his mother, and that he had no other means of living, and he paid four pence a night for his lodgings: that boy was cautioned, along with the rest, never to be seen there any more; one or two of them went down on their knees before Sir Richard Birnie, and made most solemn assurances that they never would, and within an hour I found them at it again, and they have continued to do so ever since.

"Do these boys attend any school?—None, as I believe.

"Are there not many boys of that age who sleep in baskets and on the offal round Covent Garden?—Yes; I have taken some of them up, and I have saved one or two from destruction, by taking charge of them in the night and handing them over to their parents. There was an instance of a son of a surveyor at Marylebone: I found him in company with some professed thieves at three o'clock one morning; he had a watch and some shirts, and other things, which were the property of his father, and he was then only waiting for daylight to get a ship to go off; and I took him to the watch-house for the night, and he was restored to his anxious father the next day.

"Are there not certain classes of boys that have no regular lodgings, who live in the market, and who sleep in the baskets at night?—Yes, there are, and not only at night, but in the day. We can take nearly a hundred of them, particularly at the time the oranges are about; they come there picking up the bits of oranges, both boys and girls; and there are prostitutes at eleven, twelve, and thirteen years of age. * * * I counted last night, at the king's entrance of the theatre, seventeen individuals, men and women, that were apparently houseless, sleeping there."

Mr. Dyer, the police magistrate, states, in his evidence, that children are frequently brought before him, of "ten years of age, and even under." These juvenile delinquents are frequently employed by the older thieves to assist them in cases in which the smallness of their persons gives them an advantage; as, for instance, in entering a house by a window from which one of the panes has been removed. In committing their ordinary depredations, they generally prowl about the streets in companies of two or three, of whom each has his particular part to act, one snatching up the plunder, and another receiving it from him and running off with it.

It is very obvious that no mere police regulations are at all likely to be effectual in putting down this description of criminals, so long as the destitution and abandonment by which they are bred continue to exist. They are the natural produce of that hotbed of vice and misery; and will continue to issue from it while it remains unremoved. Any punishments that may be inflicted can, in the nature of things, operate but very imperfectly in restraining either their growth or their delinquencies. To send them to jail, as most of our jails are at present conducted, is only to send them to the best school of crime. But even if our system of prison discipline were made ever so perfect, this improvement alone could not be expected to clear our streets of these marauders, for successive detachments of whom, indeed, a prison might afford an asylum for a few months, but it could be for that short period only. When again restored to liberty they would still, as at present, find themselves again thrown upon their own resources, and compelled to resort to their former practices. Besides, no reformation, even were it complete and permanent, of the existing race, could prevent the succession of new swarms from the same prolific source. To heal this disease of our political condition, the general habits of the most degraded portion of our population must be changed, and education and all other salutary influences plentifully and perseveringly applied to eradicate the vice and wretchedness with which they are overrun.

The most lamentable of all the debasing habits to which many of the poorer classes in England have surrendered themselves, is that of gin-drinking. This vice is one of comparatively recent introduction. "A new kind of drunkenness," says Fielding, writing in 1751, "unknown to our ancestors, is lately sprung up amongst us, and which, if not put a stop to, will infallibly destroy a great part of the inferior people. The drunkenness I here intend is that acquired by the strongest intoxicating liquors, and particularly by that poison called *gin*; which, I have great reason to think, is the principal sustenance (if it may be so called) of more than a hundred thousand people in this metropolis. Many of these wretches there are who swallow pints of this poison within the twenty-four hours; the dreadful effects of which I have the misfortune every day to see, and to smell too." The habit in question, however, appears to have made considerable progress more than a quarter of a century before this date. In the *Life of Wild*, already quoted, which was published in 1725, we find mention made (p. 23) of the "venders of the royal liquor commonly called gin." And in February, 1729, a presentment was made by the grand jury of the county of Middlesex to the following effect:—"We, the grand jury of the county of Middlesex, being sensible of the great mischiefs which arise from the number of shops or houses selling a liquor called Geneva, in and about this city, think it our duty to take notice of them as public nuisances, since we apprehend they may be ranked among the worst of disorderly houses; it being notorious that they not only harbour the vilest of both sexes among the meanest of the people, but, by enuring them to a habit of laziness and debauchery, bring them to want and misery; and, when intoxicated with these pernicious liquors, they are hardened enough to attempt the greatest villanies, such as were formerly scarce known to our nation, though we now, with the greatest concern, observe that they grow familiar to us. The incredible prejudice which his majesty's subjects suffer by frequenting these houses is too obvious to pass unobserved; since the constitutions of the labouring people are not only thereby weakened, but utterly destroyed: and we do not conceive that even any addition to the revenue can be equivalent to the loss the public sustains by the ruin of such numbers of poor families, which fill both the city and country with beggars and vagabonds; of which we at present see the fatal consequences, and fear posterity will feel worse, if, by a speedy regulation of these disorderly houses, an effectual stop be not put to this growing evil."

The price of gin, in consequence of an act respecting the distilleries, suddenly rose, in the year 1796, to something greatly exceeding its previous amount. Referring to this circumstance, Mr. Colquhoun, writing in the following year, states that the sobriety exhibited by the labouring classes was then much greater than it had been before; a fact which was evinced by the number of quarrels and assaults being very considerably diminished, while the pressure, with respect to the means of living, was also apparently less than in the spring of 1795, notwithstanding that no charities had been distributed, and bread was considerably higher. "It would seem reasonable," he adds, "to attribute this favourable change to the high price of gin, which being in a great measure inaccessible, the lower ranks have it now in their power to apply the money formerly spent in this way to the purchase of provisions—perhaps to the extent of some hundred thousand pounds a year in the metropolis alone." Fielding seems inclined to reckon upon one cure of this evil—"the loss of our gin-drinkers." "Should the drinking of this poison," he says, "be continued in its present height during the next twenty years, there will, by that time, be very few of the common people left to drink it." This consequence has not followed; for, however great the number of the poor which gin-drinking may have destroyed on the one hand, it has, on the other, been constantly bringing down as many more to the same level of misery, to serve it for new victims. There is reason, also, to believe that this destructive habit has been gradually extending its ravages higher up into society. Fielding speaks of it, in his time, as indulged in only by the lowest of the people; but it is now well known to have spread to a wide extent among the classes of servants and small tradesmen. A fact, especially to be lamented, is the number of females, respectable in their circumstances, who, without carrying their predilection for gin to the excess

of making themselves intoxicated with it, are yet accustomed to indulge in that liquid as a regular or very frequent beverage. And equally sad is it to reflect on the manner in which society is poisoned at the root by the gin-drinking of mere children. In the evidence of Sir Richard Birnie before the Committee of 1828, it is stated that the consumption of spirits by children begins at ten or twelve; and we fear there are many instances in which the pernicious habit has been acquired at a still earlier age.

Having thrown together these illustrations, respecting certain descriptions of crime and immorality which still continue to flourish in the metropolis to the same or a greater extent than in former times, we shall, on resuming the subject, consider another class of offences, which, having in past times largely prevailed there, have now been nearly or wholly extirpated.

PRIVATE BILLS.

List of Petitions for Private Bills and progress therein, Session, 1833. April 15.

Petitions presented	185
Bills read 1st time	163
Bills read 2d time	104
Bills read 3d time	38
Royal assent	25
Bills withdrawn, &c.	21

Abstract of Private Bills in Parliament in the Session of 1833.

I. AGRICULTURE.

18 Inclosure Bills, of which there are two for Cambridge, one for Cumberland, two for Derby, one for Glamorgan, one for Gloucester, one for Hereford, one for Somerset, one for Suffolk, one for Sussex, one for Tipperary, one for Wilts, one for Worcester, four for York, two of the bills being for one inclosure in the latter county.

4 Draining.

II. COMPANIES.

1 Cheltenham Sewers.
1 Dublin Steam Packet.
1 Economic Life Assurance.
1 Edinburgh Life Assurance.
1 Exeter Water.
1 Leeds Oil Gas.
1 St. George Steam Packet.
1 Thames Tunnel.

III. IMPROVEMENTS OF TOWNS AND DISTRICTS.

6 General Improvement.
12 Churches, Markets, Bridges, Gaols, &c.
6 Local Water Works.
4 Local Gas Works.
11 Municipal Regulations, Vestries, &c.

IV. INTERNAL COMMUNICATION.

78 Roads, of which 15 have passed, and 4 have been withdrawn.

1 Canal. Enniscorthy in Ireland.
14 Railways.

V. NAVIGATION.

4 Improvement of Harbours, &c.
3 Docks.
1 Pier.

VI. PRIVATE REGULATIONS.

14 Estates, Naturalizations, &c.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

In No. 3 of the "Companion to the Newspaper" we gave an abstract of the first six Reports of the Committee for the Classification of Petitions. Eleven Reports have now been published, and we proceed to give an abstract of those issued since our last publication. The numbers include all the petitions and signatures that have been presented upon each subject since the commencement of the session.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
<i>Parliamentary.</i>		
For vote by ballot	24	10214
For triennial parliaments	2	2368
Against the septennial act	6	4060
Reform of parliament (England)	2	1101
Reform of parliament (Ireland)	2	404

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Complaining of the interference of the military and magistrates in the Mayo election	1	104
Complaining of the registration in West Stirlingshire	1	110
For the House to remove to a more commodious place of assembly	1	83
Against nocturnal legislation	7	2167
Against the property qualification of members	2	3944
Complaining of proceedings at the Walsall election	1	190
From the committee for conducting the election of Sir H. Douglas at Liverpool, denying the allegations of bribery	1	53
Complaining of the interference of the Marquis of Ailesbury at the Marlborough election	1	111
Praying for some measure to secure the freedom of election	1	1

Eccelesiastical.

For the better observance of the Sabbath	623	150439
Against the Sabbath observance bill	3	212
Against the present system of lay patronage in the Church of Scotland	60	36117
Of Protestant Dissenters against the Church Establishment	49	11736
Against tithes in England	25	13224
Against tithes in Ireland	60	19915
Against the administering of oaths	6	663
Against Church in Ireland bill	20	753
For the removal of religious disabilities	24	5535
Against the removal of religious disabilities	2	133
For the relief of the Protestant clergy in Ireland	1	20
For the repeal of all compulsory laws for the support of ministers of the gospel	1	233

Taxes.

For a repeal of the assessed taxes	30	15002
For a repeal of the house and window duty	33	25274
For a repeal of the attornies' tax	2	86
For a reduction of taxes	20	18136
Against taxes on knowledge	8	8248
Against the stamp duties	2	65
For a complete abrogation of the corn laws	7	6506
Against the duty on soap	32	3782
Against the personal estate tax	1	97
Against the soke of Bradford tax	1	1
Complaining of oppression under the house and window assessment	1	1
Against the statute duty	1	23
Against excise licences	3	137
Against receipt stamps	3	63
Against the malt duty	6	7168
Against the tax on carts	11	1282
Praying for the abolition of tolls and customs at fairs and markets in Ireland	1	149
For a repeal of the tax on almanacs	1	1
Against the tax on apprentices' indentures, from the Burgh of Paisley	1	seal
Against the marine insurance tax	2	157
Against post-horse and stage-coach duty	1	23

Ireland.

For the repeal of the Union	32	9066
Against the disturbances in (Ireland) bill	652	413989
Against the new system of education in Ireland	2	288
From keepers of prisons praying for superannuation allowances, &c.	16	962

Miscellaneous.

For the abolition of slavery	352	111857
In favour of the factories' regulation Bill	62	89882
Against the factories' regulation Bill	15	2031
For a repeal or modification of the retail beer Act	66	7605
Complaining of abuses in corporations	70	30491
In favour of Taylor, Hetherington, &c., and complaining of the partial administration of justice	23	2863
Praying that coroners' courts be opened to the public	1	18
In favour of keeping the coroners' courts closed	1	1
From hand-loom weavers, praying for a legislative regulation of wages, &c.	11	14488
From fishermen in the vicinity of Dublin	1	270
Against the monopoly in bibles	3	268
For an alteration in the labourers' employment act	5	172
Complaining of distress	14	4297

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.		No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Against the East India Company monopoly	2	623	From the rate-payers of Bedworth, Warwick, to		
Complaining of cases of magisterial oppression	2	2	amend the poor laws	1	124
For an alteration in the law of executors, and			Relative to dramatic performances	1	2
against clergymen being magistrates	1	1	For compensation to colonists for all property of		
From the Princess Olive of Cumberland, praying			which the law may dispossess them	1	1
for an investigation into her case	1	1	From Robert Robison, late a Captain in his		
For the establishment of poor-laws in Ireland	2	325	Majesty's service, for a further inquiry into		
Against the punishment of death	3	6528	his case	1	1
For regulating the election, &c., of schoolmasters			From the unemployed mariners of Newcastle-		
in Scotland	2	426	upon-Tyne, complaining of distress	1	516
For a repeal of part of the dramatic performances			The total number of petitions presented and reported upon, up		
Bill	2	4	to April 19, has been 2597.		
Respecting imprisonment for debt	1	205			
Praying for relief to the sugar-refiners	6	223			
Against sinecures, &c.	5	2151			
Complaining of private grievances	5	5			
Against the vestry act, from the churchwardens					
of Lambeth	1	1			
In favour of allowing counsel to prisoners	1	1			
Respecting the currency	2	185			
Against the jury laws (Ireland)	8	2686			
Complaining of the libel law	1	1			
For the abolition of the church establishment	1	1			
From the boatmen of Deal, complaining of the					
regulations regarding pilots	2	6			
For simplifying conveyancing	1	1			
Against the inequality of the poor laws	1	124			
For a less expensive plan for the recovery of					
small debts	3	608			
For an alteration of the patent law	3	3			
Manchester petition for holding separate assizes					
in the Hundred of Salford	1	20			
Manchester petition for the repeal of the Select					
Vestry's Acts	1	6040			
For removing the Lancaster assizes to Manches-					
ter	2	6014			
Praying for the removal of restrictions relative to					
the Brazil trade	3	135			
For the better regulation of hackney carriages					
in London	1	384			
To prevent the obstruction of footpaths in fields	1	1			
From a Catholic priest, complaining of an insult					
offered to him on account of his religion, at					
the Bank of Ireland	1	1			
From the owners of British vessels trading from					
Liverpool, complaining of burdensome duties					
and unfair monopolies	1	98			
Against the use of machinery	1	53			
From the general commissioners of police of					
Glasgow, relative to poor-laws for Ireland	1	1			
On the low rate of wages of labourers in Ireland	1	1			
To prevent the passing of the bill for limiting of					
actions	8	11			
For the establishment of district courts in Scot-					
land from the burgh of Perth	1	seal.			
From debtors in Newcastle and Maryborough					
gaols	9	85			
From surgeons and apothecaries at York and					
Scarborough, concerning the apothecaries' act	1	12			
Praying for an alteration of the law relating to					
the assessment for sewers	1	31			
From Wm. Thornsett of Dover, complaining of					
a seizure made by a post-office inspector	1	1			
From the contributors to the Glamorganshire					
county rates	1	243			
From certain merchants, bankers, &c. of Ply-					
mouth for facilitating the law of debtor and					
creditor	1	1809			
From D'Arcy Mahon, late a commissioner of					
stamps in Ireland, for an addition to his					
superannuating allowance	1	1			
Concerning Trinity Hospital, New Ross	1	143			
From Drogheda, in Ireland, relative to the game					
act	1	110			
From the landlord, proprietors, freeholders, of					
New Ross, Wexford, relative to the grand					
juries (Ireland) bill	1	132			
From the Irish Law Society, relative to the pay-					
ment of attorney's fees	1	19			
Against the renewal of the metropolitan police					
act	2	368			
For amending the laws relating to lunatics	1	3			
From certain tradesmen of Frome Selwood, for					
facilitating the recovery of small debts	2	377			
For amending an act relative to the employment					
of labourers, passed in the preceding session	4	124			
For appointing a day of general thanksgiving for					
the cessation of Cholera	1	25			

meet all the difficulties of the subject, there can be no doubt as to the many defects and objectionable provisions of the present law; and some of the principal of these we will now enumerate, with a reference to the provisions of Mr. Godson's bill, by which they are proposed to be met.

We will begin with those as to the proper mode of dealing with which there can be little or no controversy.

In the first place, the expense of taking out a patent, under the present law, has long been complained of. The fees alone, laying aside the cost of agency, come to about 107*l.* for England, about 80*l.* for Scotland, and about 128*l.* for Ireland. There are some reasons for holding, that it would not be expedient to abolish these taxes entirely, and to make a patent cost no more than the price of the parchment upon which it is written; but whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the propriety of still continuing to check the taking out of patents, in a certain degree, by making it a thing which cannot be done but at some cost, there can be no doubt that the present cost is needlessly and oppressively high. It is proposed, in Mr. Godson's bill, that the expense shall be reduced to a certain portion of its present amount, to be settled in the committee.

As the law now stands, although a patent may be taken out by the first introducer of an invention from another country, provided he swears the secret has been communicated to him by a foreigner, the protection in question cannot be granted to him if the person from whom he received the invention was an Englishman residing abroad. According to the new bill, "letters-patent may be granted to any person in Great Britain and Ireland, who may have received from any person being abroad, or from any person being resident within the kingdom, information of any new manufacture whatever."

At present, the assignees of an inventor while he is himself alive, cannot take out a patent for his discovery. By the proposed measure, a patentee is to be at liberty to assign or transfer his interest in his patent, or grant licences to make or use the same, in any manner, or to any number of persons, he may think fit. Of course, by this enactment, also, the present prohibition against more than five individuals having an interest in the same patent, is done away with.

The present patent law being founded upon an old statute (the 21 James I. cap. 3), in which the only expression used to describe the person to whom a patent may be granted, is the *inventor of a new manufacture*, considerable difficulty has been experienced in the attempt to stretch the meaning of these words, so as to comprehend all sorts of discoverers and introducers of inventions. To obviate the doubts which have been thus occasioned, and which have been strengthened by conflicting decisions of the judges, it is proposed to enact, "that all new substances or things made, that all new machines, that all new combinations or arrangements of machinery or things, either already known or newly discovered; that all principles newly discovered, and all new applications, which, when reduced into practice, produce some article fit for sale; that all chemical discoveries, methods, or processes, which result in or produce an article of commerce, shall be the subjects for which letters-patent shall be granted; whether they be discovered within the United Kingdom or be obtained by communication or sale." This is perhaps as comprehensive a description as could well be framed, and will probably be found to embrace every case fairly entitled to protection.

At present, if it shall be discovered that any one part of a complicated contrivance, all the parts of which a patentee has claimed as his own inventions, had been previously in use, the whole patent is vitiated by that single mistake. The hardship and absurdity of this rule have been often complained of; and it is now proposed to substitute the enactment, "That if a patent and specification be bad in law as to part thereof, they shall not be bad in law as to the remainder thereof respectively;" the patentee will only be required to lodge an amended specification.

If a patentee at present shall make any improvement on his invention, after he has taken out his patent, he can only protect that improvement by taking out a new patent, at the same expense as the former. The Bill proposes to allow him to secure the monopoly of such improvements, to any number, merely by enrolling so many new, or, as they are termed, secondary specifications.

The only term for which a patent can be granted under the existing law is fourteen years; but it is probable that if

a patent could be obtained for a shorter period, provided the expense were less, it would in many instances be preferred. The choice of taking out a patent either for fourteen or for only seven years, the fees being different in the two cases, is accordingly given in the new Bill. And whereas, at present, the extension of a patent beyond the original term, which is in some cases no more than a fair indulgence, can only be obtained by an application to parliament, it is proposed, that in such cases his Majesty shall be empowered to grant a new patent, after the matter has been submitted to an examination of the same nature with that on which the original patent was obtained.

So far there will probably be little difference of opinion in regard to the suggested alterations of the law. There are, however, some other points, as to which, although there may be a general agreement that the present practice is attended with injustice or inconvenience, the proper mode of correcting it may not be quite so clear.

At present any person who wishes, for whatever purpose, honest or the reverse, to know for what new inventions patents are applied for, may, at an expense of 15*s.*, lodge what is called a caveat, which will entitle him to a notice of all patents applied for during the following six months. Great abuses are alleged to have sprung up from this practice; and in particular it is stated to have often happened that the secret of inventions has thereby escaped before the letters-patent were sealed. The entering of caveats it is therefore proposed to place for the future under great restrictions. Of these the chief is, that each person shall, at the time of entering the same, lodge an outline or description of that invention of his own which he professes to think is about to be made the subject of letters-patent to be granted to another person. It may seem at first sight that this is an unfair restriction of the rights of the public, who are entitled to ascertain by means of these caveats what patents are applied for, whether they relate to subjects on which the party lodging the caveat has matured any invention of his own or no. But the force of this objection is perhaps abated by the consideration, that the mere taking out of a patent does not protect a patentee against all disturbance in the enjoyment of his monopoly; but that if the same proof which would have at first prevented the patent being granted shall be afterwards adduced in a court of law, the patent will be thereby overturned. This risk, it may be argued, is quite enough to protect the interests of the public.

One of the objections which have been most strongly urged against the present system is derived from the incompetency of the persons on whose decision letters-patent are granted. The officers charged with this duty are the Attorney and Solicitor-General; personages, certainly, whose knowledge of arts and manufactures is not usually very profound. Under the new Bill the dignity of the law is to be allowed in disputed cases to call in any two men practically skilled in the arts and sciences, to assist him in coming to his determination, the costs to be paid by the parties in the proportions that he shall direct.

Some important innovations are also proposed in the law which has hitherto regulated the grounds on which patents may be set aside, or declared void; although the Bill does not go the length, as suggested by some, of taking the consideration of such questions out of the hands of a common judge and jury, and making them over to a peculiar tribunal. But whereas at present there is no limit to the period during which it is competent to allege that an invention has been formerly used, in order to defeat a patent obtained for it, it is proposed now to enact that the patent shall not become void, unless the invention shall be proved to have been practically used in a public manner within the last ten years preceding the date of the patent. Another important provision is, that if in an action at law upon the infringement of a patent, the patentee obtain a verdict, the court may grant a certificate that the validity of the letters-patent has been fully tried on the merits thereof, and that in all future actions brought upon the same patent, the patentee shall, upon the production of the said certificate, be required only to prove the infringement of the party sued, and the damages suffered, and nothing more. This rule will put an end to one of the most oppressive grievances of the present system, namely, the liability which a patentee is under to have his rights called in question by repeated trials at law, notwithstanding any number of verdicts that may have been given in his favour.

These are not all the enactments of Mr. Godson's Bill,

but they are the most material. So far as they go, they constitute, we think, unquestionable improvements on the existing law. But the subject, we repeat, is one of very considerable difficulty; and it would require much consideration to say what in all respects would be the most perfect measure for the legislature to adopt. It is probable that the investigations of the committee, which has just been appointed, will be productive of some valuable suggestions in correction of, or in addition to, those upon which the present Bill proceeds.

ELECTION PETITIONS.

IN our first number, at page 12, we gave a list of the returns petitioned against. The following is the result of the petitions or the state in which they remain where they are not yet decided upon :—

- 1. Barnstaple, borough—Petition abandoned.
- 2. Bath, city—Election affirmed.
- 3. Bedford, borough—Election affirmed.
- 4. Bristol, city—Committee appointed, April 25.
- 5. Bury St. Edmund's, borough—Ballot for committee May 2.
- 6. Carlow, county—Ballot for committee May 14.
- 7. Carmarthen, borough—Petition abandoned.
- 8. Carnarvon, borough—Sir C. Paget declared not duly elected, and the return amended with the name of O. J. E. Nanney, Esq. The return of Mr. Nanney was petitioned against, and the petition ordered to be taken into consideration on the 16th May, but has been abandoned.
- 9. Carrickfergus, borough—Election of C. R. Dobbs declared void: the suspension of the issue of a new writ recommended, and the serious attention of the House called to the gross bribery and corruption which have prevailed at the last and previous elections.
- 10. Clonmell, borough—Ballot for committee May 16.
- 11. Coleraine, borough—Ballot for committee May 7.
- 12. Cork, city—Petition abandoned.
- 13. Coventry, city—Election affirmed.
- 14. Ennis, borough—Election affirmed.
- 15. Galway, county—Ballot for committee May 14.
- 16. ——— town—Committee appointed April 23.
- 17. Harwich, borough—Petition abandoned.
- 18. Hertford, borough—Viscount Ingestrie and Viscount Mahon declared unduly elected; and, on the ground that bribery and treating had prevailed, the suspending of the issue of a new writ recommended until after April 22; subsequently extended till May 2.
- 19. Knaresborough, borough—Petition abandoned.
- 20. Launceston, borough—Petition abandoned.
- 21. Limerick, city—Ballot for committee May 14.
- 22. Lincoln, city—Ballot for committee May 2.
- 23. Linlithgow, county—Ballot for committee April 30.
- 24. Londonderry, borough—Election affirmed; the petition declared frivolous and vexatious.
- 25. Longford, county—L. White and J. H. Rorke declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended with the names of Viscount Forbes and A. Lefroy.
- 26. Mallow, borough—W. J. O'Neil Daunt declared not duly elected, and the return ordered to be amended by substituting the name of C. D. O. Jephson.
- 27. Montgomery, borough—Election of D. Pugh declared void. At the subsequent election, Col. J. Edwards was returned.
- 28. Newry, borough—Election affirmed.
- 29. Norfolk, county (east. div.)—Ballot for committee May 2.
- 30. Northumberland, county (south. div.)—Petition abandoned.
- 31. Norwich, city—Election affirmed.
- 32. Oxford, city.—The election, as far as regarded T. Stonor, declared void. At a subsequent election, W. Hughes Hughes was returned, and now sits.
- 33. Petersfield, borough—J. G. Lefevre declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended by substituting Hylton Jolliffe.
- 34. Portarlington, borough—Election affirmed.
- 35. Ripon, borough—Election affirmed.
- 36. Salisbury, city—Ballot for committee April 30.
- 37. Southampton, town—J. B. Hoy declared unduly elected; and the return amended with the name of J. S. Penleaze.
- 38. Stafford, borough—Petition abandoned.
- 39. Stirling, burghs—Petition abandoned.
- 40. Tiverton, borough—Ballot for committee May 9.
- 41. Warwick, borough—Ballot for committee May 7.
- 42. Weymouth, &c., borough—Petition abandoned.
- 43. Windsor, borough—Petition abandoned.
- 44. York, city—Petition abandoned.

Mr. C. P. Thomson having been returned for Dover and Manchester, made choice to sit for the latter place. On a new election for Dover, Mr. Halcomb was returned, but

the return was petitioned against, and the petition ordered to be taken into consideration on the 21st of May.

The following alterations have also been made in the representation since the commencement of the session :—

Cumberland (west)	S. Irton	vice Lord Lowther, elected to sit for Westmoreland, having been returned for both places.
Gloucester, city	H. T. Hope	vice Hon. M. F. Berkeley.
London	G. Lyall	— Ald. Waichman, dec.
Malton	J. C. Ramsden	— Hon. W. W. Fitzwilliam (now Lord Milton).
Marylebone	Sir S. B. Whalley	— E. B. Portman.
Northamptonshire, (north)	Lord Milton	— Lord Milton (now Earl Fitzwilliam).
Sunderland	Ald. Thompson	— Hon. G. Barrington.
Worcestershire (W.)	vacant	— Hon. T. H. Foley, succeeding his father, as Lord Foley.
Dundee	Sir H. Parnell	— G. Kinloch, deceased.
Inverness burghs	vacant	— Col. J. Baillie, by the death of.

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Number of Holders of National Stock, and amount of Shares.—By a return, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on the 17th of April, it appears that the total number of accounts on which a half year's dividend was due at the last half-yearly payment thereof, on each description of public stock, and on each description of terminable annuities, was 279,751. The amounts of the half-yearly dividends, received by these holders, are classified as follows :—

Not exceeding	£	5	87,176
		10	44,648
		50	98,305
		100	25,641
		200	14,701
		300	4,495
		500	2,827
		1000	1,367
		2000 (151 are joint accounts, or of public companies)	417
		3000 (35 do.)	75
		4000 (24 do.)	39
		5000 (10 do.)	14
Exceeding		5000 (34 do.)	46

Gold and Silver Coinage.—In the twenty years from 1790 to 1809, both inclusive, the amount of gold coined was 21,493,640*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* The greatest amount in any one year was 2,967,504*l.* 15*s.*, in 1798. The silver coined during the same period amounted only to 1216*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* In the twenty years from 1810 to 1829, both inclusive, the coinage of gold amounted to 45,387,423*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*; the greatest amount in any one year being 9,520,758*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* in 1821. During the same period, 9,149,411*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*, were also coined in silver; 2,436,297*l.* 12*s.* of which was coined in 1827.

Milbank Penitentiary.—The annual Report of the superintending Committee of this establishment states that, on the 31st December, 1831, the number of convicts in the prison amounted to 538, of whom 144 were females. On Dec. 31, 1832, the number was 519, of whom 136 were females. During the year, 178 males and 42 females had been admitted; 24 had died, and 215 had been discharged for various causes; the far greater part, namely, 132 males and 29 females, having received free pardons in consequence of their good conduct. The earnings of the prisoners amounted to 2683*l.* 10*s.* Of this sum a proportion is reserved for the prisoners and for the officers of the establishment; leaving a net amount, toward the expenses of the Penitentiary, of 2012*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* The total net expense, after deducting the above, was 17,178*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* Taking the average number of prisoners at 530, this gives an expenditure of upwards of 32*l.* per head per annum. The Report states, also, that the conduct of those discharged in former years has been in general very satisfactory; that a large proportion have applied for, and received, the gratuities allowed for good conduct since their liberation; and that greater

exertions have been made latterly to extend moral and religious instruction in the Penitentiary, and apparently with the most beneficial effects.

Debtors.—The number of prisoners, confined for debt in the several prisons of England and Wales, in the year ending Michaelmas, 1832, amounted to 16,661.

Game Laws.—The number of commitments under the Game Laws, in England and Wales, from Nov. 1, 1831, to Nov. 1, 1832, was 2845.

POST OFFICE ARRANGEMENTS WITH FRANCE.

THE improvements which are understood to be contemplated in the transmission of letters to and from Paris ought to have taken place many years ago. The delay of them has proceeded, less from any direct obstacle, whether physical or political, than from the slowness with which an alteration in almost any department of the civil service is effected in France. "We are very raw," said an intelligent Frenchman several years ago, "in all that regards the management of civil affairs. Madame de Staël had abundant reason to affirm, that for a long time past we have managed nothing well except war." In the year 1814, when the intercourse between London and Paris was re-opened, an answer to a letter was not obtained from one capital to the other until the fifth day from the original despatch, while it is only within these two or three years, and by means of estafettes, or couriers on horseback, that greater expedition has been attained. The post-days, or days for the despatch of the mail, have been only four in the week, viz., Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday; omitting Wednesday and Saturday: although the extent of mercantile business, to say nothing of political, was assuredly such as to call for a daily post as much as between London and Edinburgh or Dublin. In proof of this, we have merely to refer to the number of expresses for Messrs. Rothschild and other members of the Stock Exchange, the whole of which might have been spared, had the mail been, as was perfectly practicable, conveyed from one capital to the other in thirty-six hours.

But if we censure the French for slowness in the introduction of such improvements, we by no means attribute that slowness to a feeling of repugnance or indifference in respect to connexion with England. They have long held in high esteem our commercial institutions, and have acknowledged our superiority in commerce, navigation, and the useful arts generally. Only admit to a Frenchman "*que Paris brille dans les beaux arts*," (that Paris excels in the fine arts,) and you will find him perfectly disposed to give to England the lead in a variety of more important points. A century ago, Voltaire, after passing some years in this country, apprized his readers when he returned to France, that we could reckon among our eminent men many besides Marlborough; and in the present age ample justice has been done to us by Dupin and other Frenchmen who have visited our capital, our dock-yards, and the seats of our manufactures. Contrasting the calm steadiness of our workmen, with the lively, but often inefficient bustle of the French, Dupin says, "There reigns in the workshops of England a silent activity;" while another of his countrymen, adverting to several of our minor regulations in civil matters, and explaining their origin, adds, "We find that, in general, the arrangements of the English bear the stamp of reflection and good sense." The late Jean Baptiste Say, the political economist of France, visited England in 1814, when his penetrating eye detected much that was hollow in our imagined prosperity, and foresaw a great deal of the distress that afterwards took place; but even he, unsparing as he was in animadversion, and wholly unaccustomed to the language of compliment, pronounced us "*Une nation admirablement industrieuse*;" by which he meant a nation where the division and subdivision of industry was better understood and practised than in any other.

With such favourable impressions of the state of productive industry in this country, the public in France will receive with pleasure the assurance of a more speedy and frequent intercourse between the two capitals. They will regard it as a further ground for the expectation of continued peace between the two governments, a point on which they were for many years in doubt, so deeply had Buonaparte impressed them with the notion that England

was the cause of the long continuance of the war, the inveterate enemy of the tranquillity of France. The escape of that adventurer from Elba was attributed by the majority of the French to a plan on the part of our government to embroil their country anew in war; and they had little confidence in the maintenance of peace on our part until the year 1823, when we remained neutral after their invasion of Spain; and still more in 1830, when we so promptly relieved them from anxiety by acknowledging the title of the Orleans branch to the crown.

The public roads in France are greatly inferior to those of this country, and the cross-roads are hardly passable. The stage-coaches are nearly as large and heavy as those of England were a century ago; the average rate of travelling by them does not exceed four or five miles an hour; while by the mail it is hardly six miles. This slow progress arises not from the country being in general more hilly than England, nor from the want of road materials, but from the insufficient care and labour hitherto bestowed on the roads. There are in France no tolls or turnpikes; no road trustees; all is under the charge of government, who seldom find it convenient to make an addition to the sum (about 1,200,000*l.*) usually appropriated to this purpose in the budget.

As to the postage on letters to France, the practice hitherto has been to divide it; half, or nearly half, being paid here by the persons despatching letters, the other half by the receivers of the letters in France. It was proposed, on the part of the French, that persons forwarding letters either to or from Paris, should do as with letters to a country town in Great Britain or Ireland; either paying the whole postage, or no part of it; or lastly, continuing as at present to pay the half. This, we understand, is not likely to be acceded to. It might be useful in particular cases; in a general sense, it will be less important than would be a reduction of the charge, the present rate (2*s.* 4*d.* per letter) being considerably beyond what can be afforded by the low prices of merchandise, and the diminished profits of trade in a season of profound peace. But whether the charge be reduced or not, the accelerated despatch of the mails, and the increase of post-days from four to six a-week, will prove highly acceptable to the merchants on both sides of the channel.

NOTICE.

QUARTERLY PART OF THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

The present number forms the Fourth of this work, namely, three regular Monthly Numbers, and one Supplement. By the publication of one Supplement in each Quarter, the work may be issued in a Quarterly Part, stitched in a wrapper, at the price of Ninepence. In the first year, the quarterly issues will be as follows:—

1833, May 1st, Part I.
— Aug. 1st, — II.
— Nov. 1st, — III.
1834, Feb. 1st, — IV.

It is intended, also, on the 1st of February, 1834, to publish a Fifth Part, price Ninepence, containing a RETROSPECT OF THE YEAR 1833. This Appendix will complete the annual volume, which will be sold, bound in cloth, at Five Shillings.

[The Supplement, No. 3, published April 1, is wholly devoted to the subject of the East India Company's Charter.]

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, PALL-MALL EAST.

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	and Wilkin & Fletcher.	New York, Jackson.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 5.

JUNE 1, 1833.

Price 2d.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Crime in London. No. II.	65	Inquest on Robert Culley	76
West India Question	69	Public Petitions	78
Proposed New Laws relating to Dramatic Literary Property and Theatrical Performances	70	Election Petitions	79
Bill for the Relief of the Jews	71	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	79
The Banking System of Great Britain. No. II.	72	Counsel to Prisoners	80
		Notice	89

CRIME IN LONDON.—No. II.

We are now to present a few notices illustrative of the diminution or disappearance of certain descriptions of crime in the metropolis, and of the causes by which the change has been brought about.

In the most flourishing times of the Saxon kings a very strict system of police seems to have existed in England, which is said to have operated with remarkable effect in reducing the amount of crime. Under the institutions established by Alfred the Great, by which all the individuals composing a tithing became securities for the good conduct of each other, the law, if we may believe some of our old writers, was maintained in almost unviolated authority. The songs of Moore have made every reader familiar with the golden age of Ireland, when, under the renowned Brien Borombe, a solitary female, attired in richest and rarest jewels, might have passed unharmed and without danger from one end of the country to the other,—

—“on she went, and her maiden smile
In safety lighted her round the Green Isle.”

In the same age, the tenth century, our own historians state that the protection of person and property was equally perfect in England: Brompton, for instance, affirms that in Alfred's time, although gold bracelets were wont to be hung up at the meeting of several high-roads, no man durst touch them. Other authorities state that the robbery of a traveller in any part of the country was a thing altogether unknown. This degree of security, however, was obtained by a system of universal interference and restriction quite incompatible with the existence of anything like freedom, in the modern sense of the term, or even with that of a progressive civilization. It was, in fact, as has been remarked, exactly the same system which has prevailed from time immemorial in China; and proceeded mainly upon two principles,—first, that already mentioned, of holding each individual security for his neighbour; and, secondly, that of fixing down every man for life to the place in which he was born, and preventing all removals from one district to another. So long as the people could be made to submit to this system of government, it probably answered its end of keeping down crime tolerably well; and there is reason to believe that it held together longer than is commonly supposed. We have, indeed, some remnants of it even at the present day in the still surviving provisions of the law of settlement, and in the custom by which the hundred, in case of the destruction of property by riots, is made liable for the damage. It is interesting and instructive, however, to remark the evidences, which present themselves in the latter days of this system, of its constantly-increasing unsuitableness to the state of the country. We will only quote, as one example of the severe measures to which it was at last deemed necessary to resort, in order to uphold so much of it as had not then entirely passed away, the following atrocious act, of the reign of Edward VI.

“If any person shall bring to two justices of peace any runagate servant, or any other, which liveth idly and loiteringly by the space of three days, the said justices shall cause the said idle and loitering servant or vagabond to be marked with an hot iron on the breast with the letter V, and adjudge him to be slave to the same person that brought and presented him, to have to him, his executors, and

assigns, for two years, who shall take the said slave, and give him bread, water or small drink, and refuse meat; and cause him to work, by beating, chaining, or otherwise, in such work and labour as he shall put him, be it never so vile. And if such slave absent himself from his master within the term by the space of fourteen days, he shall be adjudged by two justices of the peace to be marked on the forehead or the ball of the cheek with a hot iron, with the sign of an S, and shall be adjudged to be slave to his said master for ever; and if the said slave shall run away a second time, he shall be adjudged a felon.”

It is not by regulations of this description that even so important an object as the repression of crime can ever be attempted in a country pretending to the possession of any portion of liberty. The remedy is a thousand times more dreadful than the disease. It would brutalize the community, and crush out the life of the social principle, much more completely than would the prevalence of mere disorder and licence to any extent to which they have ever spread under the most relaxed and feeble forms of government. But fortunately there are other means which may be applied to effect the same end, and upon the success of which, in so far at least as some of the most flagrant violations of the law are concerned, sure dependence may be placed. A comparison, in regard to some particulars, of the present with the past state of London will put this in a clear light.

In the year 1285, the 13th of Edward I., a statute was passed, of which the following is an extract:—“Whereas many evils, as murders, robberies, and manslaughters, have been committed heretofore in the city by night and by day, and people have been beaten and evil-treated, and divers other mischances have befallen against his (the king's) peace; it is enjoined that none be so hardy as to be found going or wandering about the streets of the city after curfew tolled at St. Martin's-le-Grand, with sword or buckler, or other arms for doing mischief, or whereof evil suspicion might arise, nor any in any other manner, unless he be a great man, or other lawful person of good repute, or their certain messenger, having their warrants to go from one to another, with lantern in hand.”

How different is the picture here presented of the state of London, at this remote era, from the comparative quiet and security with which nearly every part of it may now be traversed both by day and by night! It is curious, however, to observe up to how recent a period its streets retained no small part of the dangers in which they abounded in the thirteenth century. Even not much more than a hundred years ago, it seems to have been considered unsafe to venture out after dark on horseback or in a coach. “Who,” exclaims Gay in his *Trivia*, published in 1712,

—“through night would hire the harnessed steed?
And who would choose the rattling wheel for speed?”

In the same poem, also, occurs the following passage:—

“Where Lincoln's Inn, wide space, is raised around,
Cross not with venturesome step: there oft is found
The lurking thief, who, while the daylight shone,
Made the walls echo with his begging tone;
That crutch, which late compassion moved, shall wound
Thy bleeding head, and fell thee to the ground.
Though thou art tempted by the linkman's call,
Yet trust him not along the lonely wall;
In the mid-way he'll quench his flaming brand,
And share the booty with the pilfering band.
Still keep the public streets, where oily rays,
Shot from the crystal lamp, o'erspread the ways.”

The Square of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields is now, perhaps, as safe at all hours as any part of London; but, for a good many years after this time, it continued to be notorious for the dangers which Gay describes. This arose in a great measure from its vicinity to a nest of profligacy, occupying

the space now lying between the Great and the Little Turnstiles, on the south side of Holborn, where a formidable crew of the most abandoned and desperate characters were congregated together, forming a body which the arm of the law hardly dared to touch. When this colony of criminals was rooted out, and the square was properly lighted and watched, the dangers for which it had been so long infamous were at an end.

† This is an example of one of the expedients which may be applied with the greatest efficacy in the suppression of crime. It is a disgrace to the authorities of a great city, or to the system of its government and police, that there should be suffered to exist in it any spot or district which is notorious as the retreat merely of the profligate and lawless part of society. There are unfortunately several places—for instance, a place called Field Lane—which still insult and defy the sovereignty of the law in the heart of modern London. Field Lane is a wild tract lying in the way between two important sections of the town, which is never to be crossed without precaution and some danger. Such a place ought long ago to have been swept away, simply because of its injurious effects upon the moral health of the city. If there are at present in London other places as bad as Field Lane, no considerations of expense ought to prevent the adoption of the requisite means to obliterate such ulcers from the body of our social system.

We must now, however, proceed to another head. “On Wednesday last,” says a notice in the *Evening Post* of the 16th March, 1716, “four gentlemen were robbed and stripped in the fields between London and Marylebone.” These fields are now covered by some of our most populous streets, in which the notion of four gentlemen being stripped is sufficiently ridiculous; but in those days things nearly equally bold were attempted every day in the heart of the metropolis. About 1728 it is recorded that street robbers had become extremely numerous and daring; and “their audacious villany,” says Maitland, “was got to such a height that they formed a design to rob the queen in St. Paul’s Churchyard, as she privately returned from supper in the city to the palace of St. James’s, as confessed by one of the gawds when under sentence of death. But those execrable villains being busily employed in robbing Sir Gilbert Heathcote, an alderman of London, on his return in his chariat from the House of Commons, her Majesty luckily passed them in her coach without being attacked.” This attempt, it is added, produced so general and strong an alarm, that the magistrates applied themselves with unusual energy to the remedy of the evil; and the consequence was that the streets were soon cleared of the desperate characters by whom they had been infested, many of whom were taken and executed.

About this time, indeed, the evil seems to have suddenly grown to a height greatly transcending the degree in which it had for some time before prevailed. In one of their presentments, we find the Grand Jury of 1729 characterizing it as “a wickedness that, till within these few years, was unheard of among us.” They attribute its prevalence to the unusual swarms they had of late observed of sturdy and clamorous beggars; and they add that, unless this nuisance be put down, “many quiet and inoffensive people will hardly venture to stir out of their houses on their lawful callings, for fear of being saucily importuned in the day and audaciously attacked and robbed in the night.”

But a good many years after matters seem to have been no better. In 1744 it is stated that the street robbers used to go to the houses of the peace-officers, and make them beg their pardon, and promise not to molest them; while the lives of other officers, who had particularly distinguished themselves by their activity, were conceived to be in such danger, that they dared not show themselves in the streets. Mr. Jones, the Deputy-Marshal of the city, having one day met a fellow of the name of Billingsby, a well-known offender, endeavoured to seize him; “but twelve villains,” says Maitland, “armed with cutlasses, and two with pistols, came up, crying, *We know what you have been about, but defy all power*, and directly attacked Mr. Thomas, a constable, giving him several wounds, and fired their pistols at Mr. Jones, who received a slight wound in the forehead; but firing a pocket blunderbuss amongst them, loaded with duck-shot, wounded several, and at last they dispersed.” “On Saturday, the 28th of April,” again writes the same historian, under this year, “near twenty desperate thieves and gamblers assembled themselves before St. Martin’s round-house, about 11 o’clock in the morning, in order to rescue some notorious

offenders that were in it; and appeared with cutlasses, bludgeons, and pistols, and through the windows of the said round-house gave in arms to the prisoners that were in it; and then began a formidable attack both within and without, which gave so great an alarm that a party of horse-grenadiers and foot-guards were sent for, and four of the villains were taken, and brought before Sir Thomas de Veil, and, after an examination of near five hours, were committed to Newgate.”

In consequence of the alarm excited by this state of things, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, on the 13th of October, went up with an address to his Majesty, in which they stated “that divers confederacies of great numbers of evil-disposed persons, armed with bludgeons, pistols, cutlasses, and other dangerous weapons, infest not only the private lanes and passages, but likewise the public streets and places of usual concourse, and commit most daring outrages upon the persons of your Majesty’s good subjects, whose affairs oblige them to pass through the streets, by terrifying, robbing, and wounding them; and these facts are frequently perpetrated at such times as were heretofore deemed hours of security: that the officers of justice have been repulsed in the performance of their duty; some of whom have been shot at, some wounded, and others murdered, in endeavouring to discover and apprehend the said persons; by which means many are intimidated from duly executing their offices, and others put in manifest danger of their lives.”

On this a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 100*l.* for the conviction of any street robber; and others, to the same effect, followed in 1748 and 1751. But the evil does not appear to have been thereby abated, if we may judge from the following statements of Fielding, written in the last of these two years:—“The great increase of robberies within these few years is an evil which to me appears to deserve some attention. * * * In fact, I make no doubt but that the streets of this town, and the roads leading to it, will shortly be impassable without the utmost hazard; nor are we threatened with seeing less dangerous gangs of rogues among us than those which the Italians call the *banditti*. * * * What, indeed, may not the public apprehend, when they are informed, as an unquestionable fact, that there are at this time a great gang of rogues, whose number falls little short of a hundred, who are incorporated in one body, have officers and a treasury, and have reduced theft and robbery into a regular system! There are of this society men who appear in all disguises, and mix in most companies. Nor are they better versed in every art of cheating, thieving, and robbing, than they are armed with every method of evading the law, if they should ever be discovered, and an attempt made to bring them to justice. Here, if they fail in rescuing the prisoner, or (which seldom happens) in bribing or deterring the prosecutor, they have, for their last resource, some rotten members of the law to forge a defence for them, and a great number of false witnesses ready to support it.” And afterwards,—“How long have we known highwaymen reign in this kingdom after they have been publicly known for such! Have not some of these committed robberies in open daylight, in the sight of many people, and have afterward rode solemnly and triumphantly through the neighbouring towns without any danger or molestation? This happens to every rogue who is become eminent for his audaciousness, and is thought to be desperate; and is in a more particular manner the case of great and numerous gangs, many of which have for a long time committed the most open outrages in defiance of the law. Officers of justice have owned to me that they have passed by such, with warrants in their pockets against them, without daring to apprehend them; and, indeed, they could not be blamed for not exposing themselves to sure destruction; for it is a melancholy truth that, at this very day, a rogue no sooner gives the alarm, within certain purlieus, than twenty or thirty armed villains are found ready to come to his assistance.”

Fielding’s pamphlet, from which we quote this statement, appears to have produced a great effect on the public mind. From this time, partly through certain new measures of police, and partly by means of the more resolute determination awakened in the public generally to put down the evil, the robberies, both by footpads and mounted highwaymen, which had been so frequent on various roads in the vicinity of the metropolis, began rapidly to decline. Sir John Fielding informed the Committee of 1772 “that for twenty years a footpad had not escaped; that highwaymen cannot escape,

upon account of the early information given to the aforesaid office (that of Bow Street), and the great number of prosecutors who always appear against them, which he thinks must in time put an end to the evil." These causes, and the greater extension which was afterwards given to the police establishment of the metropolis, eventually brought about the result here anticipated,—in regard, at least, to the more daring order of these violators of the law. In his amusingly characteristic, but still interesting and valuable, evidence, given before the Committee of 1816, Townsend, who had at that time been a Bow Street officer for thirty-four years, makes the following statement:—"There is one thing which appears to me most extraordinary, when I remember, in very likely a week, there should be from ten to fifteen highway robberies. We have not had a man committed for a highway robbery lately; I speak of persons on horseback; formerly there were two, three, or four highwaymen, some on Hounslow Heath, some on Wimbledon Common, some on Finchley Common, some on the Romford road. I have actually come to Bow Street office in the morning, and while I have been leaning over the desk, had three or four people come in and say, I was robbed by two highwaymen, in such a place; I was robbed by a single highwayman, in such a place. People travel now safely by means of the horse-patrol that Sir Richard Ford planned. Where are these highway robberies now? as I was observing to the Chancellor (Lord Eldon) at the time I was up at his house on the Corn Bill. He said, 'Townsend, I knew you very well so many years ago.' I said, 'Yes, my Lord, I remember your first coming to the bar, first in your plain gown, and then as King's Counsel, and now Chancellor. Now, your Lordship sits as Chancellor, and directs the executions on the Recorder's report; but where are the highway robberies now?' And his Lordship said, 'Yes, I am astonished.' There are no footpad robberies or road robberies now, but merely jostling you in the streets. They used to be ready to pop at a man as soon as he let down his glass: that was done by bandittis." So the late Sir Richard Birnie, in his evidence given in 1823, says, "There has not been a mounted highwayman these thirty years."

But highway robbery is only one of many descriptions of crime and immorality, characterized by a portion of the same audacity and violence, which are now likewise entirely or nearly suppressed. Forty or fifty years ago there were numerous establishments in the metropolis where swarms of the most lawless characters openly congregated, and might be said to enjoy entire security from even the approach of the wretched police which then existed. The names of some of these haunts of profligacy were the Bull in the Pound, the Apollo Gardens, the Dog and Duck, the Temple of Flora, &c. "A dreadful society of vagabonds," said Sir John Fielding, who remembered them well, when examined in 1816, "were certainly collected together in those places." Thence issued the bold ruffians by whom highway robberies were perpetrated to such an extent in those days. "The character of the highwayman," continues Sir John, "is certainly less heard of since the putting down those two infernal places of meeting, the Dog and Duck and the Temple of Flora, which were certainly the most dreadful places in or about the metropolis." Again, down to a much later period than that here referred to, it is stated to have been a general practice in the metropolis for the lower orders to amuse themselves by the brutal diversion called bull-hanking, and driving the bulls about the streets. Indeed, this practice continued to be known in certain districts of London till within the last few years. The following statement was made by the Rev. Joshua King, the clergyman of the parish of Bethnal Green, in his examination by the Committee of 1816:—"Every Sunday morning, during the time of divine service, several hundred persons assemble in a field adjoining the churchyard, where they fight dogs, hunt ducks, gamble, enter into subscriptions to fee drovers for a bullock: I have seen them drive the animal through the most populous parts of the parish, force sticks pointed with iron up the body, put peas into the ears, and infuriate the beast, so as to endanger the lives of all persons passing along the streets." Such enormities as this, we presume, are now entirely put an end to. And so are such systematic atrocities as those said to have been committed in former times by the Mohocks (whom the readers of the *Spectator* will remember), and by the infamous associations of the Cutter-Lads, and others of a similar description. All our great thoroughfares at least may now, indeed, be said to be effectually cleared from open

assailants either of person or property, and rendered perfectly safe to every one passing along them, at all hours of the day and night.

Now this great change for the better has not certainly been brought about by the establishment among us of any oppressive system of inquisition and espionage, but simply by the abatement of universally-acknowledged nuisances, and by other regulations of police and civic economy, for which we have paid no other penalty but the money-tax necessary for carrying them into effect. Ancient London, for example, abounded in places legally, or claiming to be privileged, where not only debtors but felons of every description sought an asylum from the law, to which from these retreats they offered, in their banded numbers, the most daring defiance. Such sanctuaries, as they were called, were in fact nothing else than permanent nurseries of crime. Besides the celebrated Whitefriars, or Alsatia, of which the pages of Scott have given us a picture so full of life, and Whetstone Park, already mentioned, to the north of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, there were the sanctuaries of St. Martin-le-Grand, of the Minorities, of Salisbury-court, of Ram-alley, of Mitre-court, of Fulwood's-rents, of Baldwin's-gardens, (Gray's-Inn-Lane,) of the Savoy, of the Mint, of the Clink, in Southwark, and others. These nuisances, strange as it may be thought, although attempts had repeatedly been made to regulate them, were not finally suppressed by the legislature till 1697, nine years after the Revolution. Nay, it was a good many years later before they were all effectually rooted out.

Again, it is not yet quite a century since the streets of this great capital could be almost said to be lighted at night at all. Until the year 1736, there were only a thousand lamps hung out throughout the whole city, and these were kept burning only till midnight; and, for one half of the year, namely, from Lady-day till Michaelmas, were never lighted at all: nay, even during the winter months, there were ten nights every moon, from the sixth day after full to the third day after new moon, on which, however cloudy the sky, not a wick lent its feeble aid to dissipate the obscurity. In fact, the thousand lamps were only kept burning for about seven hundred and fifty hours in the course of the year. The streets of a town left in this state were necessarily delivered over, during a great part of every twenty-four hours, to the uncontrolled dominion of robbers and other violators of the law.

The paving and widening of many of our most crowded thoroughfares, and the removal of many impediments by which passage through the streets used formerly to be interrupted, are other improvements which have all materially contributed to the same result. The establishment (in 1792) of the several police-offices, and that of the horse-patrol, imperfect as they both are, have nevertheless undoubtedly been the means of maintaining, throughout the space over which their jurisdiction extends, a measure of order and general security greatly exceeding what had previously prevailed. And, lastly, the recent substitution of the new police in the room of that long-tolerated nuisance the old parochial watch, will now be confessed, we believe, even by the greater number of those who were at first most opposed to the change, to have been an improvement of the very highest value and importance.

The grand result, as we have said, is, that in so far as London and its vicinity are concerned, all those descriptions of criminals who were wont to inspire the greatest terror have not indeed been entirely extirpated, but have at least been forced to withdraw from the systematic pursuit of their lawless courses. A burglary, a robbery on the highway, a murder, still occasionally occur; but those bands of marauders who used to make our streets and roads constantly unsafe at certain hours, are broken up and no longer exist. The law, which was formerly kept in check by these ruffians, is now master and keeps them in check. They may sometimes escape its vigilance, but they dare no longer offer it open defiance: when they succeed in breaking through its mandates, it is by running away from it, not by bearding it. The substitution of this state of things is an immense gain. It is a step forward in civilization, and an actual advantage of vast amount. While the leagued enemies of the law intimidate the law itself, society can hardly be said to be consolidated. In a perfect condition of society, crime would not exist at all; it would not require even a law to suppress it. At this ultimate limit of all improvement we certainly have

not yet arrived, nor possibly are we destined ever to reach it. But we have gained at least the intermediate space between that and the commencing point of civilization, when, in the contest between the criminal and the law, we have seen the latter assert its permanent supremacy, and the former acknowledge its strength and its terrors, even though still striving to elude its notice. Then, the practical benefit of the change,—that which we feel every day and every hour,—is not to be told. We move about everywhere without dread and without danger. No man, generally speaking, dreams of the chance of being either murdered, or knocked down, or robbed, of being exposed to injury either in person or property, while passing along the public street or the king's highway, be it at what hour it may. He moves about upon his lawful occasions, whithersoever they may carry him, in the feeling and in the reality of perfect security.

The robberies, and assaults, and murders, that are still sometimes perpetrated, take place out of sight, in remote and lonely situations, not to be kept under perpetual observation by the most numerous and best appointed police, and on victims who have usually been first decoyed and snared before they have been plundered or sacrificed. If while two individuals are together in a room, one of them who is the stronger of the two, or who is on the watch for his opportunity, shall suddenly give the other a blow which stuns him, and shall then rob or murder him,—this is a case which no vigilance on the part of a police could have prevented. Such are our modern crimes of violence. They will always be committed while the immorality and evil propensities by which they are instigated remain in the bosoms of men; let police be made however perfect. The machinery for their detection might indeed be improved; but in regard, for example, to those inhuman atrocities of this description which are done at the bidding of the worst passions to which our nature is subject, and by maddened or brutalized wretches incapable of being acted upon by any but their one governing impulse, it may be doubted if any possible increase of the chances of detection would operate with much effect. Other remedial influences, of a different character altogether, must be applied to bring about the extinction of such crimes. Meanwhile the persons who suffer from them are extremely few in number; and the risk of suffering from them can hardly be said to give a moment's uneasiness to anybody. It is a mere metaphysical possibility, or little more, on which no one spends a thought. And is not this a state of security and ease well worth the price, in so many pounds, shillings, and pence, at which it has been bought?

Notwithstanding the undeniable state of the fact, however, with regard to the metropolis, it has been doubted whether even the more violent description of offences has of late decreased throughout the country generally. If we are to judge by the committals and convictions, it would appear that such offences have increased in number very considerably during the last thirty years. The apparent increase has even been greater in proportion than the increase of the population. It has only not been so great as the increase of minor delinquencies. There can be no question, however, that a considerable part of this apparent increase is apparent only, and to be attributed to the more exact administration of justice, which now takes notice of many crimes that would formerly have been overlooked, and neither brought to punishment nor trial. Whatever may be the case also with regard to the mere number of such more heinous violations of the law, the whole amount of evidence upon the subject goes to show that they are attended in general (we do not allude to extraordinary cases) with a much less degree of outrage and cruelty than were formerly their concomitants. There has been a progressive mitigation of the old ferocity of the populace, and the improved tone of manners has extended even to the worst order of criminals themselves. This is fit matter of congratulation, both on its own account, and for the sake of that to which it may lead. It ought also to be remarked that any comparison drawn as to this point between the last eighteen or nineteen years, and the times immediately preceding, can hardly be expected to show a favourable result, when the great change which took place in the circumstances of the country at the commencement of the more recent period is taken into consideration—the transition, we mean, from a state of war to a state of peace, accompanied as it was both by the disbanding of the greater portion of

the army and navy, and by a shifting in the channels of our commerce and domestic industry, to an extent never perhaps before so suddenly experienced by any nation. Both these causes must undoubtedly, by throwing many thousands of persons loose from their wonted employments and resources, have added largely to our criminal population.

But we are still inclined to think that the cause which more than any other lies at the root of the evil, and chiefly accounts for the steadily progressive growth among us of all descriptions of crime, is the vast increase which has of late years taken place in the number of juvenile delinquents. All the witnesses that have been examined before the several committees on police agree in bearing testimony to the fact of this increase, although few or any of them express a distinct opinion as to the causes to which it ought to be assigned. There is probably something in the conjecture which has been hazarded, that it may be partly owing to the much greater proportion of children from among the whole number born that are now reared to maturity than were formerly. The value of human life at every age has been considerably augmented; but the augmentation that has taken place in the value of infant life, owing to the introduction of vaccination and other causes, is the greatest of all. If, therefore, five children, for example, live now for three that lived formerly, in families of that class from which the ranks of juvenile delinquency have always been supplied, the consequence is very evident. Those ranks must have acquired an immense accession of numbers. Now, this is the nursery in which our greater criminals are reared. These unhappy children commence their career by pilfering and other minor offences; they are sent to prison, to be there associated with and tutored by older malefactors; they come out more accomplished adepts in villany, more hardened, and if possible more destitute than ever; they plunge again, and in truth are almost forced to do so, into their former courses, only in all probability, with their increased age and more matured habits of lawlessness, choosing a higher and broader path of criminal adventure, and pursuing it with bolder and more reckless steps; till at last, such of them as dissipation and misery have not yet destroyed, ripen into desperadoes of violence and blood. Very few, we believe, of those most unfortunate victims of neglect and destitution are ever reformed into useful members of society. The draughting off of such multitudes of the young of both sexes to an existence of almost hopeless depravity and perdition, is, indeed, a fearful waste of the very life-blood and best strength of the community. It is here unquestionably, if any chance of success is to be given to the attempt, that the suppression of crime must begin. A few years ago it was stated to a Committee of the House of Commons that there were 130,000 children in London without the means of education. What an appalling fact is this alone! and how are we entitled to expect that the growth of immorality and crime should ever be checked so long as this state of things shall remain unredressed?

The subject which we have here taken up, and upon only a few of the leading points of which we have been able to touch, is likely immediately to engage much of the attention of Parliament. Mr. Lamb, the Under-secretary of State, has lately brought into the House of Commons a Bill for consolidating the several Acts relative to the Police-offices of London and Westminster; and a Committee has also since been appointed to inquire into the subject of the police of these cities. What has been already accomplished is the best proof that much more may yet be done to improve our police system. We believe that it may be rendered much more perfect than it now is, without being made in any respect more than it is now either an instrument of oppression in the hands of the government, or in any way an annoyance to the peaceably-disposed portion of society. But it is not to be forgotten, we repeat, that the repression of crime is not to be attained by the most complete form of what is commonly called a police establishment alone. The general system of the law and of its administration, the discipline maintained in prisons and other places appointed for the punishment of delinquents, and the state of every institution affecting the social condition of the people generally, have each and all a direct and powerful bearing upon this matter. It is, however, a matter as intimately connected as any other with the well-being of the community at large, and than which there is none having a stronger claim upon

the best attention of the legislature, or more imperatively demanding that the most strenuous exertions should be applied to its right consideration and management.

We shall, in a future Number, under the head "Crime in the Country," examine a few of the circumstances which distinguish the offences peculiar to our rural population.

WEST INDIA QUESTION.

On the 14th of the last month, Mr. Stanley, in a speech of remarkable ability, brought forward in the House of Commons the plan proposed by ministers for the accomplishment of the great object on which the heart of the country has been so long and earnestly set,—the extinction of colonial slavery. We shall, in the first place, endeavour to present such a summary and explanation of the intended measure, as may enable our readers perfectly to understand its several provisions.

The most important immediate effect of the new law will be the entire cessation, from that instant, of the further growth of slavery. All children born after the passing of the act, or who, at the time of its passing, shall be under the age of six years, are to be free, provided their respective parents shall take upon themselves the charge of their maintenance. Those children only whose parents may decline maintaining them are to be bound apprentices to the master of the parents, and to work for him without wages—the males till the age of twenty-four, and the females till that of twenty, at which periods they are to be absolutely free.

With regard, secondly, to the grown-up negroes, it is proposed that they shall all become free within twelve years, or twelve years and a half, at the farthest, after the passing of the act. Only those who prefer being slaves can remain such after the expiration of that period.

Meanwhile, the condition of the slave is also to be immediately altered in various important respects. Every slave who chooses is to be at liberty to claim to be registered as an apprenticed labourer to his master; and the effect of this change in the relation between the two will be at once to destroy and put an end for ever to many of the most degrading distinctions by which the lot of the former is at present marked. Except, indeed, in respect to the compulsion which he will still be under to work for his master, during a certain part of his time, he will immediately enter into the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of a freeman. He will of course cease, though it is not expressly so stated in the resolutions, to be a commodity transferable by sale. He will be capable, it is distinctly intimated, of giving evidence in all courts, criminal as well as civil, and as well against his employer as against any other person; of serving upon juries and in the militia; of attending whatever place of worship or teacher of religion he pleases; and generally will have and enjoy all other rights and privileges whatsoever of a British subject. The power of inflicting upon him corporal punishment, also, will be taken out of the hands of his master, and be transferred to the magistrate. Finally, instead of working, as at present, for ten hours of the day or more, he will be obliged, under his contract of apprenticeship, to work only three-fourths of that time. And for this amount of labour, he may, at his own option, be either paid, as at present, by being lodged, clothed, and fed, or by receiving a sum in money, weekly, to be fixed by a magistrate with reference to the actual cost of the legal provision.

During the remaining fourth of his time, he is to be permitted to work for wages, either to his master, from whom he shall be entitled to claim employment, or elsewhere if he pleases. Should he remain in the service of his master, he will receive wages at a rate to be regulated on this principle:—The master will fix a price upon him at the time of his apprenticeship, and of that he will be bound to pay him a twelfth part every year as his wages. This is an arrangement of great importance, and very ingeniously contrived for the effecting of its object, the ascertainment of the real value of the negro to his master, a point which it would be probably impossible to get at in any other way. By this scheme it is made equally the interest of the master not to fix that price either too high or too low. If he should fix it too high, he will have to pay the negro a correspondingly high rate of wages; if, on the other hand, he should name too small a sum, he will run the risk of being obliged altogether to forego the benefit of the negro's labour for that inadequate compensation, it being provided, that the latter, on paying, at any time, the price fixed upon him, or such

portion of it as may remain due, (the meaning being, we presume, that a twelfth part is to be counted off every year,) shall become absolutely free. The negro may obtain the money for this purpose, by borrowing it, and binding himself, for such period as may be agreed upon, as an apprenticed labourer to the lender.

It is proposed that, in order to compensate the master for this abstraction of the fourth part of the negro's time and labour, a loan of 15,000,000*l.* sterling shall be granted to the proprietors of West Indian estates and slaves, on approved security in the case of each individual, and on payment of interest. The provisions of the scheme which refer to this loan are at present somewhat imperfectly stated, and may probably receive considerable modification. From a passage in Mr. Stanley's speech, it would appear that it is to be left to the future consideration of Parliament, whether it will ever require repayment of the money, or eventually convert it into a gift. In the mean time, however, it is proposed that it shall be, in part at least, liquidated by a deduction or tax, which each negro is to be compelled to pay half-yearly out of his wages. In default of such payment by the negro, the master is to be liable, and in return may exact an equivalent amount of labour, without wages, in the succeeding half-year. It is this clause which may, in some cases, protract the existence of slavery for six months beyond the twelve years. But it is not likely, we think, that the proposal of taxing the negro will be ultimately persevered in. No hint has been given as to how much of the loan is expected to be recovered by this arrangement; but we should suppose the amount reckoned upon cannot be very considerable. It is to be recollected that, although the negro is now to receive wages for a portion of his time, he is, on the other hand, to be burthened with the new charge of supporting his family out of his earnings. If it be intended that he shall, in what we may call his state of transition, have any opportunity of accumulating property, and thereby learning some of the habits which promise to be of most value to him when he shall be absolutely emancipated, it would seem to be unadvisable to diminish the pittance out of which his savings are to be made, by any further deduction than that to which his domestic expenses must subject it.

Such are the outlines of the proposed plan. It may be considered as a scheme for the equitable distribution, among the different parties concerned, of the burthen to be borne in effecting the great object contemplated.

These parties are three in number—the public, the planters, and the slaves. They all receive a certain share of the benefit, and are each also called upon to pay something for what they receive. The public is to be gratified by the accomplishment of its strongly expressed desire for the abolition of slavery; and for that it is to pay 15,000,000*l.* sterling in money, or some other large sum. The various advantages which are to accrue to the slave have just been enumerated. He is the party having the strongest claim upon any benefits which the measure may have to bestow; but even he is to purchase the immediate liberty of his children, and his own eventual emancipation, by being subjected to compulsory labour for a certain period. The planter, lastly, gives up or is to be deprived of various things in which he has hitherto had a legal right of property—of the labour of his slave for one-fourth part of every day—of the labour of the same slave for the whole day after a period of twelve years—and of all the profit which he might have made of the negroes born within the last six years, or to be born in future on his estate. The advantage by which it is proposed that he shall be compensated for these sacrifices, (besides his exemption from the expense of maintaining the individuals thus made free,) must be regarded as consisting in the deliverance which the successful operation of the plan may be expected to bring him, from the obloquy and insecurity to which he is at present exposed, and the increased value which his property will acquire after the establishment of the new system.

We shall not at present venture to express our opinion as to how far the above division of the gain and loss may be regarded as a fair apportionment. Upon this head nothing can be certainly advanced, until the details of the measure shall have been discussed and settled. As yet it can be said to exist only in outline. We will add, however, a few words as to one of the leading principles of the plan, which has been somewhat violently attacked.

Of the three parties we have mentioned, the first, namely, the public or the nation, are unquestionably the authors of

the evil to be redressed, and ought, therefore, it may be said, in strict justice to bear the whole cost of its removal. And were it only for the purpose of relieving them of a part of this charge, that it was proposed to pay a portion of the master's claim by the labour of the negroes for twelve years longer, we should certainly not be prepared to defend that arrangement. But if we rightly understand the government plan, this is not the object, or at least the principal object, of the enactment in question. It is plain that this most difficult subject, embarrassed as it is by a multitude of considerations both of right and of expediency, cannot be surrendered to the domination of any single principle, but must be treated with a reference to all the conflicting interests that have become mixed up in it, and settled, if at all, only in the way of mutual concession and compromise. It would neither be practicable nor just for the government to attempt any other mode of managing it. It would be an experiment pregnant with danger to the interests, not of some of the parties concerned, but of all. Suppose, for instance, that what is called the indefeasible claim of the negro to his liberty were alone to be looked to. You have no right to keep these men under restraint for another hour, upon any pretence whatever: you have no such right, even on the plea that you do so for their good. You are not entitled to sit or judge respecting what is for their good. Arguing the matter merely upon the abstract rights of man, the only question is, what do they themselves feel and wish? Would you allow *them* to impose any restraint upon you on their conviction that they were thereby doing you a service, or protecting you from a danger? We should scout such a pretension, and justly insist upon being allowed to judge for ourselves. On the principle of the rights of man, the negro is equally entitled to do the same. He is entitled, in other words, not only to his freedom, as soon as you shall conscientiously believe it safe and for his own interest that he should be made free, but, if he wishes it, to his freedom immediately, and without reference to any apprehensions of yours, however conscientious or disinterested. If you are to go simply upon the rights of man, you are not more justified in imposing yourself upon him as his guardian than as his driver.

But all this only shows the absurdity of attempting to combat the difficulties of a great political question with the armour of this schoolboy metaphysics. Let the doctrine of the rights of man say what it will, there are few people in their sound senses who will be ready to consent to liberate the West Indian negroes by a mere proclamation of 'Slaves! be free!' Those among us who are most anxious for the extinction, and if possible the instant extinction, of the state of slavery, would hardly demand that the bondsman of the last moment should be the entirely-unrestricted freeman of the next. The apprehension might, after all, by possibility be an unfounded one; but all rational persons would consent to act to a certain extent, in this case, upon the supposition that the negro, if at once released from all his customary restraints, would be in some danger of making an unfortunate use of his freedom; and that both himself and others might run the risk of suffering terribly by his imprudence and misconduct. It would be generally, for instance, thought necessary to provide, in such an event, against the chance of the social system of the West India islands being thrown into confusion by the land being allowed to lie uncultivated, were it only for a single year, even although the regulations deemed necessary to avert that calamity should trench somewhat upon the absolute freedom of the emancipated negroes. Of the two evils, the less would be submitted to in order to avoid the greater.

But the moment that this mode of proceeding is adopted, the principle of mere abstract right is relinquished, and that of expediency is taken as the rule. So it is in the present plan. It is true, that, on the doctrine of the equal rights of all men, you are not entitled to retain these negroes another day, either in a state of slavery or in a state of apprenticeship; but you take the liberty of looking to other considerations as well as to this,—to the security, for instance, of the property of the planters, and to the benefit of the negroes themselves. With a reference to these two objects, it is proposed that the emancipation of the slave shall not be immediate, but gradual; that he shall have to work his way up to his new state of freedom through a period of considerable length, in the course of which both he and his master may have ample opportunity to prepare for the changed condition of things to which they are both to be transferred. But this delay, we are bound to add, will be altogether use-

less for its professed purpose, in so far as the benefit of the slave is concerned, and will be only a cruel prolongation of his servitude for no justifiable end whatever, unless adequate measures shall, in the mean time, be taken to turn these years to account in the improvement of his moral and intellectual nature. Unless this use shall be made of the interval, the general emancipation, with which it is proposed that it shall close, might as well take place now. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that we observe the intimation with which the announcement of the government plan concludes, to the effect that means will be taken to establish, in the colonies to which this great measure relates, "a general system of religious and moral education." For the reasons we have stated, we hope this system will be of such a nature as to comprehend the instruction not only of the emancipated child, but also of his nearly equally ignorant and still unliberated parent.

PROPOSED NEW LAWS RELATING TO DRAMATIC LITERARY PROPERTY AND THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES.

It would be difficult to conceive anything more absurd or more unjust than our present law of literary property, in so far as the drama is concerned. In all other cases, the admitted principle is, that the property of a thing and the right of using it are in the person by whom it has been created. Sometimes this right is granted with, sometimes without, limitation; but there is no other instance, we believe, in which the benefit of anything having an exchangeable or pecuniary value is taken from him by whose labour or ingenuity the article was produced, and transferred to another party, who has only had the trouble of seizing upon it. Yet this is the manner in which the law treats the writer of a play. His work, as soon as it issues from the press, may be taken possession of by any theatrical manager who chooses to try the speculation, and employed by him in nearly all respects as if it had been the produce of his own brain, or had been purchased by his own money. He cannot, indeed, (at least immediately,) print and sell another edition of it on his own account; but he can turn it to profit in a way which is commonly much more productive. What can be made by the sale of the printed copies is what the law, in its wisdom and liberality, allots to the author; the remainder of the productive value of the piece belongs, it says, no more to him than it does to anybody else. The hardship of this is in every way grievous. If the play is what a play ought to be, it will be something adapted essentially and principally for exhibition on the stage; it will be dependent, in a main degree, for its effect upon the illusions of the theatre and the presence of an audience; it will be only half felt and enjoyed by him who peruses it in his closet. The money return, therefore, of such a production will be derived in great part from its representation. This is not an imaginary case; it is one which has often happened.

But suppose that the drama, as sometimes happens, shall not have been written specially for representation, and that the author, conscious that it is not adapted for the stage, gives it to the world rather as a dramatic poem than as a play, and proclaims his aversion to its being acted. His aversion is all that he can express; it is not in his power to issue his prohibition. The players, induced by the notoriety of his name, or by some similar consideration, lay their hands upon the unfortunate production, and he can no more protect it from their grasp than if he had not any right of property in it whatever. It receives the unsuitable honour of being acted, probably only to be followed by the disgrace of failure and condemnation. This also has actually happened. The operation of the law here, it will be observed, inflicts a positive injury upon the author, and is, therefore, still more oppressive and iniquitous than in the former case, in which it only deprives him of a right.

All this arises from the error of not giving to the author of a dramatic composition the same property in his production which is recognized in the case of every other producer. He is undoubtedly entitled to claim that another party shall not be permitted to make a profit by the use of what he has created, without his consent. Nobody is allowed to print his play but himself; why should any one be allowed to act it, and thus to appropriate what is, in almost all cases, by far the greater part of its commercial value?

A bill, having for its object the correction of this glaring defect in the law, has this session been introduced into Par-

liament, and has already passed the House of Commons. It provides that no play, which may be written from this time forward, and also no one which has been printed within the last seven years, shall be produced on any theatre, without leave obtained in writing from the author, for a period of twenty-eight years from the date of its first publication, nor for so many years beyond that term as the author shall live. This is the same extent of protection which the legislature has already thought proper to grant to authors against the piracy of their works by the press. A penalty of 50*l.*, which may be reduced by the Judge to 10*l.*, with double costs, is affixed to every infringement of the regulation. The action must be brought within twelve months from the date of the offence.

Another bill, of great importance in relation to this subject, has also been brought into the House of Commons, entitled "A Bill for Licensing Theatres, and for the Regulation of Dramatic Performances in the cities of London and Westminster, and within a certain distance thereof." At present, as is well known, the only theatres licensed in the metropolis, for the performance of what is called the regular drama, are those of Drury Lane and Covent Garden for eight months in the year, and that of the Haymarket for the remaining four. In other words, the number of theatres, open for the representation of comedies and tragedies during the principal theatrical season, is still just the same as it was at the Restoration, or nearly two hundred years ago, although the population of London has at least *doubled* since then, and its extent been increased in even a higher ratio. The object of the present bill is to rectify this state of things, by giving to the Lord Chamberlain the power of licensing additional theatres in London and Westminster, and within a circuit of twenty miles around these cities; or, rather, making it compulsory upon him to grant a licence to every establishment within that space, which shall adduce certain specified recommendations in support of its claim. Of these required conditions, the principal is, that the application shall not be opposed by a majority of the contiguous proprietors, who are defined to be all persons, residing not farther than a quarter of a mile from the building, who have the privilege of voting at the election of a member of Parliament. The licence is to be renewed annually. It is proposed that, on the institution of this new system, an end shall be put to the power, at present exercised by justices of the peace, of licensing theatres for certain descriptions of entertainments in the neighbourhood of the metropolis; but all those houses which are open under such authority at present, are immediately to receive new and more unrestricted licences from the Lord Chamberlain. The second part of the bill gives to that officer the same right of superintendence over the performances at all the houses to be licensed under the new system, as he has at present over those which take place at the two patent theatres. That is to say, no new piece is to be represented without first being submitted to his inspection, and having obtained his sanction as containing nothing either immoral, profane, or seditious. Persons contravening any prohibition which he may issue against the performance of an objectionable play, may be sent to prison for six months by any two justices of the peace within whose jurisdiction the theatre may be situate.

There are several of the enactments in this latter bill which may probably give rise to some discussion, and which may be considerably modified before it becomes a law. But some legislative provision, embracing at least its principal object, the breaking up of the monopoly of the two patent theatres, is imperatively required. In addition to the argument, already noticed, derived from the vast extension of the metropolis since that monopoly was established, there are various other pressing reasons which demand this reform. Let us mention only one more. The attempt to make the same number of two theatres serve for the London of the present day which served for that of the seventeenth century, has led to an extension of each house, altogether incompatible with the effective performance, at least, of the higher drama. But it is the interest created by this high drama alone that can ever give to the theatre anything like an empire over the national mind. Banish that from your boards, and the playhouse becomes merely one among the multitude of places of entertainment, with nothing national about it more than any other show. The true love of the drama languishes and dies among the population. It loses altogether its old character of a high intellectual banquet. All its power over the imagination, and the deeper and more

permanent fountains of feeling and reflection, is gone. It is resorted to as the mere amusement of a listless or vacant hour, and with the expectation that the senses shall be gratified at least as much as the intellect. It is, in short, a disenchanting thing; like a rich shrine to which devotees have ceased to crowd, and which is only visited by successive companies of the curious and the worldly, who come to feed their eyes on the glare of its gold and jewellery.

BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF THE JEWS.

ANOTHER great triumph of the principle of religious liberty, in addition to those of the emancipation of the Catholics, and the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, is likely soon to be achieved in parliament, by the repeal of the disabilities affecting the Jews. The resolution in favour of this measure, agreed to by the House of Commons on the 18th of April, was to the effect, "that it is expedient to remove all civil disabilities at present existing with respect to his Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion, with the like exceptions that are provided with respect to his Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion;" and the bill which has since been brought in, and the second reading of which took place on the 22d of the last month, merely contains the enactments necessary to secure the object thus announced. It is proposed, that from the passing of the act it shall be lawful for the persons to whom it refers, "to have and enjoy all such and the same civil rights, franchises, and privileges, and to hold, exercise, and possess such and the same offices, places, emoluments, trusts and confidences, as the subjects of his Majesty professing the Roman Catholic religion are now by law able and competent to have, enjoy, hold, exercise, and possess, and under the same restrictions." They are to take the same oaths on being admitted to sit and vote in parliament, and on being appointed to any office under the crown, which are required by the late relief act to be taken by Catholics on the like occasions; with this difference, that, in the declaration substituted in room of the sacramental test, the words "upon the true faith of a Christian" shall be omitted. The incapacities to which they are to continue liable are also the same with those to which Catholics are still subjected; the chief of these being inability to hold the offices of Lord High Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any office in the established churches or the universities.

In 1752, a bill was brought into parliament, and passed through both houses almost without opposition, for permitting persons professing the Jewish religion, who had resided in Great Britain or Ireland for three years, to be naturalized without taking the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Every Jew actually born in Great Britain, it is to be observed, was already naturalized independently of this new law; so that what it proposed to effect was in reality as small a matter as it is easy to conceive. The few Jews born abroad who, under its operation, would have been admitted denizens of the kingdom, would not thereby have acquired a single privilege beyond those of their brethren who happened to be the King's natural born subjects. All the disabilities affecting persons professing the Jewish religion would still have attached to them as well as to the rest. The only possible effect, therefore, of the law would have been to add a few more individuals to a class already existing among us to the number of several thousands.

Yet seldom has any political question excited such a ferment in England as did the passing of this bill. The people were plied with pamphlets, sermons, and other inflammatory appeals upon the subject, till they were persuaded that the ruin of the constitution and of the country was certain to be the speedy consequence of the step the legislature had taken. No prognostication of the tendency and necessary results of the new law was too absurd to be gravely proclaimed, and to obtain ready and extensive acquiescence. It was alleged, for instance, that, with their early marriages, the Jews, under the encouragement about to be given them, would increase at such a rate as in no long time to form a body in a high degree dangerous to the commonwealth from its numerical force. Another favourite topic was that, whether their numbers increased or not, they would certainly soon draw to themselves all the trade of the kingdom. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London, presented a petition to parliament against the bill, in which they expressed their strong apprehensions that, if passed into a law, it would place the constitution in jeopardy. After it had passed, many of the other corporations through-

out the country followed this wise example. Public meetings were held in most of the boroughs and counties, and resolutions voted calling upon the members to get the law repealed. So perseveringly, in short, were the clamour and agitation continued, that it was at length deemed expedient to yield to it; and the law was actually repealed the following session.

No class of persons have ever endured so general and so long-continued a persecution as have the Jews. It has been their lot to be subjected to all the degradation and oppression that contempt and hatred could inflict in almost every nation in which they have sojourned, and alike by the adherents of all the other great systems of theological belief. Sects opposed to each other in almost every other point of doctrine and feeling have united in trampling upon this unhappy race. In this particular, Roman Catholics and Protestants, Christians and Mahometans, have pursued with equal zeal the same course. In Turkey, in Spain and Portugal, in France, in Germany, in England, the Jew has been looked upon not merely as an alien, but almost as an outcast from the great human family, and often treated as if he possessed neither the feelings nor the form of man. In some cases, indeed, the treatment so far vindicated the notion from which it sprung as to produce, in a certain degree, that very result. The physical structure of the Jew, when allowed to develop itself freely and in favourable circumstances, has always manifested eminent activity, strength, and elegance; this, for instance, is its character generally in both sexes in Poland, where for a long time the race has enjoyed a degree of consideration which it has scarcely anywhere else attained. But in most of the European capitals a Jew used to be distinguishable by his feeble and stunted appearance; and probably in many places this is still, to a considerable extent, the case. Ages of persecution had dwarfed and withered the race: and no doubt the debasement and suffering they have had to endure have not passed over them without leaving some of their noxious effects upon their moral nature as well as upon their physical.

There is one thing which makes the dislike and hostility which Christians have so long displayed to the Jews peculiarly discreditable to the former. It appears to have been originally excited in a great measure by envy of the Jew's superiority in learning, science, the arts of life, and all the constituents of civilization. It was in the darkest night of what are called the middle ages, that the persecution of this ill-fated people by Christian states commenced, and was carried on with the greatest rage and cruelty. During this period they were the most cultivated inhabitants of Europe. In England they appear to have existed in considerable numbers some centuries before the Conquest; but the first general plunder and massacre of them of which we read, took place towards the close of the twelfth century, in the reign of Richard I. During the hundred years that followed, similar outbreaks of the popular fury, generally excited and aided by the public authorities, were frequently repeated, till at last, in 1290, Edward I. completed the work by seizing upon all estates in the hands of Jews, and banishing every individual of that denomination from the kingdom. The Jews, as is well known, remained excluded from England, till they were re-admitted, in 1655, by Cromwell,—not without vehement remonstrances against the measure from the prejudice of that day,—the remains of the old popular feeling, which nearly four centuries of the cessation of all irritation from the presence of its objects had not been able to extinguish. Englishmen could not, even at that distance of time, forgive the Jew that his forefathers had been distinguished by talents, knowledge, and wealth, when theirs were ignorant, rude, and poor,—that the former had acquired property to be plundered, at an era when the latter could boast of nothing except the numerical force which enabled them to effect the spoliation.

It is time that this unworthy jealousy should cease, and that even its last faint traces should be obliterated. Since the Christian has succeeded to that superiority which was formerly the distinction of the Jew, the ancient aversion, as is natural, has become greatly mitigated. The Hebrew race has been amply repaid for the decline of its old social consequence, by the freedom from molestation which, in its comparative obscurity, it now enjoys. There is no reason, of any force that we can see, against adding to this release from actual oppression the other boon of political emancipation. The number of Jews at present in England is not supposed to amount to more than between twenty and thirty

thousand; and the notion, therefore, of danger to any of our institutions, either in church or state, from the abolition of disabilities affecting so mere a handful of the population, is quite out of the question.

THE BANKING SYSTEM OF GREAT BRITAIN. No. II.

COUNTRY BANKING IN ENGLAND.

COUNTRY banks began to be formed in England after the middle of last century,—a time when the inhabitants of our provincial towns slowly but perceptibly increased their numbers. The chief causes of increase were the improvement of turnpike roads, the extension of canals, and the diffusion of the cotton and iron manufactures. There was no obstacle to the establishment of a bank in any town, except the attendant expense; if that could be defrayed by the paper circulated, and the accompanying agency, a partnership was formed, and notes were engraved and issued in the name of the firm. The lowest sum on a bank note, at that time as at present, was 5*l*. Country banks thus continued to increase. They met, like other mercantile establishments, with a severe check in the sudden transition from peace to war in 1793; but most of them recovered from the shock, and their number throughout England was computed at 280 in 1797. In that year leave was given to them, as well as to the metropolitan bank, to issue 1*l*. and 2*l*. bank notes. This privilege was coupled with the equally important one of not paying their notes in cash. From this period there was a surprising extension in the business of country banks; in the seventeen years between 1797 and 1814, their number was more than trebled, for in the latter year it exceeded 900. Then, indeed, came a time of severe trial. In the course of three years (1814, 1815, 1816) there were no less than ninety insolvents among country banks, followed by an equal number of dissolutions of partnership. The number of country banks throughout England was now between 7 and 800: in the year of speculation, 1825, it increased, but was soon brought down by the heavy failures of that and the following year. To this was added the forced recall of the small notes in 1829. Since this time, several country banks have dissolved partnership, the total number in England last year being reduced to 636.

Country banking has had a comparatively small share of the attention of parliament. Fourteen years ago the Committee on the Resumption of Cash Payments was altogether at a loss to form an opinion of the amount of country bank notes in circulation. They conjectured that it might exceed twenty millions sterling; but they could make no satisfactory estimate of the occasional variations in the amount, because they had no means of judging except by returns from the Stamp-office. This was a very uncertain criterion, since the same stamps might remain in circulation three, four, or five years. Last year, however, a Mr. Burgess, Secretary to the Society of Country Bankers who meet in London, gave to the Committee on the Bank of England Charter some useful information in regard to the variations, or rather the comparative steadiness in the circulation of country bank paper, for the fluctuation proved to be less than had been previously supposed. Take, for instance, the eight years from 1818 to 1825, a period first of declining, afterwards of increasing business. During the first six years of the eight, there was a decrease in the amount of country bank notes of about 2 per cent. annually; while in the two remaining years, (1824 and 1825,) the increase amounted to 7 per cent. each year, leaving very nearly the same sum in circulation at the end as at the beginning of the period.

Security from Country Bankers.

The great defect in the system of country banking in England hitherto has been the want of security to the public. Any partnership of individuals, not exceeding six in number, could exercise the important privilege of issuing notes in provincial towns and districts, without giving a guarantee of their ability to pay them. The history of commerce does not exhibit so gross an anomaly. Yet in consequence, at one time, of the dependence of government on the Bank of England,—at another, of the unacquaintance of men in office with the principles of banking,—this abuse has been allowed to continue until the present day. The expiration of the Bank of England Charter prevents any further toleration of it, and renders it incumbent on government to provide for the security of the public.

Ministers are, doubtless, desirous to preserve to private banks the connexion and the business they have taken so many years to acquire; but while they keep that in view, they will be under the necessity of considering that persons possessing the important privilege of issuing bank notes ought to lodge undoubted security somewhere, so as to remove all question of their responsibility. Such a measure has not yet been proposed to country bankers; but they have anticipated its discussion, and have found it to involve the following considerations. Country banks in England serve, as in Scotland, as a medium for the transfer of money from one class of persons to another. From those who have money to lend, they receive deposits and pay interest at 3 per cent.; while to those who stand in need of advances, they lend money at an interest of 4 or 5 per cent., the difference forming their profit. Now the depositors, say the country bankers, are their most valuable customers; they are the select friends of the partnership, and ought certainly not to rank second, in point of security, to those of the public who happen (frequently by accident) to be holders of their notes. This argument has some claim to attention; but it should be borne in mind that there is an essential distinction between the position of a depositor in a country bank, and a holder of its notes. The one makes an election without any control: he believes in the security of the bank, and he lends his money to it. The other is, to a certain degree, compelled to take the notes; for, if they constitute any large portion of the currency of a district, an individual cannot refuse to receive them, without the most serious inconvenience. The workman might, in the event of such a refusal, be deprived of employment, and the shopkeeper of customers. Let us hope, therefore, that it will be found practicable to obtain security from country bankers or their sureties, without depriving them of any great part of their capital. Various kinds of security would be eligible; funded property; mortgages on land and houses; and, to a certain extent, personal bonds, might answer the purpose of government.

Chartering Country Banks in England.

We come next to a question which, like the requisition of security from bankers, ought long since to have engaged the attention of government;—the granting of charters to the principal country banks in England, as was done above a century ago to those of Scotland.

The origin of this most unfortunate defect in our banking system was as follows. So long ago as the year 1708, a joint-stock association, called the Mine Adventure Company, began to issue promissory notes, payable to bearer, like those of the Bank of England; on which the latter, having made a very opportune advance of money to government, obtained an act of parliament to the effect that "it should not be lawful for any body-corporate, or any persons whatsoever, united in partnerships exceeding the number of six persons, to issue any notes payable on demand;" in short, that no bank for circulating notes, except the Bank of England, should have more than six partners.

The metropolitan bank, bearing from the first the name of Bank of England (not Bank of London), might allege, in some degree, a claim to a circulation of its notes throughout the kingdom, and a right to restrict the business of country bankers. Had it been made incumbent on the latter to give security for their issues, the interest of the public would have been provided for, and the Bank of England could hardly have complained of the grant of charters; but to limit all country banks to six partners, was to deprive them of a stable foundation; permitting them, indeed, to circulate notes, but providing that these notes should be of secondary credit.

At the time this enactment took place, and for many years after, the extent of injury arising from it was not perceived, because there were few country banks in England, and, of course, few failures among them; but, during the last half-century, the case has been very different. After the year 1770, a progressive increase took place in the cotton and iron manufactures. The extension of our town population brought an addition to the number of provincial banks. Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Norwich, Hull, all became populous. This increase continued during the ten years of peace that followed 1783, a period of prosperity and general content. But the sudden check given to trade by the war of 1793, fell directly on country banks, and brought but too clearly into view the pernicious effect of the act which forbade their having a sufficient

number of partners. Twenty-two country banks declared their insolvency in the course of one year. Yet so little attention did government bestow on the subject, and so wholly was the consideration of the Bank of England directors confined to their own establishment, that the unfortunate limitation to six partners was again inserted in the Bank of England Charter, when renewed in 1800. This insertion was productive, as might have been foreseen, of new scenes of embarrassment: in 1810, twenty country banks stopped payment; in 1812, seventeen; while, in 1814, 1815, 1816, the average number was nearly thirty. Lastly, in the two years 1825 and 1826, the failures of country banks amounted to no less than eighty. Now, amidst all these stoppages in England, not a single bank proved insolvent in Scotland; in consequence certainly not of greater prudence or greater wealth in that part of the kingdom, but of the non-existence of the limitation in question, and the consequent power of the banks to admit a sufficient number of partners.

The approaching expiration of the Bank of England Charter affords the opportunity, which has been so long neglected, of chartering country banks. Should such a salutary principle be adopted, it would be important to declare that partners in such banks shall be liable for only a specific sum, at the rate, perhaps, of 200*l.* for each 100*l.* share they may hold. This exemption from unlimited responsibility would have the best effect on men of property. It would induce both the landholder and retired capitalist to become shareholders in such banks.

Small Notes of Country Bankers.

In 1797, when leave was given to the Bank of England to circulate small notes of 1*l.* and 2*l.*, the same privilege was conferred on country bankers, and continued to be exercised by both until 1821. In that year the small notes of the Bank of England ceased to be issued, their place being supplied by sovereigns. In regard to the small notes of country bankers, the case would have been the same, had not that been a year of agricultural distress. At that time witnesses were examined, and an elaborate report was made on the subject by a committee of the House of Commons. The prices of corn and cattle continued equally low the year after, and led to such complaints from the landed interest, that ministers could not refuse their request, that the small notes of country bankers should continue to have currency some time longer. A clause to that effect was introduced into an act of parliament, and small notes continued, much more than sovereigns, to be the circulating medium of country districts during the years 1823, 1824, 1825. An opinion then became prevalent, that the extravagant speculations of the last of these years had been fostered by the too ready issue of small notes on the part of country bankers; and early in the session of 1826 an act was passed for their being called in in the course of three years. This act was passed almost by acclamation. The considerations that are alleged, and with some reason, for the re-issue of small notes, are the following:—

1. Notes of 1*l.* and 2*l.* are a currency for petty payments or purchases; not for speculation in either buying or selling.
2. There was no speculation of consequence in corn or other country produce during 1824 and 1825; they were almost the only articles exempt from the *mania* of the day.
3. Country bankers cannot, as the governor of the bank informed the parliamentary committee of last year, maintain a larger issue of notes than the wants of their districts require: they issue only on demand, and the extent of the demand depends on the prices current in their neighbourhood at the time.

4. Excitement and speculation may be carried to a great height in countries devoid of small notes, and, even in some measure, of bank paper; witness the case of France in 1830. At that time credit was so extended, and bill transactions had been so multiplied in France, that the re-action in trade consequent on the troubles in Paris and Brussels was most serious and long-continued; and was hardly inferior to the re-action in England in 1826.

Three years elapsed between passing the act for calling in the small notes and their actual recall. On the appointment last year of a committee on banking affairs, it was expected that a re-issue of the small notes of country bankers would be called for by several of the persons examined. Little, however, was said on the subject, the witnesses considering that in the event of a commercial alarm—the chief trouble to the bankers would arise from the hum

bler classes, who are commonly the holders of small notes. If country banks in England were to be put upon a solid footing, uniting security and public accommodation, the recurrence of alarm would be prevented. If, however, it should still be thought expedient to prevent the issue of small notes, attention should be given to the point of making 5*l.* and 10*l.* notes of the Bank of England a legal tender, and thus enabling country bankers to pay small sums in such notes instead of gold. This would be a considerable accommodation to country banks, who are at present obliged (see evidence of Henry Burgess) to keep nearly half the amount of their circulation in gold. Of Bank of England notes a much smaller proportion would suffice, satisfied as the partners would be, that when a supply was wanted they would have merely to send for it to the neighbouring branch of the Bank of England. The plan of making 5*l.* and 10*l.* Bank of England notes a legal tender, is advised by several witnesses examined before the late committee;—men who never issue notes, and have consequently no interest in the question, such as Mr. Tooke, the Russia merchant; Messrs. Glyn and Grote, the London bankers; Mr. Norman, the Bank of England Director; and others. The effect of improvements in banking is, to reduce the charge of discount to the public. Such would be the consequence of the proposed measure, and it would have the farther advantage of rendering the Bank of England the place of deposit for metallic currency for the kingdom at large. The directors would then know, much more distinctly than at present, the amount for which they would have to provide in case of adverse exchanges.

BRANCH BANKS OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

These form the latest appendage to the great establishment in Threadneedle Street. The towns in which branch banks have as yet been established are

Manchester,	Bristol,	Exeter,
Liverpool,	Newcastle on Tyne,	Hull,
Birmingham,	Gloucester,	Norwich.
Leeds,	Swansea,	

It was in the year 1826 that the Bank of England began to establish these branches, at the suggestion, it was said, of the late Lord Liverpool, and for the purpose of lessening the inconvenience and loss arising from the frequent discredit of country banks. The branches were not expected to be productive of profit to the Bank of England, nor have they proved so.

In laying down regulations for their branch banks, the Bank of England directors have carefully avoided interfering with the business of country bankers. Their agents at the branches allow no interest on money deposited with them, nor do they permit any one to overdraw his account. The latter is occasionally done by private bankers, and generally without risk, in consequence of the intimate knowledge they have of the affairs of their customers. The branches further consult the convenience of the neighbouring bankers by supplying them with gold when required, and by lending at the moderate interest of 3 per cent. Bank of England notes to those bankers who think fit to use them instead of notes of their own. As yet, however, few bankers have thought fit to withdraw their notes from circulation, being under an impression that their respectability in the eyes of their neighbours would be lessened by the withdrawal, and by substituting Bank of England notes in their place. A branch bank is further useful in a large town like Leeds, in receiving gold from the bankers who happen to hold more than they require, and in supplying gold to those who stand in need of it. Lastly, branch banks are useful for the safe transmission of money from a country town to London, or *vice versâ*, the rule being to take charge of such payments at the branch bank without any expense but postage. It is fit to add, that the Bank of England, after having agreed, on the deposit of certain securities to advance a sum of money to a country bank, has not, under any circumstances, contracted such credits. The stamps and other charges on the notes of a country banker cost from 1 to 2 per cent. annually on the amount of his circulation; so that several persons believe it would be a public advantage, that the bank paper in circulation were almost wholly of the Bank of England.

Of the whole paper-money of the Bank of England, about three-fourths are in circulation in the metropolis, and its district; the remaining fourth in country parts, particularly in Lancashire.

BANKING IN SCOTLAND.

From the mixed picture presented by country banks in England it is gratifying to turn to those of the northern part of the island, however inferior to the southern in wealth and population. The contrast affords one more example, that the distress which has at different times pressed so heavily on England is, in several points, the result of our own mismanagement, and would not on any occasion have reached such a height, had country banking been left to its natural course. The distinction between the two countries hitherto has been, that the one has possessed great capital without freedom in the mode of employing it; the other a limited capital with complete liberty in its appropriation. Hence a stability almost uninterrupted in its banking establishments; no alarms, no runs, such as prevailed in England to so fatal an extent in 1793, 1814, and 1825.

Lord Liverpool, in one of his speeches against the use of small notes, adverted to the state of France in the years 1814 and 1815; "though twice invaded and overrun, there was," said his lordship, "no panic in the public mind as to money, because, the currency was not small notes, but gold and silver." We have here an example of the mistakes into which even a well-informed mind is apt to fall when eager in a particular argument. Had Scotland the misfortune to be invaded, the inhabitants would not question the solvency of their banks, but would consider their money safer there than in their own custody. And in England, alarm, when it occurs, arises not from the currency being in paper, but from the banks being of insufficient capital, in consequence of the unfortunate restriction as to partners.

The amount of bank paper circulated in Scotland is between three and four millions, of which more than half are in notes of 1*l.* and 2*l.* The number of banks in Scotland which issue notes is thirty, of which the three principal hold charters; viz.

The Bank of Scotland, established in 1695; capital progressively augmented to 1,500,000*l.*, its present amount.

The Royal Bank, established in 1727; capital 1,500,000*l.*

The British Linen Company, incorporated in 1746; capital 500,000*l.*

Of the other banking companies in Scotland, several have a great number of partners; to the extent of two, three, four, or even five hundred; but as they act without charters, each partner is liable to the extent of his property. The management is uniformly in a body of directors chosen by the shareholders. These often conduct business at small profit to themselves or the bank. But insolvency on the part of a Scotch bank is extremely rare. Where the transactions are extensive, the number of partners affords complete security; and where the partners are few, the concern is, in general, very prudently managed.

Notes of 1*l.* have been issued in Scotland during more than a century, being suitable to a country which at that time was poor and thinly peopled. In 1826, when parliament called in small notes in England, a similar attempt was made in regard to Scotland; but a committee being called for by the Scots members, the result was a determination in nowise to interfere with the existing system in that part of the island. Ireland preserved her small notes in like manner. It is customary with banks in Scotland to give what they term "cash credits," that is, to make advances of money on receiving personal security from the friends of the borrower. An individual, whether engaged in trade or farming, finds two neighbours or relations, of fair character and circumstances, who become his guarantees to a bank, to the extent of 500*l.*, or any given sum. The money is forthwith advanced by the bank, and an account opened with the party, in which he receives credit for the sums, however small, which it may suit him to pay from time to time in reduction of his debt. The persons receiving this accommodation are generally industrious and respectable, otherwise their relations or neighbours would hardly become responsible for them.

Another custom of banks in Scotland has a title to unqualified approbation; we mean that of allowing interest even on small deposits. They perform the part of savings-banks on a large scale. The depositors are very frequently mechanics or humble tradesmen; yet the aggregate of the sums so deposited in the different banks to the north of the Tweed, is said (Evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Banking, in 1826.) to amount to twenty millions. A similar service is rendered in various parts of England by

country banks. But in Scotland it is an established practice; and the depositors are wholly free from anxiety, there not being one example in a century of money being lost by confiding it to a bank.

BANKING IN IRELAND.

The history of country banking in the sister island may be termed a bad epitome of that of England, the same faults, unhappily, having been committed, and the evil arising from them having been much more conspicuous. It is now half a century since there was established in Dublin a national bank, with privileges similar to those of the Bank of England, and containing most unfortunately in its charter a clause, that "no other bank issuing notes should consist of more than six partners." This was, doubtless, inserted on the part of the Bank of Ireland to give it a monopoly of the circulation.

In a country so advanced in civilization and trade as England, the defects of public institutions are frequently neutralized by the prudence and reflection of individuals; but in Ireland, an agricultural country, with comparatively little experience in trade, the case was very different, and the delicate business of banking has been conducted in provincial towns with very little method or judgment. What has been the consequence of that and of the unfortunate limitation to six partners? The failure of one bank after another, so that out of a total of fifty country banks in Ireland, no less than forty have stopped payment; and of these ten failed in one year, viz. 1820, all in the southern part of the island.

The exemption from paying in cash granted to the Bank of England in 1797, was extended in that year to Ireland, and led forthwith to a great increase in the circulation of bank paper. From little more than half a million sterling in 1796, the circulation of the Bank of Ireland was carried by the end of the war in 1815 to three millions. At present it is twice that amount, and the income of the bank is large,—the rate of discount charged by it being higher by 1 per cent. than in London or Edinburgh.

In the north of Ireland banking is better understood than in the south, and in 1825 a joint-stock bank was formed at

Belfast with a capital of half a million, under the title of the Northern Banking Company. In the same year there was established in London the Provincial Bank of Ireland, with the large capital of two millions, subscribed chiefly in London. That great establishment has since appointed in all the chief towns of Ireland branch banks, which have been of the greatest service to the public, and supply the void caused by the unfortunate failure of the local banks. Happily the Provincial Bank and the Bank of Ireland carry on their business in perfect harmony, their agents at the different towns giving cash for the notes of either bank indiscriminately.

The amount of the bank paper current in Ireland on account of the Provincial Bank and the Northern Banking Company is between two and three millions. The charter of the Bank of Ireland extends to the year 1838, and the restriction as to six partners cannot be removed from country banks before that time, except by a special arrangement between government and the Bank of Ireland. The capital of the latter is 3,000,000*l*.

SAVINGS' BANKS.

Our view of the Banking System of Great Britain would be incomplete, if it did not comprehend a slight notice of those admirable institutions for the safe deposit of the accumulations of the humbler classes, the Savings' Banks. The political impostors, who, in their ignorance or roguery, confound the ideas of currency and capital, denounce Savings' Banks as withdrawing so much from the circulating medium as the deposits represent in money. This attempt at delusion comes too late. The people know that what is accumulated in Savings' Banks is so much capital saved from unproductive consumption;—and they know, in the same way, that if the Birmingham, or any other currency fanatic, could be allowed, to-morrow, to coin as many notes as he pleased, not a penny would be added to the national riches. On some future occasion we may return to this subject. In the mean time we give the following Summary of Savings' Banks in England, Wales, and Ireland, for 1832; with the increase (i) and decrease (d) as compared with 1833.—

SUMMARY OF SAVINGS' BANKS IN ENGLAND, WALES, AND IRELAND.

	England.		Wales.		Ireland.		Total for England, Wales, and Ireland.	
No. of Depositors under £20 each	195,035	8,698 i	5,186	69 i	18,945	1,925 i	219,166	10,692 i
“ Depositors under 50. . . .	102,536	688 i	3,234	80 d	12,991	2,145 i	118,761	2,753 i
“ Depositors under 100. . . .	47,903	139 i	1,296	23 i	4,622	300 i	53,821	462 i
“ Depositors under 150. . . .	17,031	150 d	384	2 i	982	68 i	18,397	80 d
“ Depositors under 200. . . .	7,908	282 i	177	25 i	293	69 i	8,378	375 i
“ Depositors above 200. . . .	3,756	455 d	97	1 d	65	2 d	3,918	448 d
Total No. of Depositors	374,169	9,212 i	10,374	39 i	37,898	4,505 i	422,441	13,754 i
“ Friendly Societies . .	4,162	71 i	167	6 i	234	66 i	4,563	143 i
“ Charitable Societies. .	1,996	216 i	53	15 i	347	79 i	2,396	310 i
Total No. of Accounts	380,327	9,499 i	10,594	60 i	38,479	4,650 i	429,400	14,207 i
Total Amount of Investments . . . £	12,916,028	3,597 d	349,794	4,047 d	1,045,825	122,642 i	14,311,647	114,998 i
Average Amount of each Depositor	£32		£31		£26		£30	

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

We have now passed in review the principal events in the history of the Bank of England since it was first constituted, nearly 140 years ago. Throughout almost the whole of that long period the management of the persons intrusted with its direction has been marked by prudence and consideration. Confining themselves to the proper business of their establishment, they have looked steadily to a secure investment of their funds, satisfied with a moderate profit when assured of the safety of the principal. They have, all along, avoided taking part in speculative enterprise, however alluring the profit. The plausible scheme of traffic to the South Sea, above a century ago, was declined by them in the same manner as the no less plausible project of working the mines

of Mexico was declined, in the year 1824. The great change in the situation of the bank took place after the exemption from cash payments in 1797. Extremes are always productive of injury, and this change added too largely to the profit of the bank—for it altered to rapid accumulation that gradual acquisition of property which had marked its transactions during a century. But even these augmented gains led to no imprudent adventure on the part of the directors. Their extended means continued to be applied to the same objects; to assist the mercantile body by discounts, and to facilitate to government the payment of its vast expenditure. Great errors, doubtless, were committed in carrying that expenditure to such a length, and in failing to consider that a day of reckoning and retribution must come; but these were considerations for ministers and the

parliament. The blame to be attributed to the Bank of England directors was applicable to many others during the war; to the great majority of our merchants and public men. It arose from deficient information in regard to trade and finance; for none of them appear to have profited by the lessons of history. Holland, a commercial state like England, had borne, a century earlier, the burden of resisting the power of France; but there was no distinct record of the manner in which evil had arisen to her from undue expenditure. The case was the same as to the injury arising to this country from the heavy charges attendant on the wars of 1756 and 1775. Historical writers give very imperfect views of the injury caused to productive industry by war and taxes; while our public seminaries present as yet but feeble means of instruction in that department, highly important as it is to the merchant, the member of parliament, and, above all, to a public minister. How vast a sacrifice might have been spared had either the members of the cabinet, or the directors of the Bank of England, been aware of the hazardous situation in which their paper circulation was placed after it ceased to be convertible into cash! Though it continued suitable for the payment of all public expenses at home, the case was very different in regard to expenditure abroad, the foreign exchanges being perpetually put to hazard by the payment of subsidies, or by keeping up troops in any great number on the continent. Had public men been aware of the insecure foundation of our circulating medium, they would have paused before beginning a second war in 1803, or forming a new coalition in 1805. They went on blindly, thinking that as our bank paper had stood its ground during several years, it would continue to do so; and they became alive to its insufficiency for foreign payments only when it was too late to recall their steps.

From these distressing errors in banking and finance, it is satisfactory to advert to the benefit arising from a legitimate and prudent use of public credit. If it present nothing brilliant or wonderful—nothing like what filled the imaginations of our countrymen above twenty years ago—it will be found to comprise much that is useful and substantial. To go back to a primitive age: the origin of banking is to be traced to a plain and obvious cause; the advantage of having a place of safe deposit for money, jewels, and other precious effects. Such was the earliest object of banks; but as the population and wealth of the towns or districts in which they were situated increased, they were made useful for other purposes; particularly for advances of money to government and individuals. In a country like England, where money and bill transactions are so frequent and on so large a scale, banks are of the greatest use, saving to merchants and others the trouble and risk of carrying sums of money from place to place, or of keeping them, at a degree of hazard, in a private house. The convenience arising from banking is most strongly felt when it happens to be for a season out of our reach. Those of our countrymen who have resided in France, have had ample opportunity of seeing, in the provincial towns, the inconvenience of carrying about silver in bags; and of having none but individual merchants, or rather dealers, to apply to for the discount of bills.

Large cities, like London, Paris, and Amsterdam, are remarkable for the subdivision of employment, and for the simple and economical form thereby given to the business of houses of the greatest capital and connexion. In no line is that more remarkable than in banking, particularly in London. No commission is charged on receipts or payments; nor is any interest allowed on deposits. The emolument of the banker arises from the use he may make of the money deposited with him by his connexions, or, as they are familiarly termed, his customers; a profit which must be small when interest is so low as it has been for several years; it can be great only by the extent of business done.

In former times bankers in London were accustomed to circulate their promissory notes like country bankers, but during fifty years and upwards they have relinquished that practice, and circulate only notes of the Bank of England. This was one important step towards simplifying, in other words improving, the business in the metropolis. The changes which require to be made in country banking will all tend to the same result; and will benefit the public, inasmuch as diminution of expense is always in the event a national benefit.

THE INQUEST ON ROBERT CULLEY.

THE verdict delivered within these few days by the coroner's jury, in the case of the policeman who met with his death at the late meeting in Coldbath-Fields, is even more transcendently absurd than we had anticipated it would be from the previous proceedings of its authors. From the commencement of their labours, indeed, the persons to whom we are indebted for this new exposition of the law afforded us abundant means of perceiving how well qualified they were for the discharge of the duty which had devolved upon them; but we put the most charitable interpretation we could upon their various escapades, and certainly did not imagine that, when they came to perform the last and most solemn obligation of their oath, they would commit themselves by so tremendous a display of inconsiderate and presuming ignorance. It is well, however, as matters have turned out, that we have the whole of their conduct before us: nothing can be desired better calculated to neutralize the mischief of the verdict than the report of the inquest.

That extraordinary verdict is in the following terms:—"We find a verdict of *Justifiable Homicide* on these grounds,—That no riot act was read, nor any proclamation advising the people to disperse; that the government did not take the proper precautions to prevent the meeting from assembling; and that the conduct of the police was ferocious, brutal, and unprovoked by the people; and we, moreover, express our anxious hope, that the government will, in future, take better precautions to prevent the recurrence of such disgraceful transactions in this metropolis."

Now, what a strange jumble, under the shape of an exposition of reasons, have we here. The slaughter of the policeman, it seems, was an act of justifiable homicide, because "the government did not take the proper precautions to prevent the meeting from assembling." The persons who tell us this might as well have told us that the man was justifiably killed because Lord Althorp did not make what they deemed a good speech, a few evenings before, in the House of Commons. Supposing the government to deserve this charge of negligence or mismanagement, was that the fault of the policeman? Was he to be therefore considered as deprived of all right of protection, and subject to be put to death with impunity? The consequences of the general application of this principle would be somewhat new. Whenever it was conceived that an act of interference, legal in itself, had not been gone about in the best of all possible modes, we might expect to find the officers of justice not only resisted in the execution of their duty, but, when opportunity served, stabbed to the heart. The murder, or assassination, as we have been accustomed to regard it, would be a justifiable homicide. "But," as the gravedigger in *Hamlet* asks, "is this law?" "Ay," as his companion answers, "marry is't; crowner's quest law."

The poor policeman, however, according to these jurymen, deserved to be killed on another account. "No riot act was read, nor any proclamation advising the people to disperse." And what of that? Has any authority laid it down, till now, that an illegal assembly may not be dispersed by officers of the peace, armed only with their batons, without the riot act being read? The riot act, indeed, makes it felony in any one to remain on the ground longer than an hour after it has been read; but to be present at an illegal meeting at all is a misdemeanour at common law. Any individual, who is so present, may be apprehended; and, if he shall resist, force may be used for that purpose. It may be used whether the riot act has been read or not. The performance of that ceremony makes no difference as to the officer's right either to take offenders into custody, or generally to use force to clear the ground. Most especially, nothing so wild was ever imagined, until this jury told us so, that it was the reading of the riot act alone which made it in any degree a crime for a person seized by an officer in a mob to retaliate upon his assailant by stabbing him to the heart. Such an act might, or might not, be justifiable on other grounds altogether; but to put its justification on this circumstance, is simply to show an entire ignorance of the law bearing on the subject.

We come then to the third allegation of the jurors—"that the conduct of the police was ferocious, brutal, and unprovoked by the people." It is the only statement they make in the least degree like a *ground* for their verdict; but even if it were made out, it certainly would not in law support that extraordinary delivery. The plain English of the de-

clamatory rumble of epithets, "ferocious, brutal, &c." can be no more than that the attack of the police was made with undue impetuosity, and that they used their batons with wanton and unnecessary violence. It is not alleged or insinuated either that their advance itself for the purpose of capturing the flags was, apart from its circumstances, illegal or unauthorized; or that it placed the unresisting people in such clear and imminent danger of losing their lives that no chance of safety appeared except in a resort to deadly weapons. And yet, if even all this had been asserted, it would have been a sufficiently bold and unusual thing (especially for a coroner's jury, whose constitutional duty it is in all cases of the least doubt to send the person at whose hands another has met with a violent death to take his trial before a higher tribunal) to return a verdict of Justifiable Homicide. Manslaughter, or Excusable Homicide, is the most lenient description which even in the case supposed could properly be applied by such a jury to the act of taking away life. But it is indeed something altogether unheard of till now for a jury of any kind to declare that if, in attempting to disperse a mob, or in forcing their way to the hustings in order to seize the leaders and their illegal banners, the police shall knock a few individuals down, who may afterwards get kicked and trampled upon, the people shall be perfectly justified in turning upon them with deadly weapons; and that any of the unfortunate officers of the law who shall fall in the encounter by pistol-shot or dagger, shall, in so far as the verdict of the said jury can effect that object, perish without those who slew them being even sent to trial for the deed.

If this doctrine is in future to be law, we will not mince the matter, but will say at once that the possibility of society holding together is at an end. The doctrine laid down by these jurors is nothing else than a sanction to any act of the wildest insubordination. What is to be expected to come of it, for one thing, except that whenever a public meeting is called, under the arowal, it may be, of the most treasonable and revolutionary purposes, the desperadoes by whom it is convoked, and their partisans, will come, as this verdict says they may and ought to do, one and all of them armed? And which of them, if any attempt should be made by the civil force to disperse the assemblage, will have the least hesitation in shooting or poniarding any officer of the law who may come within his reach? It will be too good an opportunity for the ruffian to neglect of despatching without risk a few of his natural enemies. There only needs a certain degree of confusion, which is easily got up, to ensure the law's actual approval of what he has done; for that, we may without exaggeration say, is really the meaning of a verdict of justifiable homicide. It is the sentence which would be passed on a magistrate if he were brought to trial for superintending the execution of a malefactor under a legal warrant. The law has no higher testimony of absolute innocence and propriety of conduct to bestow in any case in which it is clear that one man has fallen by the hand, or under the orders, of another. And this is the meed, it may almost be said, of praise and honour, which the persons who sat on the late inquest have taken upon them to bestow upon the hidden perpetrator of the foul assassination they were charged to investigate. They must, of course, feel somewhat surprised and disappointed that the hero, or patriot, whom their high authority has thus justified, has not yet chosen to come forward and avow himself. They could hardly have expected less, while they were drawing up his honourable acquittal, than to hear of him exhibiting himself openly in the streets next morning, bloody dagger and all.

But the strangest of all the circumstances attending this unexampled verdict remains to be noticed. Its authors actually thereby pronounce their justification of a transaction of which, by their own confession, they know nothing whatever, except that it terminated in the loss of the policeman's life. They indulge, it is true, in various conjectures upon the subject. One juror, the first day, started the ingenious hypothesis that Culley might have been stabbed by one of his own comrades. They certainly did not bring in their verdict upon their belief of any of the direct evidence which was brought forward. There were only three of the witnesses, at least according to the newspaper report, who spoke to having seen the man stabbed—the girl Mary Anne Perkins, the woman Mary Hamilton, and the boy Henry William Fricker. The girl said the act was committed by a person dressed like a working man, but having a respectable appearance, who, having received a blow from a policeman's

staff over the shoulder, immediately stabbed him with his dagger, and then ran off. It does not, however, distinctly appear that this was the policeman who was killed; and the scene of the transaction, near the Union public house, Bagnigge Wells, would seem to imply that it was not, Culley having certainly received his death-wound in Calthorpe Street. However, the foreman, in his conversation with the coroner after the delivery of the verdict, intimated his disbelief of the evidence of this witness; and, at any rate, it would not have made out a case of justifiable homicide. As for the evidence of the woman Hamilton, after she had been browbeaten in the vulgar style which marked the whole of these proceedings, one of the jurors, when she described the instrument with which the man was stabbed as resembling a butcher's steel, sneeringly remarked, "Then it may have been a piece of wire for aught you know;" an interruption which called forth from the coroner the exclamation, "Good God! gentlemen, witnesses are not to be treated in this way!"—another juror, a Mr. Alexander, had the decency to declare, that if he must speak his mind, he did not believe one iota of what she had stated. Fricker's account was, that when Culley stepped forward and seized one of the banner-bearers, he saw a young man, a mere boy, seize Culley, who fell immediately. It is plain, that the persons who brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide could have put no faith in this statement. Of the real circumstances of the homicide, therefore, which they thus boldly justified, we are warranted in affirming as we have done, that they knew and could know nothing.

The two witnesses by whose evidence the jury seem to have been most influenced, were a Mr. Nathaniel Stallwood, of 13, Calthorpe-Street, who was the first person that presented himself for examination; and a Mr. William Henry Goore, of Broadway, Worcestershire, solicitor. Both these individuals testify to great violence having been exhibited by the police. Stallwood is a most amusing personage. He appears, if we may trust the newspaper report of the inquest, to have gone about on the day of the meeting representing himself as a justice of peace for the county. This is proved, not only by Mr. Thomas and Mr. Jeffery, but by Mr. William Carpenter, the Editor of the *True Sun*, who was one of the witnesses on his own side. However, it appears that he has no claim to the character which he thus assumed, having, according to his own confession on the third day of the inquest, been some time ago struck out of the commission. He stated at the same time, that the Duke of Portland refused to allow him to see the evidence upon which he was dismissed. He has probably seen quite as much of it since as he cares to see; for it has been published to all the world in the *Times*. As for Mr. William Henry Goore, he professes to be a solicitor, and possibly is so. "I was passing down Gray's-Inn-Lane, on Monday last;" the newspaper makes him begin his evidence. He does not let it appear, observe, that he was on his way to the meeting, or that he proceeded thither with any particular object. He merely, having met a body of people carrying banners, turned round and marched along with them. Entering into conversation, he told them of Lord Melbourne's proclamation, of which they were not before aware; but they considered it, it seems, not effective or legal, because it was not signed by his lordship. The witness does not say that he put this idea in their heads. He afterwards proceeded to counsel them to be exceedingly guarded in their conduct at the place of meeting, because the police were lying in ambush close at hand. Notwithstanding all his sagacity and prudence, however, Mr. Goore, wise and wary as he was, had the bad luck to be knocked down in the confusion himself. Then, according to the newspapers, he goes on to swear; "Perhaps forty or fifty policemen walked over me, treading on and bruising various parts of my body, before I could recover strength to raise myself from the ground." No wonder to find him adding, "I was very much bruised." However, he was immediately after able to assist a gentleman to his gig, who had received two cuts in the arm, one of which had broken the limb, but who, if we may believe Mr. Goore, refused to tell his name, lest the government should say he was in some way concerned in getting up the meeting. The next instant we find the witness flying to the assistance of another man, who had received a wound in the skull. This person he took along with him to the office of the *True Sun*, feeling exceedingly anxious, he declares, that the thing should be made public. But Mr. Goore

swears not only to what did happen, but to what, in certain given circumstances, would have happened. "I do," says he, "upon my oath, say, that if the police had not interfered there would have been no disturbance." "If you had had a stick with you," asks one of the jurors, "would you have resented the blow?" "Certainly," replies the valiant solicitor, "I would have cut the head off the man who gave it." So at least it stands in the newspapers. This legal opinion seems to have made a great impression on the jurors, one of whom afterwards refers to it in justification of the verdict.

To witnesses of this description, the demeanour of the jury is all approbation and encouragement. No remark is made, or question asked, except what has a tendency to adjust and reconcile the different parts of the testimony. But such as depose to the violence of the mob receive very different treatment. On the first day's examination, Mr. Baker, the superintendent of police, was forced to complain that the questions were put so rapidly to him, as to make it impossible for him to answer them, and that he was tried rather than examined. On the next day, when the long staves headed with pikes, known by the name of Maceronis, which had been captured by the police, were produced, a juror, casting his eye on the armoury of insurrection, coolly remarked, that there did not appear to be any thing very formidable in the weapons. The business of the fourth and last day commenced with the examination of Mr. John Jeffery, cabinet-maker, a most intelligent witness. After giving an account of a violent harangue made to the mob by Mr. Stallwood, Mr. Jeffery added, "The people again collected to the amount of three hundred, taking courage, as I presumed, at the moment, from what Mr. Stallwood said." "Do you admit this as evidence, Mr. Coroner?" immediately exclaimed the foreman; "the witness is stating something that he presumed." Mr. Stirling said it was certainly not evidence. But it was at least as good evidence as Mr. Goore's declaration of what would have happened if the police had not interfered, which we have noticed above—or indeed as many parts of the evidence favourable to the other side of the question, which were received with avidity. Again, a little lower down, we find the foreman aiming at the witness one of his heavy sarcasms, in the remark, "You have given a very elaborate description of the scuffle between the flag-bearer and the policeman; pray, how long did it occupy?" Then because Mr. Jeffery had described the flag-bearer, after stabbing the policeman, as having run forward for a little distance in a stooping position, with his hands upon his head, a juror chooses to ask, with a sneer of incredulity, how that could be. Another, immediately after, contends that it is impossible for a near-sighted person to tell that a coat had a velvet collar, without being at the same time able to distinguish its colour to a certainty—a position which, in regard at least to certain colours, is manifestly absurd. In the same style is the following scene, which is stated to have occurred the first day on the examination of Flack, a policeman. "The foreman.—You seem to have had plenty of room and time to observe the dress and stature of these men. Pray, why did you not take them into custody? Witness.—We could not, Sir; there was great confusion at the time; and it happened, that in that confusion, I and my comrade were left behind by the rest of the force, and against such unequal odds, we had no power to apprehend the two men. The foreman.—Why, there were two of you, and only two of them, according to your account? Witness.—You don't seem to understand me, Sir. The whole mob was against us. Foreman.—How then is it that you could observe their dress and stature with so much seeming accuracy?" The stupidity of this defies, and does not require, comment.

After all, only nine witnesses seem to have come forward to swear that they had been actually attacked by the police, and among these were several who were only slightly hurt. There was not a woman among the number, notwithstanding the numbers of females, old and young, whom some of the witnesses declared they saw knocked down and otherwise ill-used. If we suppose the casualties to have been even twice or thrice as numerous as this evidence would indicate, still the amount does not seem greater than might have been calculated on in the case of a collision with a multitude of 4000 people. On the other hand, we have one policeman killed, two others stabbed, and many more struck with brick-bats and bludgeons. The ruffianly intentions of many of the mob are also incontrovertibly established by the revolutionary flags, the pikes, and Maceronis, the sti-

lletos, and other formidable weapons, which were captured by the police.

But we must close our remarks on this painful subject. We observe with great satisfaction, that Lord Melbourne has not hesitated at once to meet the justifiable homicide verdict of the coroner's jury by the proclamation of a reward of 100*l.* for the discovery of the author of the policeman's death, designating the act at the same time by its proper name, of a murder. We trust the murderer will yet be found, and dealt with as he richly deserves. Meanwhile we have endeavoured to perform our own duty by joining our voice to that of the respectable part of the press on both sides of politics, in reprobating the deplorable proceedings which have grown out of his crime, and exposing both the absurdity and the fatal tendency of this ignorant and thoughtless verdict. We are well aware that there are some of the organs of public discussion, which hold a very different language on the subject from that which we have employed, and profess to take nearly the same view of it with the coroner's jury. It may be very natural that they should. How, for example, could we expect such a paper as *The Despatch* to speak in any other than a tone of triumph and congratulation of the murder of one of those policemen whom (notwithstanding that it is the property of an alderman of London and a magistrate, bound by his office and his oath to exert himself to his utmost in the maintenance of civil order) it rarely fails, once a week, either in its own columns, or by puffing placards of its contents, posted over the town, to denounce as brutes and savages?—In a cause like this, we do not reckon upon support from such a quarter. Neither, in the remarks which we have made, we beg to say, do we address ourselves, with any hope of being favourably heard, to the seventeen jurymen upon whose conduct we have felt it necessary so freely to comment. They have been solicited by the *Times* to reconsider their verdict; but, for our own part, we shall not trouble them with any such useless request. The mischief they have done must be mended by other hands than theirs. They have heard the shouts of the mob, and they may hear them again. The bakers' windows of Paris are all barred and grated, because in the days of tumult, especially in the revolution, the bakers were peculiarly objects of plunder. Our bakers' windows are not barred, because the rights of property are better protected by the moral strength of the people themselves. Six of these jurymen are bakers. If their shops are ever plundered, they will perhaps "reconsider their verdict."

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

THE Nineteenth Report of the Committee for the Classification of Petitions has been published, and we proceed to give our abstract; but, as great part of what we have hitherto enumerated under the head of Miscellaneous occupies a large space, without possessing a corresponding interest, we have on the present occasion only given the number of petitions and the amount of signatures contained in the last eight reports, without detailing their particular objects. In the other classes the number of petitions and the amount of signatures include all that have been presented since the commencement of the session, except where stated to the contrary.

	Parliamentary.	
	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
Against the septennial act	12	7,420
For vote by ballot	33	18,876
Against nocturnal legislation	8	2,281
<i>Ecclesiastical.</i>		
For the better observance of the Sabbath	952	241,168
Against the Sabbath observance bill	11	1,906
Against the present system of lay patronage in the Church of Scotland	119	57,185
Against tithes in England	40	15,934
Against church temporalities bill (Ireland)	82	4,983
In favour of ditto	4	774
Against union of church and state	8	20,909
For the removal of religious disabilities	88	18,427
For removal of civil disabilities from the Jews	43	43,327
Against administering of oaths	12	1,107
<i>Taxes.</i>		
Against assessed taxes	45	20,155
Against the house and window tax	90	57,155
Against receipt stamps	14	6,709
Against the malt tax	44	25,186
Against the corn laws	9	6,621

Against alteration in corn laws	2	433
Against taxes of different kinds—these have all been reported since the abstract in the last Companion to the Newspaper	44	15,885
<i>Ireland.</i>		
Against the disturbances (in Ireland) bill	635	415,538
Against the new system of education	9	751
For introduction of poor laws	11	2,477
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>		
For the abolition of slavery	2914	614,136
In favour of factories' bill	79	100,302
Complaining of abuses in corporations	105	62,513
Against the retail beer act	135	14,788
For a legislative regulation of wages for hand- loom weaving	45	39,353
Reported since the publication of the last Com- panion to the Newspaper	137	20,691

ELECTION PETITIONS.

In page 63 we gave the result of those petitions which had been decided, and the state of those which were yet unsettled. The following is a statement of the decisions since our last publication :—

Bristol city—Election affirmed.

Carlow county—Election affirmed.

Carnarvon borough—O. J. E. Nanney declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended with the name of Sir C. Paget. Sir C. Paget was originally returned, and had been previously unseated on a petition from Mr. Nanney. In our last number we stated this petition had been abandoned, but there was a second petition to the same effect which was overlooked.

Clonmell—Election affirmed.

Coleraine—Sir J. P. Beresford declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended with the name of W. T. Copeland.

Dover—Election affirmed.

Galway county—Election affirmed.

Galway town—L. MacLachlan declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended with the name of M. J. Blake.

Limerick city—Election affirmed.

Lincoln city—Election affirmed.

Linlithgow county—Election affirmed.

Montgomery borough (new election of Colonel Edwards petitioned against)—Committee sitting.

Salisbury city—W. Wyndham declared unduly elected, and the return ordered to be amended with the name of the Hon. D. P. Bouverie.

Tiverton borough—Election of J. Kennedy declared void.

Warwick borough—Election of Sir C. J. Greville declared void, and that gross bribery had prevailed on the part of his agents. The issuing of the writ has been suspended.

ABSTRACT OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Population of Ireland.—Return of the population of the several counties in Ireland, as enumerated in 1821 and 1831. [N.B. The return of 1821 was very imperfect, in consequence of many places forwarding no returns. In Carlow, for instance, out of 61 places there were ten which made no return, and in Meath 70 omitted out of 229. Similar omissions, varying in their extent, prevail throughout all the counties. In 1831, there appears to be scarcely any instances of similar neglect.]

LEINSTER.		1821.	1831.
Carlow		79,251	81,576
Dublin		149,934	183,042
— city*		185,881	203,752†
Kildare		99,243	108,401
Kilkenny		156,969	169,283
— city		23,230	23,741
King's		130,138	144,029
Longford		106,570	112,391
Louth		99,957	108,168
— Drogheda town		18,118	17,365
Meath		160,347	177,023
Queen's		135,515	145,843
Westmeath		125,536	136,799

* This is the population of the county of the city of Dublin. The returns state, that the population of Dublin, inside the Circular Road, and as connected with the county inside the Circular Road, amounts to 232,362; and with the suburbs inside and outside the Circular Road, to 265,316.

† The summary in the Parliamentary Return gives the number as 203,652; the number here given is that of the amount of the respective parishes.

Athlone town	7,543	11,362
Wexford	171,053	182,991
Wicklow	111,234	122,301
	1,737,295	1,928,077
<i>MUNSTER.</i>		
Clare	241,911	258,262
Cork	638,758	705,926
— city	100,658	107,041
Kerry	216,342	264,559
Limerick	214,094	233,505
— city, including St. Francis' Abbey, extra parochial	60,585	66,575
Tipperary	346,398	402,598
Waterford	125,258	148,077
— city	28,679	28,821
	1,971,683	2,215,364

<i>ULSTER.</i>		
Antrim	262,820	314,608
Carrickfergus	8,023	8,693
Armagh	194,884	220,651
Cavan	195,076	228,050
Donegal	247,710	298,104
Down	327,071	352,571
Fermanagh	129,304	149,555
Londonderry	184,752	222,416
Monaghan	174,693	195,532
Tyrone	261,015	302,943
	1,985,348	2,293,128

<i>CONNAUGHT.</i>		
Galway	309,695	394,287
— town	27,775	33,120
Leitrim	124,785	141,303
Mayo	292,709	367,956
Roscommon	204,376	239,903
Sligo	146,233	171,508
	1,105,573	1,348,077

<i>SUMMARY.</i>		
<i>PROVINCES.</i>		
Leinster	1,737,295	1,928,067
Munster	1,971,683	2,215,364
Ulster	1,985,348	2,293,128
Connaught	1,105,573	1,348,097
	6,799,899	7,784,636

The cities and towns which are given separately, are so returned as being counties in themselves.

Brewers.—The following is an account of the number of brewers, licensed victuallers, and persons licensed to retail beer in England, with the number of the two latter classes who brew their own beer; the number of brewers and licensed victuallers in Scotland, and of brewers in Ireland; and the total quantity of malt used by each class, in the year ending Jan. 5, 1833.

England.—Brewers in London 108, in the country 1645, total, 1753; licensed victuallers, in London 4391, of whom 22 brew their own beer; in the country 46,405, of whom 24,271 brew their own beer; persons licensed to retail beer in London 1017, of whom 129 brew; in the country 29,900, of whom 12,973 brew. The quantity of malt used was, by brewers, 13,891,851 bushels; by licensed victuallers, 8,893,789 bushels; and by persons licensed for the general sale of beer, 3,093,519 bushels.

Scotland.—Brewers, 216; licensed victuallers, 17,070, of whom 318 brew their own beer. The quantity of malt used was, by brewers, 893,901 bushels, and by licensed victuallers, 96,505 bushels.

Ireland.—Brewers, 216. Quantity of malt used, 1,543,265 bushels.

The number of barrels of beer exported during the same period was, from England, 65,268, from Scotland, 285¼, from Ireland, 202¼; total, 70,136¾; on which was allowed a drawback of duty to the amount of 17,534*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*

Hops.—The total number of acres of land in Great Britain under the cultivation of hops, in 1832, amounted to 47,101½; the total amount of duty for the same period was 241,771*l.* 1*s.*

Malt.—In the year ending Oct. 10, 1832, there were manufactured in England 4,122,590½ qrs. of malt, on

which a duty of 1*l.* 8*s.* was levied, producing the sum of 4,260,010*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*; in Scotland, during the same period, 370,530 qrs. of malt were manufactured from barley, at the same duty, and 93,623 qrs. from bigg, at a duty of 16*s.*, being a total of 464,152½ qrs. of malt, and producing the sum of 457,779*l.* 16*s.*; in Ireland, 221,304½ qrs. were made from barley, and 37,779½ from bigg, at the above duties, being a total of 259,084 qrs. of malt, and producing the sum of 238,905*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* The total number of quarters in the United Kingdom was 4,845,823, and the duty levied amounted to 4,976,694*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.* In the same period were used in distillation, in England, 22,561 qrs.; in Scotland, 328,329 qrs.; and in Ireland, 89,866 qrs., being a total of 440,756 qrs.

Corn.—The importation of corn into Great Britain in the year ending Jan. 5, 1833, was, of wheat and wheat flour 463,592 quarters, 5 bushels; of other corn, 177,534 quarters, 7 bushels. The amount of duty received in the same period has been, for wheat and wheat flour 264,704*l.* 18*s.*; for other corn and meal, 45,318*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* The average prices of corn in Great Britain, in the year 1832, were, barley, per quarter, 33*s.* 1*d.*; beans, 35*s.* 4*d.*; oats, 20*s.* 5*d.*; pease, 37*s.*; rye, 34*s.* 7*d.*; wheat, 58*s.* 8*d.*

COUNSEL TO PRISONERS.

ACCORDING to the present practice of our law, a prisoner, charged with felony, as is well known, is not allowed on his trial to have the aid of counsel to address the jury in his defence. The only exception is in cases of treason, for which provision has been made by a special statute. On all other indictments, the prisoner's counsel can only examine and cross-examine the witnesses, and speak on points of law that may arise; he cannot address the jury on the general question of the prisoner's guilt or innocence, nor even explain to them, however ill-qualified his client may be for doing so himself, the answer which he has to make to the charge. It is left to the prisoner himself, who is in most cases an uneducated man,—and often additionally embarrassed by the feeling, enough to shake the strongest minded, that his life hangs on the issue of the trial,—to watch and sift the evidence, to detect the points of it that make most for his acquittal, and in a formal speech both to arrange these in the most advantageous and lucid order, and to rebut the unfavourable presumptions which other circumstances may have raised. Meanwhile, on the side of the prosecution, counsel has been permitted both to examine and cross-examine witnesses, and to address the jury. There is some reason for believing that in very ancient times the rule which thus denies to one side of the question the advantages which are granted to the other did not obtain in the practice of our courts; and several attempts have been recently made to do away with it as unreasonable and unfair. In 1828, the present Lord Melbourne, then Mr. Lamb, brought a bill into the House of Commons to effect this object, which however was afterwards withdrawn. This session the subject has been again taken up by Mr. Ewart, the member for Liverpool. A bill introduced by this gentleman has been read a first time, and stands for a second reading on the 5th of June. It provides that in future, "on all trials for felonies, whensoever any counsel learned in the law, being then of counsel for the prosecution of such felony, shall have called his witnesses on the matters of fact in furtherance of such prosecution, the person or persons so prosecuted shall be admitted to make his, her, or their answer and defence thereto, and to state his, her, and their case, by counsel learned in the law; any law, custom, or practice to the contrary notwithstanding." It is proposed that the counsel for the prosecution shall not be allowed to reply to the address of the prisoner's counsel, except when evidence has in addition been produced on the part of the prisoner. This is the same rule which is observed in civil suits.

In answer to the reasons which have been urged, for thus giving to prisoners charged with felonies the same legal aid in making their defence which is allowed to defendants in civil actions, various objections have been raised; but none, in our opinion, of much force. Perhaps the strongest is derived from the difficulty of dealing with the cases of those numerous prisoners who are too poor to employ counsel. Mr. Ewart's bill proposes to meet this difficulty, by enacting that whenever the person prosecuted is without the means of retaining counsel, the judge may, with the consent of any barrister, assign him to conduct the defence, without fee or reward. This plan is not, perhaps, perfectly unobjection-

able, but it is, we think, the best that could be adopted. To call upon the country, or the county, to pay the expense of counsel for every prisoner, would certainly be carrying philanthropy for delinquents very far indeed. At all events, we would not begin by the adoption of this principle. If any case should occur, in which there was reason to apprehend that the prisoner was likely to suffer hardship or oppression from not being able to procure the aid of counsel, there can be little doubt that public benevolence would always be ready to come forward with the necessary assistance. If, after a trial of this scheme, it was found that few prisoners obtained the advantage which the law intended to allow them, the expediency of purchasing the services of counsel in all cases might then be taken into consideration. In point of fact, however, counsel are very often employed by prisoners; but one great advantage of their employment is denied to the prisoner.

An argument which Mr. Justice Blackstone brings forward is, that the judge is the prisoner's counsel. Now, certainly, no other feeling can be attributed to the judges than the desire to deliver the innocent and punish the guilty. But it does not seem to be the strict duty of a judge to act as counsel either on the one side or the other. Nor does he in truth ever do so. The business of a counsel is to represent his client's case in the most favourable light which his ingenuity can enable him to do. There would be an unfairness in this, if there were no other counsel to do the same for the opposite side. This is precisely the unfairness which is charged against the present mode of trying indictments for felony; for although, in most cases, the counsel for the crown exercises his exclusive privilege with great caution, the truth might be expected to be more clearly brought out by a contest between the counsel. The duty of the judge is to look with the same impartial consideration to both sides, and not to allow more force to what tells for the prisoner than to what tells against him.

It has also been said that prisoners are sufficiently protected by the preliminary inquiry before the committing magistrate, and by the intervention of the grand jury. This however, seems more than doubtful; for a large proportion of prisoners annually indicted are acquitted, notwithstanding these fences against undue accusations. During the seven years ending with 1831, out of 121,518 persons committed for trial, while 85,257 were convicted, no fewer than 23,442 were acquitted. The remainder were not brought to trial at all.

Lastly, it is apprehended that the allowing of counsel to address the jury for the prisoner, would occasion trials to be so protracted, that there would scarcely be time to get through the business of the court. But to this it may be replied, that the time of the judges being the property of the public by whom they are paid, the ease of the judicial bench ought not to be taken into consideration in the decision of the question; and that if more judges are necessary, more ought to be appointed. Justice must not be left undone for the sake of this expense.

We may observe, in conclusion, that prisoners are not by the present practice allowed copies of the depositions against them before the committing magistrate. These they ought surely to be furnished with in every case; and we trust the attention of the Secretary of State will shortly be directed to this subject.

On the 1st of July will be published,

THE QUARTERLY SUPPLEMENT TO THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.
THE POOR LAWS.

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THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE	PAGE
State of Crime in Great Britain and Ireland 81	Juvenile Vagrancy 89
Turkey and Egypt 83	Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt 91
Proposed Change in the Law of Libel 86	Combinations 92
Corporation Reform 87	Public Petitions 93
Local Courts Bill 88	Post-Office Arrangements with France 93
	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers 94

STATE OF CRIME IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

For some years past very full and particular accounts have been annually laid before Parliament, of the number of persons committed, tried, convicted, and acquitted, on each of the different criminal charges known to the law, throughout England, and also statements of the same nature, more or less complete, for the other parts of the United Kingdom. It is the principal object of the present paper to present an analysis of these returns for the year 1832, accompanied by a few observations illustrative of the general conclusions to which the facts seem to lead. There is no department of political science more important than that which relates to the statistics of crime. Without an accurate knowledge of the facts coming under this head, no sound opinion can be formed respecting almost any measure that goes to affect the social condition of the great body of the people; and the business of legislation, in its most vitally influential exercise, becomes merely an unprofitable and hazardous course of experimenting in the dark. Scarcely any new law or other measure of public policy can be adopted which has not a bearing in this direction—a tendency either to increase or to diminish some particular species of crime. The greater or less prevalence of any particular species of crime, on the other hand, is often a valuable diagnostic of improving health or growing disease in some region of the body politic. Looked to as a whole, again, the amount of crime existing in a country, is, perhaps, the best single index of its general prosperity and civilization. If we could obtain a perfectly accurate record of the progressive increase or diminution of crime throughout the community, that alone might almost serve as a measure of the public welfare.

It is important, however, to observe that we are by no means as yet in a condition safely to compare in this manner our own country in its existing state, either with other countries, or with itself at a former period. Of the criminal statistics of other countries, we have, in general, no sufficiently detailed accounts; and even if our information were more minute and complete than it is, there are many other circumstances besides the mere enumeration of offenders, which would have to be taken into consideration before a safe judgment could be come to. The peculiar form of the government, and the nature of the laws, in so far as they differed from our own, would in particular require to be examined and allowed for. Acts that were punishable in the one country, might not be reckoned offences at all in the other. A more rigorous and oppressive police in the one, without extirpating either the disposition to crime, or any of the other causes which usually lead to its prevalence, might yet prevent it from actually breaking out to the same extent as in the other, where more individual freedom was enjoyed. And various other differences might in a similar way affect the comparison. The same difficulties also, to a certain extent, interfere when we attempt to compare the present with the past state of our own country. Even if we confine ourselves to the short period during which the annual accounts of criminal offenders have been made up and published with the requisite fulness, we cannot safely place our dependence upon these documents alone. During this space of time, various changes may have taken place which, without the state of crime having been affected, nevertheless tend to give a new

aspect to the official exposition of it. It is certain, for instance, that of the offences committed in this country, a considerably larger proportion are now made the subjects of prosecution than were even a very few years ago. Much of this increased activity of the law is owing merely to the natural progress of society. The more remote, and out-of-the-way corners of the country, in which offences used frequently to be committed with impunity, are every day becoming more subjected to public observation; while the growing intelligence of the people also enables them to perceive more clearly the importance of not permitting violations of the law to go unpunished. But above all, it is well known, that an act passed a few years ago for regulating the allowance of their expenses to prosecutors, has greatly contributed to increase the number of offences brought under the cognizance of the courts, and even the number of committals for trial, without, of course, having at all affected the actual amount of crime. Many persons who have had the best opportunities of investigating the subject, are of opinion that these causes are quite sufficient to account for the increase in the number of offences, as exhibited by the public accounts, without supposing any real increase of crime at all.

We do not, therefore, propose to seek in the Parliamentary Returns before us, any evidence with regard to this latter point—holding it to be at least extremely doubtful how far we ought to trust their apparent testimony here. But they may still be taken as showing, in certain cases, the increase or diminution of particular offences. If, for instance, it shall appear that one class of offences has increased, while another has diminished or continued stationary, no alteration having taken place in the law with regard to either, it may be safely inferred that some circumstances in the situation of the country have occasioned the change. It is not to be supposed that the augmented vigilance of the law, and the zeal of prosecutors, have been, in general, directed upon one description of offences more than upon another. But after all, our chief object is to exhibit a view of the existing state of crime, without much reference to its state at any past period. This is at least the first thing which it is necessary to know in directing our attention to the evil, with the view of applying the proper remedies. The condition of the community cannot be understood in the most interesting and important of its elements, until this knowledge has been acquired.

The first return which we shall proceed to examine is the House of Commons' Paper, numbered 135, containing a statement of the committals, convictions, and acquittals for the seven years, from 1826 to 1832, inclusive, in the different counties of England and Wales. In the fifty-two counties of this part of the United Kingdom, and in the city and county of Bristol, it appears that the number of *committals* for each of the seven years was as follows:

For 1826	16,164	For 1830	18,107
7	17,924	1	19,647
8	16,564	2	20,829
9	18,675		

The movement here exhibited, it will be observed, so far from having been steadily progressive, has occasionally even retrograded. In 1828, and again in 1830, the number of committals was less than in the preceding year. The increase, also, although considerable on a comparison of the two extreme years in the series, is very much diminished if the year 1827 be compared with 1831. On this interval of four years, it is only 1,723, or about 10 per cent.; the population, be it recollected, having probably increased about eight per cent. in the same time. There remains, therefore, only 2 per cent. of the increase of crime to be accounted for by the increased activity in the administration of the law.

The following is the number of females committed during each of the seven years :

In 1826	2,692	In 1830	2,972
7	2,770	1	3,047
8	2,732	2	3,343
9	3,119		

This makes the proportion of female commitments generally somewhat less than one-sixth of the whole number; excepting in 1829, when it was rather more than one-sixth; and in 1832, when it nearly amounted to one-fifth. It does not appear, however, to be regularly on the increase.

On an average of the seven years, rather more than a tenth of the persons committed have not been prosecuted. Of the 127,910 persons committed, no prosecutions have taken place in the case of 13,300. Of the remainder, 24,370 have been tried and acquitted, being somewhat less than one-fifth of the whole number committed. The number convicted has been 90,240, being not quite $3\frac{1}{4}$ convictions for one acquittal on the whole number brought to trial. On the whole, the convictions have not amounted to two-thirds of the whole commitments; and this proportion has been nearly uniform throughout the seven years.

There can be no doubt that very many of the persons who have thus escaped punishment, have nevertheless been guilty of the offences for which they were sent to gaol; and it is also manifestly impossible, on the other hand, under the most perfect administration of the law, to prevent an innocent man from being sometimes apprehended on a criminal charge, and sent to take his trial. Yet, when for every 90 persons convicted, about 38 others, who had been in like manner charged as guilty, and subjected to the hardship and degradation of imprisonment, are after all dismissed without anything being proved against them, it is difficult not to feel that there is something faulty in the system of which such is the result. The evil may lie partly in the law, and partly in its administration; or it may arise, as it probably does in a great measure, from a defective police, which allows too many opportunities to the lawless portion of the community to commit offences in circumstances where their agency can be only matter of suspicion. But still it is, in any view of it, a serious consideration, that there should be nearly 6000 persons every year, in England alone, committed to jail as criminals, against whom no charge is ever substantiated. It is, of course, impossible to say what proportion of the number may be innocent; but let it be either considerable or insignificant, the fact is almost equally to be deplored. We have either many innocent persons treated, to a certain extent, as if they were criminals; or we have many criminals permitted to escape without their deserved punishment. In either case we have the guilty and the innocent confounded together, and the law made to seem contemptible for its weakness, where it is not hated for its injustice and oppression.

The total number of convictions for 1832 was 14,947. Taking the population of England and Wales as amounting that year to somewhat above fourteen millions, this would make rather more than one criminal in every thousand of the inhabitants. But although the number quoted is stated to be that of the persons convicted in the year, we presume it is the number of convictions which is meant to be given; in which case the number of criminals must be taken at considerably less. The persons by whom larcenies, and larcenies from the person are mostly committed, are in a great many cases convicted several times in the course of the year; and probably it is not too much to say that on an average each suffers two convictions during that time. If so, we may subtract between 5000 and 6000 from the total number of convictions; when the real number of the persons annually convicted will remain little more than 9000, or about one in every 1500 of the population.

Of the 14,947 crimes for which convictions were obtained in the course of the last year, considerably more than two-thirds were what in common parlance would be termed petty delinquencies—indicating the existence, indeed, of a large number of persons living by depredation, but not that of habits of violence and ferocity in any considerable fraction of the population. When this large number of convictions is mentioned, it ought not to be forgotten that 10,130 of them were for larceny simply, and 1151 for larceny from the person. Connected with these cases may be noticed 347 convictions for receiving stolen goods, a criminal trade in which the persons engaged are commonly much greater

scoundrels than the thieves (most of them mere children) through whom they derive their infamous gains. The other most numerous classes of criminals are those convicted of breaking into a dwelling-house with larceny, (of whom, in 1832, there were 583,) of breaking into a shop, &c., not connected with a dwelling house (of whom there were that year 203), of burglary (of whom there were 118), of counterfeiting coin, uttering, &c., (of whom there were 349), of frauds (of whom there were 280), of offences against the game laws (of whom there were 163), of embezzlement by servants (of whom there were 154), of horse-stealing (of whom there were 155), and of sheep-stealing (of whom there were 219). For robbery of the person there were 223 convictions, in none of the cases there being any attempt to kill or maim. For murder there were 20 convictions, for the attempt to commit murder 52, for rape 16, for assault with intent 80, and for arson 35. Of the 14,947 convictions, the 203 last enumerated are nearly all that can be described as of peculiar atrocity. If we add to these the 118 cases of burglary, and the 223 cases of robbery of the person, we shall include almost all that come under the head of violent and daring outrages against the law.

In looking over this table of convictions with a view to discover which particular offences have most remarkably increased or diminished during the last seven years, we find that that of arson has increased from 3 cases in 1826, to 35 cases in 1832; that of breaking into a dwelling-house with larceny from 125 to 583; those of counterfeiting the coin, uttering, &c., from 210 to 349; that of embezzlement by servants from 91 to 154; that of forging instruments other than Bank of England notes from 8 to 50; that of frauds from 147 to 280; and that of receiving stolen goods from 157 to 347. On the other hand, cases of burglary have diminished from 311 to 118; forgery of Bank of England notes from 15 to 5; and larceny in dwelling-houses from 222 to 127. Some of these changes, however, have been occasioned by alterations in the law, according to which offences that were formerly comprehended under one head are now transferred to another, or are differently punished from what they were formerly.

The number of persons sentenced to death, in 1832, was 1449, of whom 54 were executed, namely, 16 for arson, 15 for murder, 7 for rape, 4 for breaking into a dwelling-house with larceny, 4 for riot and felony, 4 for robbery of the person, 2 for attempts to murder, 1 for burglary, and 1 for secreting and stealing letters containing bank notes. The proportion of executions to condemnations, therefore, was that year not much more than 1 in 27. On the whole seven years, from 1826 to 1832, it has been nearly 1 in 23; 414 persons having been executed during that time from among 9729 sentenced to death.

Of the other persons convicted in 1832, there were sentenced to transportation for life 546, for 14 years 764, and for 7 years 2603. Of the remainder, 7644 were sentenced only to imprisonment for six months and under, and to be severally whipped, fined, kept to hard labour, &c.

The second part of this paper contains a statement of the number of persons committed, convicted, sentenced, and acquitted in London and Middlesex alone. The entire number of persons committed, in 1832, was 3739, of whom 866 were females, being nearly one-fourth of the whole, instead of only one-sixth, as throughout England generally. Of 2653 persons convicted, 120 were sentenced to death, and 6 were executed, being one-twentieth of the whole. In 1826, of 204 persons condemned to death, 20 were executed, being nearly one-tenth of the whole. The proportion of executions has been greatly reduced since 1829,—in which year nearly 1 in 5 of all who were convicted were left to suffer. No person has since then been executed either for burglary, coining, forgery, horse-stealing, or the attempt to murder, for all of which offences there formerly used to be several executions every year. There have been no convictions for arson, in London or Middlesex, since 1829.

But besides those committed to gaol on criminal charges, a great many persons are every year taken into custody in London and its vicinity by the metropolitan police, and being brought before the magistrates, are either, when not immediately discharged, committed for trial, or summarily convicted. The House of Commons' Paper (No. 225) contains a statement of the number of persons thus taken into custody, with the charges on which they were taken, and the manner in which the several charges were dealt with by the magistrates, for the years 1831 and 1832. From

this account it appears that the total number of persons taken into custody was in 1831, 72,824, and in 1832, 77,543. The cases, in the two years respectively, were disposed of as follows; drunken cases, dismissed when sober by superintendents, 23,787 and 25,702; discharged by magistrates, 24,239 and 24,727; summarily convicted by ditto, 21,843 and 23,458; committed for trial, 2955 and 3656. Those committed for trial form part, of course, of the cases already enumerated under the head of Committals for England and Wales; and the drunken cases, and those discharged, cannot be considered as adding to the number of offences. There remain for 1832 the 23,458 persons who were summarily convicted by the magistrates. Of these, 16,052 were males, and 7406 females. Of the latter 2505 were taken up as disorderly prostitutes; and of the whole number, 5859 were charged with vagrancy, 3842 with common assaults, 3505 with drunkenness, 2177 with being disorderly characters, 1511 as suspicious characters, 1009 with the commission of acts of wilful damage, 933 with having unlawful possession of goods, and 932 with being reputed thieves.

Of the whole number of persons taken into custody by the police in 1832, 49,890 were males, and 27,653 females, being in the proportion of not quite 2 to 1. The smallest number of males was taken up in January, the smallest number of females in December; the greatest number of males in June, and of females in July. Upon the whole, however, the increase and diminution were not great. Of the whole number of cases of drunkenness taken before the magistrates, 4893 were cases of males, and 2041 of females; of those discharged when sober by the superintendents, 15,411 were males, and 10,291 females*.

We have no means of stating the number of charges or convictions before country magistrates, although that information would be necessary to enable us to arrive at the whole number of persons annually called to account for offences against the law in England and Wales. In the absence of official returns, any rude guess that might be hazarded as to this matter is extremely little to be depended on. We may state, however, that if we should suppose the number of charges made throughout the rest of the kingdom to be only half as great in proportion to the population as in London, the result would be that about 250,000 charges in all would be made every year, or about one for every fifty-six of the population. This amount, being multiplied by the number of years which a generation takes in passing across the scene of life, would leave hardly a chance to one man in two of not being, some time or other, called at least to meet a formal accusation of having infringed the law, were it not that there is a large class of persons, each of whom bears, perhaps, ten or twenty times his own share of such charges. And, besides all this, it is to be remembered, there are those other risks of coming personally in contact with the officers of the law which arise in attachments for debt, and other civil processes.

We will now, to complete our survey, glance, in conclusion, at the state of crime in Scotland and in Ireland. The House of Commons' Paper, No. 45, contains a statement of the committals and convictions on criminal charges, in the former country, for the last year. The offences enumerated in this statement, which is very minute and somewhat complicated, amount to eighty-eight different descriptions in all, ranging from murder down to vagrancy. For all these violations of the law, there appear to have been, in 1832, committed for trial, 1898 males and 533 females; of which number of 2431, there were liberated, without trial, 539, and brought to trial before the High Court of Justiciary, the Circuit Court, the Sheriff, the Burgh Magistrates, the Justices of Peace, or other court, 1758. The remaining 134 appear to have been reserved for trial till the next year.

* We ought to remark that this return is defective in various respects. Although there is a separate statement of persons committed for trial by the magistrates for 1831, there is no similar account for 1832. There is also no recapitulation for 1832, similar to that given for 1831. The consequence of these defects is that a complete comparison of the accounts for the two years becomes difficult or impracticable.—Since this Paper was prepared, a return (No. 354) has been printed by order of the House of Commons, containing a statement of the number of persons committed during 1832, from each of the police-offices in Middlesex, Westminster, Surrey, the city of London, and the borough of Southwark, distinguishing their several offences. It is impossible, however, to give within a moderate space any summary of the various lists contained in this return.

Upon the whole year, the convictions and outlawries were 1599, and the acquittals 164: there were also three persons found to be insane. We have thus 2431 committals, 703 acquittals, and 1602 convictions (including cases of insanity), in a population of probably about 2,100,000. In Scotland, therefore, there is only one committal in every 864 of the population, instead of in every 672 as in England; and one conviction in every 1300, instead of in every 1000. The whole number of acquittals and liberations bears a considerably higher ratio to the committals in Scotland than in England,—being in the former as 1 to 2½, while in the latter it is nearly as 1 to 2½. This arises from the very large numbers who in Scotland are liberated without ever being brought to trial,—being very nearly one-third of the whole committals, instead of about one-seventh as in England. We believe, however, it is very well understood in that country that by far the greater number of these persons are so liberated, not because they are believed to be innocent, or even because there would be any difficulty in proving their guilt, but in the feeling that they have been already sufficiently punished by their incarceration. The proportion of acquittals after trial, it will be observed, is much lower in Scotland than in England; being little more than at the rate of one to ten convictions, whereas in England it is as one to four convictions. It would be an interesting inquiry, but one which we cannot here afford to pursue, to endeavour to ascertain in how far these disagreements result from differences in the situation of the two countries, and in how far from peculiarities in the two systems of law. Upon the latter head, we may merely observe that in Scotland, in consequence of the existence of a public prosecutor, the expense of a criminal prosecution is never thrown upon an individual; that the jury are not required to be unanimous; and that they have it in their power to acquit the prisoner by a verdict of *not proven*, as well as by one of *not guilty*.

The House of Commons' Paper, No. 80, contains a return of the number of offences against the law which have been committed in Ireland during the years 1831 and 1832. This, however, is only a statement of offences as reported to government, not as ascertained by the conviction of the criminals. It is, therefore, a very imperfect document. The offences for 1831 are arranged under thirty heads, and those for 1832 under thirty-three heads; but in neither list are the numbers summed up. The following table presents in one view the general recapitulation for both years:—

	1831.	1832.
Homicide	210	248
Robbery	1478	1172
Burglary	534	844
Burning	466	571
Houging or maiming cattle	293	295
Assaults connected with Ribbonism	885	1080
Riot	149	201
Rescue	196	352
Illegal notice	1798	2086
Rape	200	212
Illegal meeting	1792	422
Injury of property	657	729
Stealing cattle	486	387
Abduction	30	38
Attacks on houses	2296	1675
Serious assaults	121	161
Firing at, with intent to kill	125	209
Administration of oaths	981	170
Robbery of arms	678	116
Demanding arms	135	24
Appearing in arms	30	17
Firing into dwellings	24	8
Waylaying	7	16
Levelling	247	79
Turning up land	66	20
Cutting and maiming	1	4
Infanticide	5	17
Compulsory drowning	4	—
Common assaults	2981	2790
Trespass on common	2	—
Attempt to poison	—	1
Resistance to legal process	—	4
Resistance to tithe	—	49
Taking forcible possession	—	2
Breaking church windows	—	2

TURKEY AND EGYPT.

THE conflict between the sultan and his vassal or viceroy, the pasha of Egypt, which has terminated so disadvantage-

ously to Turkey, obliging her to seek the protection of Russia, the most feared of all her Christian enemies, originated in a quarrel between Abdallah Pasha of Acre and the Egyptian government.

Though nominally professing allegiance to Sultan Mahmoud, the head of the Ottoman empire and the Mussulman faith, both these pashas had been for many years nearly independent of his authority. Mehemet-Ali of Egypt, though by far the more powerful of the two (and probably it was the consciousness of this power that produced his moderation) was moderate, circumspect, and even under circumstances of strong temptation, persevered in a show of reverence and obedience to the Sublime Porte. Not so Abdallah of Acre, a man of hardy presumption and violent passions. In 1822, to go no further back in his history, he boldly threw aside his mask of submission, and at the head of an army composed of Arabs, Druses from Mount Lebanon, and mercenaries from all parts of the Turkish empire, he endeavoured to seize on the pashalic of Damascus, as a conqueror. He was foiled, however, in his attempt, and speedily obliged to retreat. He shut himself up in his strong fortress of Acre, where, by command of the Porte, he was besieged by five neighbouring pashas, foremost among whom was the adopted son of the viceroy of Egypt, Ibrahim Pasha, who afterwards distinguished himself by his campaigns in Greece, and who has lately gained much more fame as commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army against the sultan*.

Ibrahim, and the four pashas his colleagues, with an army of 9000 men, could make no impression on Acre, and, after a ten months' siege, Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, having become mediator with the Porte, the daring Abdallah, who could not be beaten, was pardoned by the sultan, and restored to his former honours, on condition of paying a heavy sum of money as a fine; which was not punishing Abdallah but the unfortunate people over whom he ruled; for in true pasha fashion he wrung all the money that was paid, from the poor Syrians.

Mehemet Ali had the whole of the merit (such as it was) of effecting this reconciliation, and of removing the scandal of seeing the emperor of the Ottomans defied by a contumacious vassal in a corner of his dominions; and in this transaction he conceived he had laid both Sultan Mahmoud and Abdallah Pasha under obligations to himself. From the latter, it is certain, he thenceforward exacted more deference than that proud chieftain was inclined to pay. To the sultan, he continued the same line of respectful submission, in which he had so long persisted. It is stated by those who had good opportunities of judging of the pasha of Egypt's conduct and motives, that he withheld himself from the fatal war in Greece as long as he could consistently with the allegiance he professed to the sultan, and that he never entered upon that war with national zeal.

In 1824, however, when he was known to have a regular army of 24,000 men, well disciplined in the European manner, besides his irregular forces, he complied with the demands of the Porte, which he could no longer resist without incurring the suspicions of his liege, and embarked for the Morea four regiments of infantry, making 16,000 men, four companies of sappers and miners, and about 700 horse (the flower of his army) the whole under the command of his adopted son Ibrahim Pasha. Escorted by the then very respectable Egyptian fleet, 100 transports with this army on board sailed from Alexandria in the month of July, 1824.

It was confidently anticipated by the mass of the Mussulman population of the empire, that this force would vindicate the cause of Mahomet, preserve the dominions of the sultan from dismemberment, and reduce the Greeks, as a former army of the pasha of Egypt's had reduced the rebellious Wahhabees. It might, indeed, have done all this but for the intervention of England, France, and Russia, in favour of the unfortunate Greeks.

* It may be agreeable to know something of the character and appearance of this man, who certainly deserves the epithet of extraordinary. He is thus described by a French officer, who knew him well.

"Ibrahim's character is hasty and violent, but he easily recovers from his excesses of rage; his bravery and obstinacy are well known. His perseverance in danger increases in proportion to the obstacles he meets; he only sees his object, and bounds forward to attain it. His person is far from agreeable, being that of a rude and robust warrior."—*Planat, De la Régénération de l'Egypte*. Paris, 1830.

It may be well to notice at this point the circumstances of the revolt and suppression of the Wahhabees, as showing some of the more valuable services performed in favour of Sultan Mahmoud by Mehemet Ali.

The Wahhabees, or sectarian followers of the schismatic Abdool Wahhab, were spiritual and political puritans—fanatic reformers of the Mahometan church and Ottoman state, who sprang up in the deserts of Arabia, and, aiming at an entire change in the existing state of things, from the beginning of the last century defied the arms of the Turks and a succession of eight sultans. They had advanced from the remote Arabian district of Ared, had beaten or foiled the troops of the most powerful pashas sent against them by the Porte, had taken Mecca, the holy city, and had despoiled and desecrated the tomb of the prophet Mahomet; for such things were as odious in the sight of those reformers, as monasteries, and cathedrals, masses and votive offerings, were in the eyes of the followers of John Knox. Matters were in this condition, and the enthusiastic Wahhabees not only threatened a radical change in many of the dogmas, and in all the practices of the Mahometan faith, in the very spots where that faith first arose, but gave most serious grounds for alarm as to the integrity of the Asiatic dominions of the Turks; when Mehemet Ali, who had consolidated his power in Egypt, took up arms against them. After an arduous struggle, of which the reader may form a competent idea by referring to the curious memoirs of "Giovanni Finati," an Italian adventurer who served with the Egyptians, the arms of Mehemet Ali, aided by his profound and astutious policy, prevailed; the Wahhabees were driven back to the deserts, to scenes more suiting the austerity and simplicity of their doctrines; the prophet's tomb at Mecca was again open to orthodox Mussulmans, and the Porte was relieved from a long dreaded enemy. This was done in 1818, and as all was done in the name of the sultan, he had the glory of it, and the advantage of being, for a time, considered by the orthodox Mahometans in the light of a defender of the insulted faith.

Though thus defeated and expelled from Djedda, Mecca, Medina and the whole neighbourhood of those important places, the Wahhabees several times reassumed the offensive, and in the commencement of the year 1824, they occupied the gorges of the chain of mountains that defends their country, and kept the holy cities in a state of alarm. In the month of February, only five months before he embarked Ibrahim Pasha and his army for the Morea, Mehemet Ali was obliged to despatch a considerable force by Cosseir, the Desert, and the Red Sea, to make head against those Arabs. This force checked the Wahhabees and saved the holy cities.

To return to Mehemet Ali's efforts to recover Greece for the sultan, in October 1825 he sent 8000 more disciplined troops of the line to Ibrahim Pasha, together with a good supply of field and battering artillery, and ammunition.

With these reinforcements Ibrahim carried on a successful, but a barbarous warfare; he retook nearly all the places lost by the Turks, and the remnant of the Greek people was doomed to transportation into Egypt, and their place was to have been supplied by submissive colonies from the banks of the Nile, when the treaty of the 6th of July, followed up by the battle of Navarino, arrested his destructive triumph, and secured to Greece an existence as an independent state.

Before that crisis, overtures were made to Mehemet Ali in the name of the allied powers, to withdraw his troops and fleet from the Morea, and to detach himself from the sultan, at least inasmuch as related to the Greek war, which those powers had determined should cease. How far beyond this the proposals made went to affect his allegiance to the sultan, is known to Colonel Cradock and others who were in the diplomatic secrets. About the time of Colonel Cradock's arrival (August, 1827) in Egypt, the pasha was smarting under the bad news, that the Wahhabees had again issued from their mountain gorges and even taken Mecca once more; he was in immediate want of troops, to defend the countries under his own government; he knew the weakness of the sultan, that a war with Russia was imminent, that the fleets, not only of Russia, but of England and France were in the Mediterranean; but he still persisted in fidelity to his liege, and though, it is said, guarantees were offered to him for his future security, he would give no other answer to the representations made to him on the part of the allies, than that he was a subject of the Porte, and could enter into negotiations only on the express order

of the sultan, and in the sense he (the sultan) should determine. This fidelity cost him his valuable fleet.

It will be remembered also, that even after the catastrophe of Navarino, Mehemet Ali was slow in withdrawing his troops from Greece, and that he affected to act in everything as the sultan's most submissive servant.

The clearly foreseen war with Russia then took place;—it exhausted the sultan, and the second campaign saw a Russian army almost at the walls of Constantinople. Mehemet Ali might have declared his independence and laid his hands on Syria, in those moments of misfortune and weakness; yet he remained quiet and respectful, though backward in paying *all* the demands made on him for money by the Porte.

The Russian war was soon followed by the dangerous revolt of the Albanians, which cost the impoverished sultan much money and many men. So deranged, indeed, was the state of things produced by this struggle, that when Mr. D. Urquhart, who has just published an interesting work on Turkey and Greece*, travelled through Albania and European Turkey in 1830, during the sanguinary contest, he entertained "very little hope of seeing the country tranquillized, or the Turkish rule prolonged." This, too, one would have thought a favourable moment† for Mehemet Ali to develop the ambitious plans he has since acted upon, yet still he remained quiet; and it is curious to observe, (a fact mentioned by Mr. Urquhart) that out of those very Albanians, who would then have assisted his attempt, by diverting the arms of the Turks in Europe, the sultan, after reducing them to order, mustered 6000 brave soldiers, who were the nucleus and strength of the grand vizier's army in Asia Minor, and by far the most formidable foes with whom the Egyptians have had to contend in their advance on Kutaiah. At last, in November 1831, the quarrel between Mehemet Ali and Abdallah Pasha of Acre, broke out.

Proceeding now without waiting for orders from the Porte, an Egyptian army with proper artillery and European engineer officers (in all, very superior in quality to the force that ineffectually besieged the same place in 1822) laid siege to Acre, and took it on the 27th May, 1832, after a bold resistance of six months. The fierce Abdallah was carried as prisoner of war to Mehemet Ali, who treated him with great respect.

Abdallah had been any thing, rather than a submissive or faithful vassal to the sultan; the sultan, however, naturally averse to see pashas carrying on war on their own account, (though such things have not been rare in the Turkish empire,) reprobated the conduct of Mehemet Ali, and espoused the cause of Abdallah.

We cannot determine how far the angry, uncompromising tone assumed by the Porte may have influenced the conduct of Mehemet Ali; but it is natural to suppose he would never have given up Acre, which had belonged to Egypt at no very remote period, and had long been an object of desire in his eyes. And then Acre, as Bonaparte felt when he besieged it, was the key to Syria, and having taken it,—having taken the first step, which is the one that costs most,—Mehemet Ali may not have been able to resist the temptation of so easy a conquest as lay before him, and the prospect of uniting under his rule, the dominions of the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt, viz., Egypt, large tracts of Syria, and the whole of Palestine.

Whatever were his motives, the fact was, he sent forward Ibrahim with an Egyptian army, which overran and occupied Syria almost without resistance. He would willingly have stayed his career of conquest on the Syrian frontier, and here, had the sultan properly attended to his own weakness, he would have treated with his emancipated and powerful vassal, permitting him to retain what he could not hope, at present, to wrench from him. But Mahmoud was obstinate, and the successful Ibrahim penetrated into Asia Minor, and advanced towards the capital of the Turkish empire. The sultan, too late, conscious of his want of strength, then called in the aid of the Russians—his enemies of but the other day—the power that by prophecy and long belief, the Turks look upon as the sure destroyer of their empire. Nothing that the sultan has done, or left undone,

no enormity, no other attack on the prejudices of the Mussulman people could have done so much to dethrone him in their hearts, as this last fatal proceeding. The orthodox Mussulmans had, indeed, long considered parts of his conduct as contrary to the laws of the prophet; but on learning that he had summoned the Muscovites to his aid, they held him as a downright ghiaour or infidel. This feeling was more particularly declared in Asia Minor, where Ibrahim was then encamped as a conqueror, for the Turks there are much more bigoted than the Turks in Europe.

Nor does it appear that the sultan has gained anything by thus debasing himself, and offending the prejudices of his people. Even after the arrival of a Russian fleet and army at his capital, he has had to make peace with Ibrahim through the medium of a French diplomatist, and to grant to the pasha of Egypt the very terms the pasha would have accepted at the beginning of the campaign, and neither less nor more than he demanded before the arrival of the sultan's Muscovite allies*. Unless the troops and population of the place had risen against him, Mahmoud was safe in Constantinople without the Russian aid. Ibrahim Pasha could not have crossed even the narrow Bosphorus without something like a fleet, and the introduction of a fleet into those seas by the Dardanelles, though once effected by the English, was far too bold a project for the Egyptian marine. The fact was, Mehemet Ali not only never thought of attacking Constantinople, but he never thought his army would go so far as it did into Asia Minor.

The causes that facilitated the extraordinary progress of Ibrahim Pasha merit attention. One of the greatest difficulties in the opinion of Europeans who had travelled in that country, was the obtaining of provisions for his army. These gentlemen had seen the arrival of only six or eight individuals occasion an apparent dearth in a village; but they had travelled with an escort of armed Turks, from whom the timid inhabitants carefully concealed all signs of wealth and abundance. On Ibrahim's approach, as it was found he made no military extortions, and paid for all that was furnished for his army, the cultivators flocked to him with their hidden stores of grain, and he thus found comparative abundance, where a Turkish army probably would not have been able to detect a bushel of corn. We have this information from persons who were in the country at the time. Moreover, ever since the year 1829, whole districts in the interior of Asia Minor had been in almost a continual state of revolt. They longed for a change of masters, and welcomed an army of the same faith as themselves, led on by the guardian of the holy sepulchre of the prophet†, as friends and deliverers. And then, that army itself was infinitely superior in quality to that which the sultan had to oppose to it. Mehemet Ali, who had long before annihilated the power of the turbulent Mamelouks, began his military reforms in 1815. Mahmoud did not dispose of his turbulent janissaries, and commence the formation of a disciplined army à l'Européenne, until 1825. The pasha had thus the incalculable advantage of ten years over the sultan. He had also a set of instructors; a staff of fifty French and Italian officers; all men of experience, and some of them men of distinguished talents in their profession, and conversant with all that enters into the organization and disposing of an army. The sultan had scarcely six European officers of any merit, and Calosso, the best of these, was merely a good cavalry officer. Excepting the 6000 Albanians we have mentioned, and who were excellent troops, the grand vizier, when he met Ibrahim in the field, had nothing but undisciplined hordes, an ill-armed rabble. The sultan could not spare his tactics‡ from Europe. Add to all this, the Egyptians had a retrospect of victory. They

* Mehemet Ali's condition, that Adana should be ceded to him, caused some delay in the negotiations. The prize, however, was worth contending for. The district of Adana, situated in a corner, between Syria and Karamania, though not extensive, is fertile, salubrious and beautiful. The Pasha of Egypt pretended to covet possession of it on account of its fine wood and materials for ship-building; but it is more than probable he looked to it as a place whence he might avail himself of the advantages presented by the contiguous coast of Karamania. What those natural advantages are, and what is the present impoverished, distracted state of that country, with many other matters of great interest, the reader may learn from Captain Beaufort's admirable volume on Karamania.

† At the same time, in European Turkey, the Servians had asserted and secured their independence, and the Bosnians, who had formerly furnished brave troops, scorned all intercourse with the Porte.

‡ This title was bestowed by the sultan on Ibrahim, after he had recovered Mecca and its treasures from the Wahabees.

§ The regular troops of the Sultan are so called by the Franks.

* "Turkey and its Resources," &c. &c. London. 1833.

had been victorious in Arabia against the Wahabees, in Dongola, Sennaar and Cordofan, in the Morea, and before Acre; whereas the Turks had scarcely anything to look back upon, except a lengthened series of defeats. We trust these few words will render intelligible, the success of Ibrahim Pasha against the Sultan.

In an article in 'Blackwood's Magazine' for June last, all the misfortunes that have befallen the sultan, are attributed to his having disturbed the old order of things, and meddled with the elements of *reform*! Does the author of that article know what was the execrable old order of things in Turkey? or does he fancy that the despised, unwarlike janisaries, who, for so many years, had ceased to be formidable to any others than their own sovereign, their peaceable countrymen, and the Christian and Jewish rajahs, would have been more successful against the Russians, than the sultan's disciplined troops? The reverses of the Ottoman Porte are not attributable to any such cause. Constant defeat had heaped dirt on the national banner; the empire, before reform, was hurrying on to the last stage of dissolution, and reform might have saved it, had it not been attacked by the Russians before reform was matured, or had time to develop its benefits. It was, then, not reform, but the interruption of reform, that laid Turkey prostrate. And was not this writer, who goes to the flagitious old Ottoman government for arguments in support of Tory principles, struck with the brilliant successes of Mehemet Ali? and can he deny that the whole and sole source of the means by which those successes have been achieved, sprang from the matured reform the pasha of Egypt had effected in his own dominions?

PROPOSED CHANGE IN THE LAW OF LIBEL.

ACCORDING to the present practice of the English law, when a person who conceives himself to have been injured by a libel brings an action for damages against the author or publisher, he will fail to obtain a verdict if it shall be proved that the statements of the libel are true. Satisfactory evidence to that effect is held to be an answer to the charge. The admission of this principle has no doubt been forced upon the courts by the obvious consideration, that otherwise a man without shame might make a trading stock of his bad character and immoral conduct, committing disgraceful acts for the mere purpose of afterwards filling his pocket at the expense of whosoever should expose or notice them.

When the author or publisher of what is asserted to be a libel, however, is called upon to answer for it on an indictment, that is to say on a demand, not that he shall be made to pay damages to the prosecutor, but that he shall be punished as one who has committed an offence, it is not allowed to be any justification of the libel that its statements are true. The question of its truth or falsehood is not permitted to be brought forward.

The apology which is made for this mode of proceeding in the law is, that every uttering of a libel is in itself a crime, and as such, obnoxious to punishment. It is an act which, for certain reasons, good or bad, has been interdicted; and, therefore, merely to plead that the libel is true, without proving that it has not been uttered, can be no answer to the charge.

Those, consequently, who contend for the admission of evidence as to the truth or falsehood of the libel, on the trial of an indictment respecting it, must be understood to demand the abandonment of the principle or rule of law which declares the utterance of a libel to be in itself always a penal act, and the adoption of the entirely different principle, that a libel shall only be held to be a crime in certain circumstances. What these circumstances ought to be, is the next point to be determined.

In regard to this matter, there are only two propositions which have been made—the first, that the utterance of what the law now calls a libel should only be held to be a crime when the person so charged shall fail to prove the statements of the libel to be true;—the second, that proof of the truth of the libellous statement shall not be admitted as an absolute justification of the utterance, but shall nevertheless be allowed to be brought forward, for the jury to give what weight to it they may think fit.

This short account will put the reader in possession of the various conflicting views to which the subject has given rise, and of the general grounds upon which each professes

to rest. Early in the present session, a bill was brought into the House of Commons by Sir Francis Vincent, one of the members for St. Alban's, to alter and amend the laws respecting libels, which at present stands for a second reading on Wednesday the 3rd of July. It is not probable that the bill will now pass this session; but there is little doubt that this or some other measure of a similar character will very soon receive the sanction of the legislature.

The principle upon which Sir Francis Vincent's bill proceeds is that which we have mentioned as the second of the two propositions that have been suggested for the improvement of the present law. One of its enactments is, "that in every proceeding for a libel, whether the same be by action or indictment, it shall be lawful for the defendant to give in evidence the truth of the matter or imputation contained in, or conveyed by, the publication charged as a libel." The evidence of the truth of the libel, in other words, is to be tendered, not as its absolute justification, but as an essential part of the case on which the jury are to pronounce their verdict.

Public opinion may be said to be made up as to the absurdity and oppressive character of the principle that a libel is, in all cases, as deserving of punishment when it is true, as when it is false. The law has never yet distinctly defined what a libel is; and by Mr. Fox's celebrated act, passed in the 32nd year of George III, the determination of the question, whether the publication charged be a libel or no, is left with the jury. It has been commonly said, that in this case, we have a singular instance of juries being called upon to decide a question of law as well as a question of fact; but if such a duty were really imposed upon juries by Mr. Fox's bill, it would, in our opinion, be but little deserving of the commendation which it has generally received. Juries are obviously incompetent to pronounce upon questions of law; to do this is the province of the judge. But it is, in truth, because the question of whether any publication be or be not a libel is not a mere question of law, but, to a great extent, if not mainly, a question of fact, that Mr. Fox's bill has most properly left its decision with the jury. It is as much a question of fact as is the question whether any particular act or thing which is complained of be or be not a nuisance; or the question whether the killing of a man, in any given circumstances, be a murder or a homicide; or many of the other questions, the determination of which is equally left with the jury. In the instance of a libel, precisely as in all those other instances, the jury are, especially since the passing of Mr. Fox's act, called upon to deliver their verdict upon a consideration of the whole case, and with all the circumstances before them. They are called upon to say guilty or not guilty, of having published a libel, not of having published *the* libel.

It is true that, while confiding all this discretion to the jury, the law may still consistently say, that the truth or falsehood of the statement shall not be taken into consideration as one of the ingredients affecting its libellous character. But to lay down such a principle as this, seems, at any rate, to be neutralizing nearly all the benefit of the power allowed to be exercised by the jury, and making the transference to them of the duty of deciding whether the subject of the charge be a libel or no, appear to be without either propriety or meaning. If there be one consideration which more than any other is likely, in certain cases at least—we should indeed say in most cases—to sway the opinion of a jury as to whether a particular writing, or other utterance, deserved to be declared criminal, it is precisely that of its truth or falsehood. Let the law say what it may, therefore, we may be quite certain that this consideration will seldom be really overlooked by the jury. Evidence distinctly bearing upon the point may be prevented from being brought forward on the trial; but it is impossible to prevent an impression being made as to how the fact really stands; and upon that impression the jury will act. They will not be disposed, in a multitude of cases at least, to pass the same condemnation upon the author of a statement which they have reason to think is perfectly true, however libellous, as they would do upon the author of a similar libel, every sentence of which they believe to be a falsehood, uttered in the knowledge that it was false.

This, then, is the state of the case. The fundamental and guiding principle of the law may be considered as having been laid down in the express statute which gives the right of deciding the question of libel or no libel to the jury. If

the law is to be consistent with itself, and not to fight by one of its provisions against the object which it affects to promote by another, all its arrangements ought to be brought into accordance with the spirit of this its leading regulation. But, for the reasons alluded to above, juries, entrusted with the power granted to them by Mr. Fox's act, will not, in judging of the criminality of a libel, overlook the circumstances of its truth or falsehood. If they are not allowed to obtain a knowledge of that circumstance from the direct evidence brought forward on the trial, they will still found their verdict upon what they may merely believe or suspect regarding it. Nothing therefore is gained by preventing the point in question from being made the subject of evidence. The law, in laying down this prohibition, merely attempts what it cannot compass. It may exclude the evidence from the court, but it cannot exclude the consideration of the matter from the minds of the jury. The only effect is to leave them to come to their determination on a vague, and it may be erroneous guess, instead of on correct and clear information as to the fact.

Nor does there appear to be any sufficient reason for laying it down as a general principle, that the truth or falsehood of the libel is really unimportant in reference to its criminal character. It is commonly said that an injurious imputation directed by one person against another, even although true, has still a tendency to interrupt the peace and order of society; and, on that account, ought to be punished. But if every act were to be prohibited to which that tendency might be ascribed, the business of the world could not be carried on. Profligacy and insolence would have it all their own way. It would be to surrender the rule of human affairs, without resistance or question, to mere might and wrong. But this notion is really, we believe, nothing more than a popular misconception arising from the charge in an indictment for libel, as in all other indictments, that the act of the defendant was done against the peace of our lord the king—which means, simply, that it was done in violation of the law.

The true ground on which the present law of libel stands, would rather seem to be that, if an individual has committed an act deserving of blame, it is not fair to call him to account for it in any court, except upon the trial of a charge regularly made against him. On a trial, for example, with regard to the criminal character of a particular publication, it is not fair that the person, whose conduct the publication attacks, should be called upon to defend or explain that conduct. This, it is said, would be in fact to try two distinct questions, affecting two different parties, at one and the same time.

But there is not much, after all, in this plausible reasoning. In many other cases, as well as in that under consideration, the same legal investigation may be regarded as having for its object the examination and decision of two several questions at the same time. Whenever the fact of one party being in the right depends upon and involves the fact of the opposite party being in the wrong, there are two questions examined and decided by the same trial. Now this is precisely what would happen on a trial for libel under the proposed new law. Whenever evidence of the truth of the libel was accepted by the jury as its justification, their verdict, acquitting the defendant, would indeed in so far condemn the plaintiff. But, on the other hand, it would not condemn him to any punishment, even if the charge made against him in the libel should have been a penal one. It would only assert that he was not placed in circumstances entitling him to demand the punishment of the defendant.

But the shortest, and at the same time the best, answer to these and all other objections which may be urged against the proposed amendment of the law, is found in the fact already noticed, that in an action for damages on account of a libel, evidence that the libel is true has long been allowed to be brought forward on the side of the defence. It cannot therefore be pretended that any actual inconvenience would follow from the introduction of the same rule into the trial of indictments. The innovation might, indeed, injure a little the technical symmetry of our legal system; but that, we believe, would be the whole amount of its injurious effect.

We have said nothing in illustration of the desirableness of having the publication of the truth, in general, secured from punishment; that being, we conceive, too obvious to be disputed. At the same time we hold that the present bill takes the proper line, when it proposes to admit evidence of the truth of the libel, not as its absolute justification, but only as matter for the consideration of the jury. There are

cases in which the truth of an injurious imputation ought certainly not to be received as a justification of its utterance. Some particular passage in a man's history, in which he has deserved blame, is not to be allowed to be constantly held up to his annoyance, by any one who chooses, out of pure malignity, or from some other base or private motive to do so. Proof of something more than the truth of the statement ought surely to be required in such a case to justify the libeller. He ought to be called upon to show, in addition, that his object was a good one.

The bill before us contains a variety of other new regulations; but these we do not at present notice, as they can hardly be said to involve any important principle, and may also be, some of them, altered before the proposition shall pass into a law. The point to which we have confined our attention forms the essential enactment of the bill.

CORPORATION REFORM.

WE refer our readers to an article in the first number of the Companion for a general view of the origin and present state of our municipal corporations, and of the principal points in their constitution, or at least in the condition into which they have fallen, that require alteration and reform. The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the state of these bodies in England and Ireland, has now been printed, along with the Evidence taken by the Committee in twenty-seven sittings, from the 25th of February to the 3d of May in the present year inclusive. The whole forms a volume of nearly 400 pages.

The Report itself, however, is very short and general. The Committee, conceiving, as they state, that they would best discharge their duty by inquiring how far Corporations, as at present constituted, were useful and efficient, rather than by seeking to detect past abuses with a view to their exposure or punishment, confined their examinations principally to corporate officers, from whom, of course, they could expect to ascertain little more than what they might have derived from an inspection of the charters of the several boroughs. Yet even upon the information thus collected, they have come to a conclusion strongly unfavourable to the existing order of things in almost all our corporations. The following passage in the Report enumerates and explains the principal points which they conceive to call for attention in the contemplated revision of the system:—

"The jurisdiction of corporations is defective in some cases in consequence of the town having been extended beyond the limits of the ancient borough; and, in other cases, it is objectionable, from extending to places that are distant, and more properly falling within the jurisdiction of county magistrates.

"The principle which prevails of a small portion of corporators choosing those who are to be associated with them in power, and generally for life, is felt to be a great grievance. The tendency of this principle is to maintain an exclusive system, to uphold local, political, and religious party feelings, and is destructive of that confidence which ought always to be reposed in those who are entrusted with control, judicial or otherwise, over their fellow-citizens.

"One of the consequences of this system of close election has been, that publicity has been rarely given to the amount and application of the funds belonging to the different corporations. It is probable that, if in this respect the corporations had acted under the influence and control of public opinion, their debts would have been less in amount, and more benefit would have been conferred on the community. It is desirable, therefore, that the management and expenditure of corporate funds should be subjected to a systematic and efficient control.

"The powers vested in corporations for the administration of justice, both criminal and civil, are various and extensive, and are among the most important objects of inquiry. In some cases, the choice of recorders has been, both in practice and in principle, highly creditable to the corporations; in other cases, recorders have been chosen of unexceptionable character, but selected rather on account of their rank and station, than from a regard to their fitness to discharge the duties of the office. The way in which the juries are summoned seems to be left too much to the discretion of the parties whose duty it is to summon them. There are no regular lists of those liable to serve on juries, and there is no control over the discretion of the officer, who selects, from

among those qualified by law, such as he pleases. The civil courts appear either to have fallen entirely into disuse, or to have been but little resorted to. According to the evidence given before the Committee, the Admiralty's jurisdiction, belonging to the corporation of Yarmouth, is one which has not been administered advantageously or usefully, and that, and others, if such there be, are very fit subjects for future inquiry and improvement.

"The privileges and exemptions from tolls and dues which are enjoyed by freemen give them, in some cases, very considerable advantage, in the conduct of the ordinary affairs of life, over those who are not freemen. It is stated, that two persons engaged in trade in Hull, and in all other respects being equal, except that the one is, and the other is not, a freeman, the exemption from port and other dues will give an advantage to the freeman to the amount of 100*l.* per annum. It may well be questioned whether such exemptions rest on any public principle sufficiently strong to compensate for, and justify an interference with, that equality of rights which ought to be enjoyed by members of the same community. In most considerable places, private acts of parliament have been obtained for the purpose of watching, paving, and lighting the towns. Thus some important functions of police have been transferred to bodies independent of, and unconnected with, the corporations; and as the Committee did not consider that, under the reference made to them, they had power to inquire into the efficiency and administration of those acts, as regards the police of the respective towns, they have abstained from the inquiry. It may be remarked, however, that it is probable that if the corporations had been more popularly constituted, and had enjoyed a larger share of public confidence, they might have been invested with a greater, if not an exclusive, control over the execution of these acts of parliament."

They afterwards add the following general expression of the opinion to which they have come as to the means to be taken in order to restore the usefulness of these institutions:—

"Your Committee are further led to infer, that corporations, as now constituted, are not adapted to the present state of society; the corporate officers are not identified with the community, who have rarely any influence in choosing them, and have no control over their proceedings; corporate offices, even the highest in rank, are not always objects of desire, and are likely to be less so now that the political influence of corporations has been so much diminished. To make corporations instruments of useful and efficient local government, it seems to be essential that the corporate officers should be more popularly chosen; that the offices should be accessible to all that have entitled themselves by their conduct to the good opinion and confidence of their fellow-citizens; that their proceedings should be open and subject to the control of public opinion; and that it should be felt by the community that the maintenance of order, and the equal administration of justice in all things, depend on the energy and principle of the corporate officers. If these objects could be obtained, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the wholesome influence and authority of corporations would be increased, that their powers of usefulness would be extended, that public confidence would be established, and that the desire of honourable distinction and the sense of duty would call into the service of the community those who are most capable of discharging the duties of the corporate offices with ability and integrity. Such are some of the results which your Committee anticipate from a zealous and honest prosecution of this most important inquiry."

The Report concludes as follows:—

"The proposal to recommend the appointment of a commission has met with the almost general concurrence of the Committee.

"If the country is divided into districts, the labour will be abridged; the commissioners being on the spot, will be accessible to those who have important facts to communicate; they will be enabled to command the evidence necessary to decide on the weight of conflicting statements; and they may, in a short space of time, collect the necessary information more easily and more accurately than it could be obtained by any other proceeding. Your Committee, therefore, deeply impressed with the importance of the subject, earnestly recommend that no time should be lost in taking the necessary measures for appointing commissioners to prosecute the inquiry with promptitude and vigour, so that

the materials to be collected may be arranged and brought under the consideration of Parliament early in the next session."

The evidence, as might be expected from the sources whence it is chiefly derived, affords so imperfect an exposition of corporation abuses that we shall not at present submit any extracts from it. We may look for a much more searching and complete investigation of the subject from the commission which is probably about to be appointed. Such an investigation is quite indispensable to enable Parliament properly to deal with the evil, and to construct the better system that must be substituted for the present. Meanwhile the Report, as far as it goes, is extremely satisfactory and gratifying, and may be regarded as a most auspicious beginning of the work of reform in this important department.

LOCAL COURTS BILL.

In our fourth number we gave an account of the principal provisions of the bill which has been introduced into the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor, for establishing Courts of Local Jurisdiction, in order, as it is expressed in the preamble, that the means may be "afforded to the people of this realm of having their suits tried as speedily and as near their own homes as may be, whereby expense, vexation, and delay, may be avoided." This bill has now been read a second time, and is at present in committee. The measure is one of the most important ever submitted to the legislature, and we therefore return to it for the purpose of adding a few observations in further illustration of the great principle which it involves.

With the exception of the courts of quarter sessions, and certain ancient district courts, irregularly scattered over the country, and exhibiting every conceivable diversity of constitution and jurisdiction, England, as is well known, does not at present possess any other tribunals for the trial of causes except those which sit in Westminster Hall, and those which are held twice in the year in other parts of the kingdom, by the judges on circuit. The principle of the system is, that the dispensation of justice over the whole realm shall proceed from, and be governed throughout by, the body of judges sitting in Westminster Hall, who accordingly are appointed, either collectively or individually, to act as its sole superintendents. In this way it is conceived that the surest means are taken to secure the important object of a uniformity in the administration of the law; and to prevent the many inconveniences and mischiefs that would arise from decisions on legal points being given by one independent tribunal, contradictory in principle to those proceeding from another.

It would appear that, for the sake of this object, the system of English judicature has, in the course of ages, been materially changed from its original form. In the Saxon times, local courts seem to have existed not only in every county or shire, but even for smaller districts; and their jurisdiction, in regard at least to civil suits, was probably of unlimited extent. Some have even thought that they had a criminal jurisdiction also. The abolition of these tribunals, whatever peculiar advantages may have been afterwards discovered in the new system, in all likelihood originated merely in the despotic policy of the first Norman kings, and their wish to retain in their own hands so immense a power as that of the interpretation and administration of the law for the whole country. The Court of King's Bench, to which all the other courts in the kingdom were thus subjected, was, in the literal sense of the words, the king's own court, which for a long time followed him wherever he went, and in which he frequently presided in person, while the ordinary judges were always of his appointment, and sat merely as his substitutes. It is true, that as good often arises out of evil, this arrangement has eventually turned out to be productive of certain advantages which were probably but little contemplated when it was first introduced; but this accidental result has perhaps had the effect of making some inconveniences be too much overlooked with which it has been also attended.

Among these is one at least of serious magnitude—the general withdrawal of justice from the doors of the people, to a distance at which it is always of difficult access, and frequently altogether inaccessible. If two of the king's subjects have a difference respecting a matter of which the law of the land can take cognizance, they are entitled to have it decided in the speediest and cheapest manner that is consistent with the dispensation of justice to each. Under the

system according to which the law is now administered in England, this principle seems to be almost wholly forgotten or disregarded. The making justice speedy and cheap does not appear to have been thought an object worth aiming at. It cannot be said that the attempt has failed; it never has been made. It may possibly be that law cannot be lowered in price without being also deteriorated in quality; but our present system cannot be deemed even to have recognised the former result as desirable, although there were nothing to prevent its being attained. The spirit of that system may almost be asserted to have rather been that cheap law was in itself an evil—that the more expensive, tedious, and vexatious, suits could be made, so much the better—that the farther justice could be removed from every man's door, as if it were the case of some nuisance upon which people wanted to turn their backs, the more perfect did the arrangements of society deserve to be accounted.

Other views, however, have of late years begun to be expressed. The public have become tired of the blessings of dear and difficult law. The suitor who, having obtained a judgment in his favour, finds that he is nevertheless out of pocket by the result of the action, after having been put a thousand times out of temper during its dilatory progress, has shown symptoms of a disposition to grumble at this mode of dispensing justice, by which, although declared to be in the right, he is yet treated as if he were in the wrong. Even the less unfortunate litigant, who has succeeded in recovering a part of his claim, and has thus come off a gainer upon the whole, asks why he should have had so much trouble, and should have been put to so much expense, in obtaining what was his due. Supposing the outlay to be all eventually repaid, still its pressure in the first instance is severely felt. To the man who is without funds, it is often a complete bar to the assertion of his right, let it be ever so strong. Plaintiff and defendant, in every suit, except where one of the parties is playing a dishonest game, and making use of the heavy charges of the cause to oppress and overwhelm his adversary, alike suffer and cry out under this grievance.

These complaints have long ago established a general conviction in the public mind in favour of some such measure as that which is now, we trust, about to be adopted by the legislature. The institution of a system of local judiciaries has been recommended to Parliament by several of the most influential persons on both sides of politics. Many years ago, the subject was taken up by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorp. A bill to effect its accomplishment was afterwards introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. (now Sir Robert) Peel, then one of the ministers of the crown. On the 29th of April, 1830, the present Lord Chancellor (then Mr. Brougham) obtained leave to bring in another bill for the same purpose. In the debate which took place on this occasion, a concurrence in the general views of the mover was expressed by Mr. Secretary Peel, the Solicitor-General (Sir Edward B. Sugden), and other speakers; and no opposition was made to the proposition for bringing in the bill. The measure, however, after having been read a second time and committed, was allowed to drop, principally in consequence of the prorogation of Parliament in the following July. A few days after the commencement of the next session, namely, on the 10th of November, Mr. Brougham again introduced nearly the same bill, but was prevented from carrying it farther by his removal soon after to the House of Lords. On the 2d of December following, however, he brought it forward in that house, when it was read once and ordered to be printed, but was not farther proceeded with. The present bill, which differs from the former in some of its details, was introduced by his Lordship on the 28th of March in the present year. The public attention, therefore, has been repeatedly called to the subject; and ample opportunities have been afforded for its consideration. But, notwithstanding this, on none of the occasions on which the measure has been brought forward, with the exception of the last, has any stand been made by any party or individual against its principle, or more than some doubts expressed as to the practicability or expediency of some of its provisions.

Even now it can hardly be said that the principle of the bill has been contested. Both Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Eldon, while objecting to several of its details, have, by implication at least, assumed the possibility of its coming out of the committee in such a form as might induce them to

withdraw their opposition. Lord Lyndhurst, in the committee, even described a counter-project of his own, by which he proposed to attain the same object with that contemplated by the Lord Chancellor's bill, namely, the providing of courts to which suitors might resort, and where they might have their causes tried, in the neighbourhood of their own homes. The necessity, therefore, of some such reform of the present system as shall secure this end, may be regarded as a point conceded on all hands. Whether the present measure shall pass or not, or whether it may or may not be found to answer its purpose, it may be taken as certain that Westminster Hall will not much longer continue to be the place in which nearly all the suits are carried on that arise in every part of England. There is now, however, every prospect that the bill, with some modification, perhaps, of a few of its clauses, will receive the sanction of the legislature.

JUVENILE VAGRANCY.

In our two preceding Numbers we have noticed and deplored the progressive growth of juvenile delinquency. To arrest this increasing evil, to snatch the youthful vagrant from temptation and misery, ere his mind is tainted with vice, to lead the young criminal from the path of guilt, and to give to both habits of virtue and industry, are among the highest objects which can engage the attention of the philanthropist. To preserve the rising generation from crime is at once to strike at the root of the mischief, since the misery in which our thieves and malefactors are reared is then destroyed. The benefit which is thus done to society is infinite, and every member of the community must be personally interested in the furtherance of such an object. "If crime and misery are increasing, is the public sufficiently aware that the fault is in a great measure our own? The felons of 1832 were the neglected children of 1810; and prisons are colleges where misguided youth is placed under the tuition of the most expert masters in the arts of fraud and villainy. In the streets and workhouses, thousands of children are under a course of education in crime at the public expense; eventually, perhaps, also to be hung or transported at the expense of the public."

The above quotation is from the Prospectus of a Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy, formed three years ago by Captain Brenton and some other benevolent individuals. It is evident, however, that such a Society should be on a very extensive plan to be productive of any permanent efficacy. Ample funds are necessary, as well as the active support of all persons who are more anxious to prevent the existence, than to punish the commission of crime. The above Society has, at present, an establishment at Hackney Wick for the education, employment, and maintenance of Juvenile Vagrants. Here they are instructed in reading and writing for about two or three hours daily, the rest of their time being spent in cultivating the ground. The master works with the boys and superintends their general conduct. He reports that, considering the circumstance of their having been taken from so degraded a class, their good behaviour and their industry are astonishing; they are in general, he adds, attentive to the instruction bestowed on them, and are apparently happy.

The history of some of these unfortunate children shows that, notwithstanding the enormous poor-rates levied in every parish, there are cases of hopeless poverty into which even children may fall; and that at the age when they still require the fostering care of a parent to minister to their wants they may be left neglected and alone, either to starve, to beg, or to steal, as their previous habits may lead them. The account given of himself by one little boy who is now in this asylum is particularly affecting. He is apparently about nine or ten years of age; and for the last twelve months this child has been a houseless wanderer in Hyde Park. He does not recollect ever to have been the object of a mother's care. His father was a seaman, and when he went on his last voyage, left 30s. for the use of his child, who received it in weekly payments of three shillings at a time. The father died on his passage home, and no farther allowance was made to the boy; on which the woman with whom he lived refused to keep him, and turned him adrift. He then went to the place where he was accustomed to be paid his weekly allowance, and some compassionate sailors gave him money. He afterwards called again at his former dwelling, but the woman no longer lived there; from that time he begged in the neighbourhood of Hyde Park, and at

night slept in a hollow tree. In the severe weather he obtained some straw to put into his miserable resting-place; but he was often very cold. Many days he was entirely without food, and once he fasted for forty-eight hours. He was sometimes ill, yet with all this suffering he would not steal, because, as he says, "his father told him it was a crime to God." If he attempted to join other boys, they drove him from them; and thus was this poor little outcast struggling through life, till he was discovered and received into this asylum, where he is very happy and very willing to work. It appears that, joined to the excellent moral precepts of his father, he had likewise received some education for six months in a national school at Whitechapel, and can now read tolerably well. There is no reason to doubt the truth of the child's statement; he has been repeatedly questioned and cross-examined by different gentlemen of the committee, and he has never deviated from his first account.

There are now about twenty-eight boys in this school; but it is evident that, with funds however large, the employment of young vagrants, and the reformation of juvenile offenders cannot be conducted on a sufficiently extensive scale at home. There are now on board the *Euryalus* convict hulk at Chatham, 407 boys, between the ages of nine and sixteen years. "I will only ask," says Captain Brenton, "if these poor creatures, thus pent up and associated, are likely to improve in their moral or religious habits; whether the trades of shoemakers and tailors, which they are learning, are likely to be enriched by their labours; or whether, on their release from the hulk, they are not likely to be out of work themselves, or to displace others in these crafts, which are already overstocked with labourers? Assuming that these questions can only be answered in the affirmative, I ask what possible good can accrue to society from such a forced and expensive education, and whether the honest and industrious of those trades, who have fairly served their time, and paid their premium of apprenticeship, have not a just right to complain that their earnings have been shared by a superabundance of workmen, who are thrust upon them by means of a government capital? For if these be good workmen, such must be the effect; and if bad workmen, then has the money expended on them been thrown away. The only remedy for this, and most of the evils now existing, is the application of labour to those works which can do injury to none, and are ready to receive all." Such occupation is to be found in our colonies. To maintain children here in the unprofitable labour of turning up soil which will yield little or no return, is clearly an improvident waste of that industry which might be beneficially employed in the more fertile lands of our colonies; and this society is anxious to extend its sphere of usefulness, by permanently providing for the myriads of poor children who infest our streets, and sending them to some of our possessions abroad. "Nor should we wait," says the Report, "until they had disgraced themselves by crime, or plundered and destroyed ten times as much as their voyage and outfit would cost. If children can be snatched from infamy at a small expense, and if our colonies will receive them, shall we not carry on the good work with vigour and perseverance equal to the object?"

The originators of this institution are already in communication with a committee of gentlemen of the Society for Promoting Emigration to the District of Albany at the Cape of Good Hope, who have evidently seconded the views of their correspondents, and are anxious to co-operate with them in every possible manner. Encouraged by this proffer of support, the Society has sent twenty-four boys to the Cape, and intends to forward another division as soon as its funds will admit. Government has paid one-half of the expenses for the passage and outfit of this first shipment, but is pledged no farther. "At the Midsummer sessions at the Old Bailey," to quote again from the Report, "thirty-three little boys, between ten and thirteen years of age, were sentenced to various terms of transportation; and thus the gangs of full-grown villains are constantly recruited by the operation of the law, and thieves are educated at the expense of government, at a greater cost than it would require to make them honest and happy."

The settlement to which the children have been sent, is Graham's town, a considerable distance inland. Since the first communication, "demands have been pouring in from the Cape of Good Hope to send children out in almost unlimited numbers." It is proposed that these children should be consigned to a Committee of gentlemen in the

settlement, who immediately on their arrival would draught them off among the settlers wishing for such young labourers*. To these settlers the children should be bound apprentices for five or seven years, according to their ages, and in return for their services, should be maintained entirely during that time, and should likewise receive at the end of their term something to begin the world with, when they could either become small farmers themselves, or continue as daily labourers. The committee would not lose sight of these apprentices, but would continue to watch over their welfare, and take care that they were well treated by their masters. Religious and moral education would, it is hoped, be provided for them as far as circumstances might render possible. The expense of furnishing with clothes and outfit, and of shipping the children already sent, was under 10*l.*, for each, while the cost of maintaining a child in a work-house is estimated at 10*l.* per annum; therefore, for not more than the cost of supporting them for one year, those children, who have no parents or friends to be interested in their welfare, whose melancholy, isolated situation, is emphatically denoted by the term "parish children" can be sent to a country where they may obtain independence by the exercise of honest industry, while by their labour they will materially benefit the rising colonies.

"In this society," says the 'South African Advertiser' of the 18th October, 1832, "we see the germs of much good to the Cape. Our friends in Albany, and other parts of the colony, have often expressed a strong desire for a steady supply of free labourers from Europe; and experience has shown, that such apprentices as the Society are training, would be upon the whole preferable to adult emigrants, whose habits have been formed in a state of society very different from that to be found in our agricultural districts, and whose fixed dispositions and tempers render them not only averse to a mode of life and a species of labour quite new to them, but in many instances absolutely incapable, even if willing, to discharge their duty as apprentices. *** If the Albany farmers take this plan into consideration, they can open a correspondence with the society upon very favourable grounds. In their district the apprentices would neither be associated with slaves, as in some other colonies—and in some districts, unhappily, of this colony—nor with convicts, as in New South Wales, or any of our other penal settlements. They would be soothed and reconciled to a life of peaceable industry by being placed among their own country people, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, and entertaining the same feelings and sentiments respecting the many topics of daily thought and conversation with themselves."

In Nova Scotia, labour is likewise in great demand, and steps have been taken to establish a branch society there on the same plan as that at Graham's Town. The expense of sending children to this settlement it is supposed would not be more than 70*s.* each. Some gentlemen who are now exerting themselves for the farther extension of this institution have likewise an interest in the prosperity of the emigrants of Nova Scotia, and are fully impressed with the conviction that the free importation of these young labourers will greatly benefit the colony. They are, therefore, willing to afford every facility which can best forward their emigration and promote their future advancement. Some of the members of the Society are rather desirous that delinquents before they are sent abroad should pass through a probationary state here; but to attempt this would be unadvisable in two points of view. The funds necessary for such a purpose, if the emigration be pursued on an extensive scale, would be much beyond what the most sanguine could hope to raise; while it is doubtful whether the work of reformation could be so successfully carried on among several hundreds of boys already initiated in vice. Rather take the children from their old haunts, separate them at once from their depraved associates, disperse them among respectable settlers where no bad example will be exhibited to them—where no motive for a continuance in depravity will be given to them, but on the contrary a strong motive for doing right. They are then placed in a more favourable situation for losing their old habits, and for becoming useful and virtuous members of society, than if they were under the most judicious course of education, within the limits of a school, where they must

* This is the settlement formed in the year 1820, when about 5000 British emigrants were conveyed to South Africa under the patronage of government; an account of their early adventures appeared in Nos. 51 and 52 of the "Penny Magazine."

necessarily herd with their old companions, or with some equally vicious. Emigration then, as soon as possible after they are received into the asylum here, appears to be the plan most likely to be attended with success.

If this great work is to be carried on to any beneficial extent, the co-operation of the hearts and heads of many benevolent and intelligent persons will be required—all acting in unison and with judicious foresight. A few individuals however zealous, however able, cannot unassisted accomplish so great an end. Large funds are essential to complete success; the time and thoughts of many intelligent persons are required to appropriate these funds judiciously. The benevolent may therefore be expected to come forward liberally with their aid in support of this most excellent and useful charity, the object of which is to promote both the happiness of the individuals more immediately benefited, and the good of society at large. By its successful working, not only crime, but the producing cause of crime, will be destroyed, and a wide spreading contagion of vice will be exchanged for individual industry, virtue, and happiness.

ABOLITION OF IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

AMONG various important measures of law reform which have been this session introduced into the House of Commons by the Solicitor-General, is one entitled "A Bill for facilitating the recovery of Debts, the prevention of Frauds by Debtors, the relief of Debtors willing to make Cession of their property for the payment of their debts, and abolishing Imprisonment for Debt, except in cases of Fraud." The last of the objects enumerated is that which the bill may be said to have chiefly in view, and in reference to which all its enactments may be considered to be framed. The previous clauses having laid down the modes by which it is proposed that the property of debtors shall for the future in all cases be made available for the satisfaction of the claims of their creditors, the 81st and 82d clauses proceed as follows:—"And whereas the present power of arrest is unnecessarily extensive and severe, and, provision being made to facilitate the remedy of creditors against the property of debtors, may be safely relaxed; be it therefore further enacted, that from and after the passing of this act, no person shall be arrested upon any process for debt issuing out of any court, unless the plaintiff shall make oath that he believes the debtor is about to abscond to avoid payment of his debt, or on special order made by one of the judges of the superior courts.—And be it further enacted, that if any debtor, having been arrested either on mesne or final process, shall bring an action against the person at whose suit he was arrested, it shall be incumbent on such person to prove that he had probable cause for believing that the party arrested was about to abscond."

If this bill shall, as there is every reason to expect, be passed into a law, it will put an end to the worst relic of barbarism that still disgraces our legal system. The principle on which the present law of arrest proceeds is, that to be owing money, and to be unable to pay it, is in all cases a species of crime. Imprisonment, or the deprivation of personal liberty, is one of the common punishments of criminals; it is also appointed to be the punishment of debtors. To this punishment all descriptions of debtors are subjected indiscriminately—no distinction being made between the worst cases of improvidence or of fraud on the one hand, and those of the most unavoidable misfortune on the other.

There are few persons, probably, who will contend at the present day that such a law as this is consistent either with equity or with common sense. The only object, indeed, which it can be reasonably regarded as contemplating, is the interdiction of credit altogether. It has in effect said that the person who borrows, or purchases on credit, although he will not be called to account if he shall be fortunate enough to be able to meet his obligations, nevertheless does so at the risk of being punished as a criminal, if any accident, no matter how unavoidable, should intervene to put it out of his power to discharge his debt when it becomes due. Or, to put the thing in another way, it has left every man who may have incurred a debt so far at the mercy of his creditor, that the latter, if not otherwise able to recover the amount with which he has entrusted him, may insist that he shall be treated as if he had committed some crime. What is this but to declare that to ask credit is really a criminal act, which will be punished whenever the perpetra-

tor becomes involved in certain circumstances entitling another person to call upon the law to take its course, notwithstanding that it may be passed over when attention is not thus specially directed to it?

If this was really the object of the law, it would have been better to have enacted at once that credit should not be at all allowed, and that every person detected in so transgressing the law should be sent to prison. This would at any rate have been the more open and straight-forward course. Besides, in that case the power of applying or suspending the law, which is here the power of deciding whether or no an individual shall be treated as a criminal, would not have been left to the caprice of the very party who is worst situated for its calm and dispassionate exercise.

It is not impossible that, in the uncommercial period when our law of arrest originated, some prejudice against the practice of credit, akin to the prejudice against usury, may have contributed to its introduction and maintenance. It certainly, at any rate, would be no favourite object of legislation in those days to facilitate credit. But the motive of the law is no doubt to be principally sought in the same spirit which has given so tyrannical a character to various other laws protective of the rights of property, and which appears to have constantly regarded the conservation of those rights as an object almost paramount to every other. In this instance the operation of the spirit in question has produced a singular result. In the first place, the right of the creditor to his property, namely, the money due to him by his debtor, has been held to be so sacred that it has been deemed proper to allow it to be exercised at the cost even of the personal liberty of the debtor. And in the second place, the property of the debtor also has been fenced round with nearly the same extreme solicitude; so that in many cases it is actually possible to incarcerate his person, when it is impossible to lay hands upon a shilling of his property.

Anything more absurd than this state of the law can hardly be imagined. Of two powers, either of which might have been given to him, the creditor has actually been denied the only one which he was likely to find at all serviceable in the recovery of his money, and invested with the other, which in most cases he cannot apply for that purpose with any effect whatever.

But the worst characteristic of the present law is its unnecessarily cruel bearing upon the debtor. We have already observed that it makes no distinction between the honest and the dishonest debtor—between the scoundrel who has incurred obligations which he never expected and perhaps never intended to discharge, and the merely unfortunate man who, without any fault of his own, may have been rendered unable to pay what he owes. But we might have gone farther than this: for it actually places the dishonest debtor in a far better position than the other. It sends both of them, indeed, to prison; but him who refuses to surrender his property for the benefit of his creditors, it permits to live there in the enjoyment often of almost any accommodations or luxuries his pecuniary resources can procure; while it leaves him who has honourably despoiled himself of everything, that he may pay what he owes, at least as far as he can, to pine in destitution and wretchedness on the gaol allowance. It thus offers an immense premium to dishonesty, and does its utmost to tempt and encourage the insolvent debtor to refrain from taking that course which is the only just one that he can adopt, namely, to surrender his property, if required, to the last farthing to help to discharge his debts.

The imposition of imprisonment as a punishment for the non-payment of a just debt, might indeed be necessary, were there no other method of giving the creditor a hold upon his debtor. The former must of course be enabled in some way or other to recover what is due to him from a party unwilling to pay it. But so far from there being no other means available for this purpose, there is a mode by which it would be answered a thousand times better, ready at hand if the law would only adopt it. It consists simply in depriving the creditor of his control over the person of his debtor, and giving him in exchange a control over his property.

This amendment of the law it is the object of the present bill to effect. We cannot here enter into any explanation of the various arrangements which it proposes with the view of placing the property of insolvent debtors more completely at the disposal of their creditors; but we may probably return to this part of the subject after the bill has received its last cor-

rections in passing through the two Houses. If it shall become a law, as we trust it will do, the improvement, we repeat, which it will introduce into our legal system, will be one of the greatest ever made. It will destroy a power held by one class of men over another class, which ought not to exist in a country calling itself civilized; which is more liable to be abused than any other which it would be possible to name; and which, in by far the majority of instances, is only injurious instead of the reverse to the interests even of the person exercising it himself. And for this barbarous, dangerous, and almost useless right of control, it will substitute a natural and really effective check, and one which can hardly admit of being in any circumstances abused.

COMBINATIONS.

THE metropolis, at the present moment, presents one of the most curious and instructive examples upon record, of the ignorance and tyranny which are too often displayed by workmen in the management of their unions. It is the case of the copper-plate printers.

Before we proceed to detail such of the facts of this particular case as have come to our knowledge, we must premise, that we thoroughly admit the right of workmen to join together for the protection of their own interests. The old combination laws were, with great propriety and justice, repealed, because they were destructive of the freedom of industry. The object which we have in view in pointing out some of the absurdities which united workmen commit, is to show that the greater number of their laws and regulations are, in the same way, destructive of the freedom of industry; that they could not be tolerated if they emanated from any government or corporate authority; and that, in truth, they are without any parallel in the extent of their folly, except the instances which are furnished by the anti-commercial decrees of various states in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The copper-plate printers of London, for the most part, form a society or union. The number of workmen, altogether, does not reach 300. For the last fortnight the business has been nearly altogether suspended; and the progress of the periodical works of art, the great branch of the business, is either interrupted or altogether stopped. Several publications which had furnished employment for many hands, from month to month, will not appear on the regular day. The dispute between the masters and the journeymen originated in a question of price, not very important in its amount; but the masters, finding that the regulations of the union, as they ought to have discovered long ago, were calculated to embarrass the natural operations of their manufacture at every step, have resolved to resist many of the conditions which the men require to be observed before they will consent to exchange their labour for wages.

The business of plate-printing has very considerably increased within the last seven years, and it is daily increasing. This is the natural consequence of the introduction of engraving upon steel; by which the finest works of art may be so multiplied from a single plate, that they are placed within the capacity of purchase of the middle classes, instead of being the exclusive luxury of the rich. Now it is perfectly clear that, with an extending market, derived from an extension of the taste which creates a demand, the supply of labour which was adequate seven years ago is not sufficient now. In point of fact, the business of plate-printing in London has increased six-fold. The regulations of the workmen have not had the effect of proportioning the supply of labour to the demand: they have kept the supply below the demand, and consequently production has been impeded to a considerable extent. The labourer, the capitalist, and the consumer, are each injured by such regulations.

The principal points in which the combination of plate-printers exhibits a lamentable ignorance of the principles of commercial freedom are, 1st. in their regulations for the taking apprentices; 2d. in their proscription of all other workmen but those of London; and 3d. in their enforcement of enormous wages for night-work. For the assertion of their opinions upon these subjects nearly two hundred men are now out of employ; living, indeed, upon a common fund, but, in so living, exhausting the provision which might have supported them in sickness or old age. Unfortunately, they do not look to these casualties of life; the parish is seen at the end of a long vista of high wages and improvident expenditure.

With a rapidly increasing market, the two or three hundred plate-printers of London hold that they are equal to supplying all the demand of that market. They begin, therefore, by asserting that no master, whatever be the extent of his capital or connexion, whether he employs two presses or two hundred, shall take more than two apprentices—in some special cases three have been allowed. If any partner in a plate-printing firm has not been regularly apprenticed in London, the privilege of taking any apprentice at all is refused. This is tolerably arbitrary, to begin with. But the folly and despotism do not end here. Having prevented any addition to the number of labourers, with a rapidly increasing demand for their labour, the journeymen plate-printers draw a line of circumvallation round London; and maintain that no man shall be employed who has not been apprenticed in London, or within ten miles. Many plate-printers are employed in Birmingham—they cannot come to the metropolis; and yet the metropolis is ready to offer them constant work and high wages. An industrious and skilful hand in this branch may earn from 2*l.* to 3*l.* per week; and the extension of the market ensures the continuance of this state of things. But no: the workman from Birmingham is not to set foot in Middlesex; the workmen in Middlesex are resolved that no addition shall be made to their numbers; the extension of the market is of course to be limited by their authority. To prevent this extension they resolve to keep up prices;—and they set about this in a most injurious way.

The hours of work in this trade are from eight in the morning till eight at night, with two hours deducted for meals. There are no fines for not being at work early enough; but if a man presumes to stay a moment beyond eight in the evening without charging for night-work, he is fined a guinea. Night-work is paid one-half more than day-work; at night the work is worse done, and there is a waste of capital in artificial light. But the journeymen like night-work, and night-work accordingly enters largely into the price of all engravings.

We had intended to have offered a few parallel examples of the modes in which the freedom of industry was kept down by the ordinances of guilds and states in the infancy of commerce, but our space will not permit us, although we may return to the subject. These evils have been destroyed, as far as governments and municipal corporations have been concerned, by the growing intelligence of society, but chiefly by the competition of country with country. The nation which permitted such clogs upon industry to exist, found out that poverty and decrepitude followed in their train; and that whilst the interests of particular classes were sought to be protected, the common welfare of all was destroyed. It will be the same with all combinations of workmen which are founded upon such gross injustice as that of the plate-printers. They will be destroyed by competition. France, and the Netherlands, and Italy, have many skilful plate-printers, who will soon find their way to London if such ignorant resolutions as those we have described are persisted in. The journeymen of this trade are fortunately situated, if they could appreciate their own position. The wages of their labour must have a natural tendency to rise, if they will leave the balance of demand and supply in the labour-market to regulate itself.

Combinations of workmen are becoming so general, that it is of the utmost importance that some steps should be taken to inform them as to their own real interests. We shall endeavour to contribute to this work whenever we see occasion. We may properly conclude this notice by an extract from "The Information received by his Majesty's Commissioners as to the Administration and Operation of the Poor-Laws." It exhibits, in a very striking manner, the self-abasement and real misery which a workman encounters when he relies, not upon his own honest exertions, but upon union funds and parish funds—both, in their misapplication, intolerable evils:—

"A leather-dresser has, for some years past, preferred parish and casual relief to the honest gains of his employment. The overseer stated eighteen years as the period of his present mode of life. The pauper seems to think it is not quite so long; he talks of thirteen: however, he does not violently impeach the overseer's statement, which may therefore be assumed to be tolerably correct.

"He belongs to an incorporated or combined trade; the directors of this combination issue tickets to the members. These tickets are renewed from time to time. The holder

of one goes about from place to place, but must not take the same road more than once in six months. With these intervals he is again and again assisted, and, as in the present case, for a very long space of time together.

"This ticket is available in every part of the United Kingdom where a club or lodge of the trade is established. The individual in question might have had work at 1*l*. per week, but he refused to take it, or indeed 30*s*. per week; nothing under 2*l*. will satisfy him; and when pressed for reasons to account for his refusing such offers—when asked whether it would not be better to get 1*l*. per week than to trust to casual sources of support, he replied, that he should not like to be 'turned black' (query—returned black?) which would be the case if he worked under price.

"Thus, then, as far as an individual instance will avail, (and it seems to be a fair sample of the general system,) we see the effects of parish aid upon the combinations for raising and keeping up wages, whose ramifications extend over the whole of these kingdoms. This man gets a ticket; he is, by his own admission, a most worthless fellow: to use his own mild and gentle language, he has been 'a very foolish man, his fault has been drinking.' Though at times of his life, and that too for long periods, he has been earning from 2*l*. to 3*l*. per week, he has neglected to make the slightest provision for his future necessities; his health has been greatly impaired by his vicious habits; his character, probably his value as a workman, has been lowered by his own deliberate acts, yet he is not to take employment but at the highest wages; and in order to support him in this unreasonable demand, he gets a ticket from the trade, for which he pays 1*s*. 6*d*. per month, constantly: this furnishes him with his own support as a vagabond; for when he is at home his relief from the trade ceases, and the intervals of travelling are filled up by parish aid. His wife and family, let it be observed, are constantly on the parish, for *he* only travels his rounds. No source of support is objected to by his fellows; nothing incapacitates him from receiving the benefit of his ticket, but honest industry in his own trade: let it be known that he has once been guilty of this—of making the best terms he could—of agreeing for what his services are worth, and supporting himself and his family honestly and in comfort—and he is struck off the list, and denied all future benefit from this fund; the payments to which are in a manner compulsory, and raised from all in the trade. It is probable that this fund, if honestly, and fairly, and properly expended, might nearly destroy all necessity for the members of this trade having recourse to parish aid: so far, however, from the funds being applied to such honourable and beneficial purposes, they are made to contribute to the support of combinations."

This is a condition which, we should think, every honest and intelligent workman would shrink from as the worst of calamities.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

SINCE our last publication nine Reports, from the twentieth to the twenty-eighth, both inclusive, of the Committee for the Classification of Petitions have been issued. As before, we give an abstract, showing the most important parts of their contents. The number of petitions and signatures are the total amount presented during the session, except where mentioned to the contrary.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
<i>Parliamentary.</i>		
For vote by ballot	39	25299
Against the septennial act	16	9290
Against nocturnal legislation	9	3155
For an alteration in the reform act	4	1594
Miscellaneous petitions connected with parliament	10	5214
<i>Ecclesiastical.</i>		
For the better observance of the Sabbath	1132	271282
Against the Sabbath observance bill	21	2914
Against the administering of oaths	19	1307
Against tithes and church-rates	1	119
For alteration of the laws relating to Roman Catholic marriages	7	4570
For the removal of religious disabilities	112	22248
Against lay patronage in Scotland	148	66197
Against church temporalities bill (Ireland)	113	9915
For better regulating the Established Church in Wales	6	2542

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs
<i>Ecclesiastical.</i>		
For teaching the Irish to read the Scriptures in their own language	4	45
Against tithe commutation bill	5	437
For removal of civil disabilities from the Jews	49	45596
Against removal of disabilities from the Jews	4	134
For commutation of tithe	2	295
For abolition of tithes in England	45	17142
For abolition of tithes in Ireland	67	22481
For appointing in Ireland clergymen who speak Irish	2	10
Against the Irish Church establishment	10	3826
<i>Taxes.</i>		
Against the corn laws	20	19636
Against the assessed taxes	46	19923
Against the house and window tax	120	68306
Against taxes on knowledge	18	13283
Against malt tax	86	36368
Against stamp on receipts	23	8396
Against the tax on soap	38	5288
For a reduction of taxes	38	45513
Against various other taxes—none of these have been included in former publications	65	4608
<i>Ireland.</i>		
Against the new system of education	13	1486
For introduction of poor laws	19	3378
Against the disturbances bill	665	421345
For a repeal of the Union	36	10899
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>		
For the abolition of slavery	4942	1295813
Against abolition without compensation	5	937
For renewal of East India Charter	3	1805
Against the retail beer act	190	22997
In favour of ditto	15	13706
Complaining of abuses in corporations	124	71719
In favour of factories' regulation bill	94	114261
Against factories' regulation bill	19	2122
For repeal of criminal laws	19	7284
For a legislative regulation of wages for handloom weaving	54	48505
Against the vestry acts	4	21944
Against general register bill	20	2207
Other miscellaneous petitions reported since the publication of the last Companion to the Newspaper	90	34601

POST-OFFICE ARRANGEMENTS WITH FRANCE.

IN the Companion to the Newspaper, for May last, we gave a detailed statement of the contemplated improvements in the Post-Office arrangements with France. We have now to announce that, to a certain extent, these arrangements are completed. The treaty was signed in London on the 21st of June last, and sent on the following day to Paris to be ratified; on the receipt of this ratification, which must arrive in a few days, the arrangements will be immediately carried into effect. As we formerly stated would probably happen, the proposal on the part of the French that the whole of the postage, in either country, might be paid on delivery of the letter, has not been acceded to; and another proposal, for the mutual transmission of newspapers, either free or at a low rate of postage, has also been rejected, together with some other suggestions of a similar tendency.

The points agreed upon are, that the communication shall be daily instead of four times a week, as has hitherto been the case; and that misdirected letters, which have up to this time been retained by the respective post-offices, shall be returned monthly; in order, wherever possible, to be restored to the writer. This, in many cases, will be found of great importance, as the letters often contained money, which, although the address of the sender may have been stated, was taken possession of by the post-office establishments. This unfair gain, which in France, is said to have in some years amounted to seven or eight thousand pounds, is at length to be abolished. We trust, however, that the steps now taken will lead shortly to still further improvements;—and that a principle of co-operation, which bids fair to establish one branch of that harmonious arrangement which ought to subsist between two great nations, may not be prevented reaching its full practical operation, through any technical difficulties which perseverance may surmount.

ABSTRACT OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

TRADE.—*Trade of the United Kingdom, in the Year ended 5th January, 1832.*

		UNITED KINGDOM.											
C O U N T R I E S.		OFFICIAL VALUE of IMPORTS.			OFFICIAL VALUE OF EXPORTS.								
					British and Irish Produce and Manufactures.			Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.			TOTAL EXPORTS.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
EUROPE :													
	Russia	4,696,368	17	11	1,746,972	12	5	856,856	14	8	2,603,829	7	1
	Sweden	212,639	13	1	94,587	5	1	67,788	12	8	162,375	17	9
	Norway	91,678	10	1	92,599	1	1	58,225	5	6	150,824	6	7
	Denmark	410,981	7	2	173,280	1	11	83,423	8	3	256,703	10	2
	Prussia	1,200,102	7	5	264,618	2	1	564,684	12	10	829,302	14	11
	Germany	1,684,165	8	3	7,667,147	0	3	1,806,480	8	9	9,473,627	9	0
	Netherlands	1,276,081	12	3	3,179,298	13	6	3,270,927	0	11	6,450,225	14	5
	France	3,056,154	12	4	635,927	13	5	256,081	19	7	892,009	13	0
	Portugal, Azores and Madeira	520,616	18	8	2,251,584	3	0	68,197	17	1	2,319,782	0	1
	Spain and the Canaries	1,293,924	0	4	1,036,623	17	8	318,038	7	8	1,354,662	5	4
	Gibraltar	19,668	7	0	879,382	3	7	121,340	18	3	1,000,723	1	10
	Italy	1,475,304	6	10	4,528,154	10	4	820,651	1	0	5,348,805	11	4
	Malta	63,550	2	10	257,537	8	8	20,485	2	6	278,022	11	2
	Ionian Islands	187,185	11	4	71,592	13	2	13,383	8	7	84,976	1	9
	Turkey and Continental Greece	759,797	19	1	2,113,928	9	2	95,777	3	2	2,209,705	12	4
	Morea and Greek Islands	29,273	6	9	28,563	12	0	1,743	11	10	30,307	3	10
	Isles Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney and Man	202,940	14	7	445,410	2	4	126,435	1	2	571,845	3	6
		17,180,433	15	11	25,467,207	9	8	8,550,520	14	5	34,017,728	4	1
AFRICA :													
	Egypt, Ports on the Mediterranean	275,547	19	7	236,189	15	3	2,068	9	9	238,258	5	0
	Tripoli, Barbary and Morocco	45,986	5	9	759	10	0	4,950	16	11	5,710	6	11
	Western Coast of Africa	299,105	0	5	352,182	17	9	155,275	19	7	507,458	17	4
	Cape of Good Hope	183,481	14	2	351,107	13	3	28,940	6	1	380,047	19	4
	Eastern Coast of Africa	2,328	17	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Cape Verde Islands	—	—	—	123	17	6	75	3	8	199	1	2
	St. Helena	44,512	3	8	28,439	6	3	3,030	9	10	31,469	16	1
	Mauritius	724,285	8	2	268,963	16	4	11,984	17	9	280,948	14	1
ASIA :													
	East Indies and China	7,920,182	3	9	6,521,532	10	7	426,068	0	7	6,947,600	11	2
	New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Swan River	191,841	3	2	427,378	18	8	149,735	11	9	577,114	10	5
	New Zealand and South Sea Islands	6,442	10	0	4,056	12	6	815	8	3	4,872	0	9
AMERICA :													
	British Northern Colonies	1,532,582	19	0	2,858,514	19	9	271,975	9	3	3,130,490	9	0
	British West Indies	8,448,839	8	7	3,729,521	14	3	258,764	6	4	3,988,286	0	7
	Foreign West Indies	615,594	7	2	2,186,482	5	7	48,762	14	11	2,235,245	0	6
	United States	8,970,342	8	3	12,007,208	8	11	588,965	9	0	12,596,173	17	11
	Mexico	160,751	12	3	1,112,916	12	11	138,852	4	10	1,251,768	17	9
	Guatemala	8,065	4	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Columbia	25,243	14	1	476,768	0	0	22,964	17	4	499,732	17	4
	States of the Rio de la Plata	476,272	14	10	582,086	6	4	8,224	8	10	590,310	15	2
	Chili	21,030	16	11	1,057,621	17	2	10,812	2	8	1,068,463	19	10
	Peru	42,377	9	3	624,639	11	10	21,392	9	3	646,032	1	1
	Brazil	2,278,059	18	4	2,392,662	8	4	39,002	8	7	2,431,664	16	11
THE WHALE FISHERIES		273,800	19	9	—	—	—	1,914	0	0	1,914	0	0
TOTAL		£ 49,727,108	14	6	60,686,364	12	10	10,745,126	9	7	71,431,491	2	5

THE proportional Value of the Trade carried on with each Country, during the year ended 5th January, 1833, cannot at present be stated, and therefore the following ABSTRACT is subjoined, of the Total Official Value of the Imports and Exports

TOTAL OFFICIAL VALUE of IMPORTS into the UNITED KINGDOM	£	s.	d.
	44,586,241	15	0
TOTAL OFFICIAL VALUE of EXPORTS from the UNITED KINGDOM; viz.			
British and Irish Produce and Manufactures	£ 65,026,702	11	0
Foreign and Colonial Merchandise	11,047,869	17	0
	76,071,572	8	0

WEST INDIA PRODUCE.—The following returns of articles chiefly of W. India produce imported into and exported from the United Kingdom, are all for the year ended 5th Jan. 1833.

Sugar.—The quantity of sugar imported was, of the produce of the British plantations, 3,784,244 cwts. 2 qrs. 6 lbs.; of Mauritius, 541,770 cwts. 1 qr. 6 lbs.; of the East Indies, 175,252 cwts. 5 lbs.; of the foreign plantations, 366,481 cwts. 2 qrs. 21 lbs.; making a total of 4,867,784 cwt. 2 qrs. 10 lbs. The total amount of duty received was 5,354,440*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*; the bounty paid on the exportation of British refined sugar, and repayments on over-entries and damages, &c., amounted to 960,101*l.* 19*s.*, leaving 4,394,338*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* as the net produce of the duties on sugar. The total quantity exported was 1,143,034 cwts. 3 qrs. 17 lbs., of which 368,095 cwts. 3 qrs. was raw; and remainder refined, reckoning the latter in the proportion of 34 cwts. of raw to 20 cwts. of refined sugar.

Rum.—The quantity imported was 4,753,789 gallons; 3,513,965 proof gallons were entered for home consumption; and the gross amount of duty received was 1,581,499*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* The exports amounted to 2,323,335 gallons; of which 988,497 were taken by Germany and Prussia, and 1701 only by France.

Coffee.—The quantity of coffee imported was 49,982,939 lbs.; the net produce of the duty 598,038*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*; and the total quantity exported 25,719,742 lbs.

Cocoa.—The quantity of cocoa-nuts imported of British plantations and foreign produce was 2,971,019 lbs.; together with 349,504 lbs. of husks and shells, and 1835 lbs. of chocolate and cocoa-paste; the gross amount of duty received upon this was 16,929*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.*

Spirits.—In the year ending Jan. 5, 1833, the quantity of spirits manufactured or distilled, amounted, in England, to 3,788,063 gallons, in Scotland to 9,979,038 gallons, in Ireland to 9,260,920 gallons; total, 21,028,026 gallons. Of this quantity there was duty paid for home consumption, in England upon 7,259,287 gallons, at 7*s.* per gallon; in Scotland, upon 4,861,515 gallons, at 3*s.* 4*d.*; and in Ireland, upon 8,657,756 gallons, likewise at 3*s.* 4*d.* The total number of gallons for home consumption amounting to 20,778,558, and the amount of duty to 4,975,444*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*

Tobacco and Snuff.—The quantity of tobacco, &c. entered for home consumption, in the year ending Jan. 5, 1833, was, of unmanufactured tobacco, 20,164,864 lbs.; of manufactured tobacco and cigars, 148,517 lbs.; and of snuff, 234 lbs. The rate of duty is 2*s.* 9*d.* per lb. on unmanufactured tobacco of any British possession in America, and 3*s.* of any other place; 9*s.* per lb. on manufactured tobacco and cigars; and 6*s.* per lb. on snuff. The total gross receipt of duty, during the above period, was 3,090,270*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*

METALS imported into and exported from the United Kingdom in the year 1832.

Iron, Foreign, imported in bars or unwrought, 18,961 tons, 12 cwts. 2 qrs.; in rods, pigs, wire, old broken, and old cast-iron, &c. 192 tons, 1 qr. 5 lbs.; iron ore, 377 tons, 17 cwts. 1 qr. 19 lbs.; chromate of iron, 339 tons, 17 cwts. 15 lbs.; unwrought steel 622 tons, 4 cwts. 2 qrs. 9 lbs.; steel wire 50 lbs.; iron and steel manufactures, not otherwise described, entered by weight, 197 tons, 6½ cwts.; entered at value 277*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*

Exported.—In bars or unwrought, 3450 tons, 12 cwts. 3 qrs. 2 lbs.; in rods and pigs, 55 tons, 13 cwts. 15 lbs.; unwrought steel 810 tons, 13 cwts. 8 lbs.; steel wire 52 lbs.; iron and steel manufactures, not otherwise described, entered by weight 197 tons, 6½ cwts.; entered at value 345*l.*

Iron, British.—Exported:—Bar iron, 74,024 tons, 5 cwts. 1 qr. 24 lbs.; bolt and rod-iron, 6938 tons, 1 cwt. 3 qrs. 18 lbs.; pig-iron, 17,566 tons, 1 cwt. 1 qr. 13 lbs.; cast-iron, 12,495 tons, 1 cwt. 1 qr. 12 lbs.; iron wire, 666 tons, 7 cwts. 3 lbs.; anchors and grapnels, 1606 tons, 18 cwts. 3 qrs. 3 lbs.; hoops, 9417 tons, 14 cwts. 1 qr. 6 lbs.; nails, 4347 tons, 18 cwts. 1 qr. 2 lbs.; other wrought articles (excepting ordnance) 18,595 tons, 3 qrs. 17 lbs.; old iron for re-manufacture, 773 tons, 6 cwts.; unwrought steel, 1112 tons, 7 lbs.; British hardware and cutlery, 15,294 tons, 15 cwts. 1 lb.; the declared value of which was 1,433,297*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

Copper, Foreign.—Imported:—Unwrought, partly wrought, or old for re-manufacture, 2260 cwts. 2 qrs. 1 lb.; copper ore, 79,219 cwts. 1 qr. 21 lbs.; manufactured, entered by weight, 1 cwt. 1 qr. 16 lbs.; entered at value, 4636*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*

Exported.—Unwrought, partly wrought, or old for re-

manufacture, 1864 cwt. 3 qrs. 3 lbs.; manufactures entered by weight, 1 cwt. 1 qr. 16 lbs.; entered at value 157*l.*

Copper, British.—Exported:—unwrought, 77,497 cwts. 3 lbs.; coin, 2 cwts.; sheets, nails, &c., 79,994 cwts. 10 lbs.; wire, 13 cwts. 2 qrs. 18 lbs.; wrought copper of other sorts, 37,155 cwts. 1 qr. 19 lbs.; total of British copper exported, 194,612 cwts. 22 lbs.; smelted in the kingdom from foreign ore, 13,894 cwts. 1 qr. 18 lbs.

Tin.—Imported:—29,203 cwts. 1 qr. 8 lbs. Exported:—British, 31,837 cwts. 2 qrs. 3 lbs.; Foreign, 21,719 cwts. 3 qrs. 13 lbs.

Glass.—Quantities of flint and plate, broad, crown, and bottle glass charged with duty in the United Kingdom in each year, from 1826 to 1832; stated in cwts.

1826.—Flint glass, 71,625; plate, 12,958; broad, 8118; crown, 135,606; bottle, 422,544.

1827.—Flint, 75,087; plate, 14,807; broad, 7611; crown, 138,744; bottle, 418,268.

1828.—Flint, 82,494; plate, 17,684; broad, 6972; crown, 141,787; bottle, 430,799.

1829.—Flint, 79,250; plate, 14,484; broad, 6864; crown, 114,862; bottle, 382,894.

1830.—Flint, 72,942; plate, 13,301; broad, 4845; crown, 96,565; bottle, 340,793.

1831.—Flint, 75,619; plate, 15,067; broad, 5915; crown, 100,086; bottle, 293,868.

1832.—Flint, 75,771; plate, 12,270; broad, 5304; crown, 103,902; bottle, 316,365.

The amount of duty charged in 1832, was, on flint glass, 212,160*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*; plate, 36,810*l.*; broad, 7956*l.*; crown, 381,639*l.* 17*s.*; bottle, 109,328*l.* The drawback paid in the same period, was, on flint, 67,726*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*; plate, with allowance for lost metal, 3023*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.*; broad, nothing; crown, 65,120*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*; bottle, 53,765*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*

Shipping.—In the year 1832 there were built and registered in the several ports of the United Kingdom 759 vessels, the total tonnage of which amounted to 92,915; and also 33 steam vessels, of which the tonnage was 2851.

The number of ships entered inwards in the different ports of the United Kingdom, in 1832, was, of British, 13,372, the tonnage amounting to 2,185,980, and the men employed to 122,594: Foreign, 4546 ships, 639,979 tons, 35,399 men. Cleared outwards.—British, 13,292 ships, 2,229,269 tons, 128,293 men: Foreign, 4391 ships, 651,223 tons, 34,834 men.

Attorneys.—The number of certificates annually taken out by attorneys and solicitors practising in England and Wales has been during the following years, reckoning from Easter Term in each year, in 1819-20, 6764; 1820-21, 6930; 1821-22, 7090; 1822-23, 7353; 1823-24, 7618; 1824-25, 7894; 1825-26, 7928; 1826-27, 8193; 1827-28, 8430; 1828-29, 8624; 1829-30, 8908; 1830-31, 9016; 1831-32, 9083; 1832-33, 9221. The duty has increased during the above period, from 57,646*l.* in the first twelvemonth to 79,006*l.* in the last.

Bankruptcy.—The following is a list of the commissions of bankruptcy, sealed and opened, in the years from 1822 to 1832, both inclusive.

	Commissions sealed.	Town Commissions opened.	Country Commissions opened.
1822	1419	468	534
1823	1250	532	396
1824	1240	574	396
1825	1475	683	448
1826	3307	1229	1220
1827	1688	671	742
1828	1519	601	620
1829	2150	809	910
1830	1720	661	748
1831	1886	692	770
1832	1772	643	740

Church of Ireland.—Several accounts relating to the church of Ireland have been lately prepared under the direction of the Royal Commissioners appointed for inquiring into the Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in that part of the United Kingdom. One of these is a statement of the revenues of the different sees, from which we extract that part giving the net yearly produce of each see, and of the preferments annexed to it, on an average of three years ending 31st Dec., 1831, omitting pence and farthings. We add from another paper the gross number of acres in

statute measure, profitable and unprofitable, attached to each see, with the gross amount of rent received from tenants of all descriptions, whether holding in fee, or for terms of lives and years, or at will, or without lease. This rent, of course, forms part of the sum stated as the whole revenue of the see.

	Net Revenue.	Acres.	Rents.
Archbishop of Armagh . . .	14,494 ..	100,563 ..	4,634
Dublin	7,786 ..	34,040 ..	3,202
Cashel	6,308 ..	20,046 ..	2,100
Tuam	6,996 ..	86,899 ..	2,730
Bishop of	4,068 ..	29,269 ..	3,065
Meath	8,668 ..	22,591 ..	2,356
Clogher	4,204 ..	30,244 ..	1,352
Down and Connor . . .	12,159 ..	77,102 ..	2,593
Derry	5,052 ..	1,392 ..	1,451
Raphoe	6,225 ..	28,531 ..	1,537
Dromore	4,216 ..	18,422 ..	1,518
Kildare	6,061 ..	5,074 ..	2,629
Ossory	3,322 ..	21,730 ..	1,015
Ferns	5,730 ..	26,294 ..	2,096
Limerick	4,973 ..	12,985 ..	2,452
Waterford	3,933 ..	13,189 ..	2,493
Cork	3,901 ..	11,485 ..	1,471
Cloyne	4,091 ..	12,482 ..	1,341
Kilaloe	3,966 ..	16,765 ..	1,345
Elphin	6,263 ..	42,843 ..	2,044
Clonfert	2,970 ..	11,744 ..	543
Killala	3,410 ..	45,542 ..	1,280
	£128,808	669,247	£45,258

From another paper it appears that the gross income of the deans and chapters is 4266*l.*; that of the vicars' choral estates, 11,261*l.*; that of the minor canonicies, 762*l.*; and that of the economy estates (the funds appropriated to the repair of cathedrals, &c.), 7316*l.* The total income of these ecclesiastical corporations, therefore, is 23,606*l.*

Another paper has been printed containing an account of the respective values of the benefices in the several dioceses in Ireland. From this it appears that there are, in all, 1456 benefices or livings in the Irish church, of which 1, (in the diocese of Down,) is of the value of 2800*l.*; 10 are between 2000*l.* and 2600*l.*; 20 between 1500*l.* and 2000*l.*; 23 between 1200*l.* and 1500*l.*; 48 between 1000*l.* and 1200*l.*; 74 between 800*l.* and 1000*l.*; 148 between 600*l.* and 800*l.*; 281 between 400*l.* and 600*l.*; 386 between 200*l.* and 400*l.*; and 465 between 30*l.* and 200*l.*

Taxation.—Estimated gross and net amount of taxes repealed, expired, and reduced, and of taxes imposed in each year since the termination of the war.

	Repealed, Expired, or Reduced.		Imposed.	
	Gross.	Net.	Gross.	Net.
	£	£	£	s.
1814	948,861	932,827	288,685	0
1815	222,749	222,749	176,772	0
1816	17,886,666	17,547,365	392,058	0
1817	37,812	36,495	8,191	0
1818	9,524	9,504	1,356	0
1819	273,573	269,484	3,102,302	0
1820	4,000	4,000	119,602	0
1821	490,113	471,309	45,200	0
1822	2,164,037	2,139,101	—	—
1823	4,286,369	4,185,735	18,800	0
1824	1,805,467	1,801,333	49,605	0
1825	3,771,019	3,676,239	53,100	0
1826	1,973,915	1,967,215	188,953	0
1827	84,038	84,038	21,402	0
1828	52,227	51,998	1,966	10
1829	126,406	126,406	—	—
1830	4,264,425	4,070,742	696,004	0
1831	3,189,312	1,588,052	627,586	0
1832	754,996	747,264	44,526	0
	42,345,529	39,931,856	5,836,110	10

British Museum.—A return of all bequests, donations, and contributions made to the British Museum, from 1821 to March 1833, has been printed by order of the House of Commons. The principal gifts have been that of the library of George III., the cabinet of Greek coins of R. P. Knight, Esq., the coins and medals of George IV., a collection of Italian history and topography by Sir R. C. Hoare, a collection of architectural and other casts in plaster, formerly the property of Sir Thomas Lawrence, by the Royal Academy; and

a collection of thirty-five pictures, chiefly by able masters, by the late Rev. Wm. Holwell Carr. There are also enumerated twenty-six other accessions of minor value. The number of MSS. in the Museum in 1821 was 17,937, there are now 21,604. The number of charters in 1821 was 16,423, there are now 19,093. The number of volumes of printed books in 1821 was 115,925, there are now 218,957, and 14,410 duplicate volumes have been parted with.

Diplomatic Pensions.—The following is a list of the names of persons now receiving pensions for diplomatic services, with the length of service, the annual amount of present pension, and the aggregate amount of what has been paid to each person, as abstracted from a return presented to the House of Commons, which contains in addition the date of the grant of pension, the number of years it has been paid, and a statement of the capacities in which the holders have been employed.

Name.	Years' service.	Present annual pension*	Aggregate amount paid.
		£	£ s. d.
Arbuthnot, Right Hon. Charles . . .	33½	2056	8672 3 7
Adair, Right Hon. Sir Robert . . .	6½	2056	44843 12 10
Bagot, Right Hon. Sir Charles . . .	19½	1700	779 17 11
Cathcart, Earl	8½	1786	22535 19 8
Chad, George William	19	1300	295 2 3
Clancarty, Earl	11	1786	16074 0 0
Cockburn, Alexander	24	1516	17172 8 8
Cowley, Right Hon. Lord	28½	1786	4533 17 4
Crawford, Sir James	9½	886	25251 0 0
Douglas, Andrew Snape	20½	706	2924 0 0
Elgin, Earl of	11	1786	53133 10 0
Falcon, John	6	436	12317 0 0
Frere, Right Hon. J. H.	8	1516	40553 0 0
Frere, Bartholomew	18½	1066	12132 12 4
Hailes, Daniel	17	1000	31196 7 3
Hammond, George	34½	1066	25832 14 4
Hervey, Lionel	10½	1066	8262 10 0
Hamilton, Terrick	12½	706	6001 0 0
Heytesbury, Lord	26	1700	657 4 3
Keene, Charles	3	213	8520 0 0
Liston, Right Hon. Sir Robert . . .	30½	2056	37050 2 10
Mackenzie, Colin Alexander . . .	24	836	1801 17 10
Merry, Anthony	19	1516	39037 0 0
Morier, John Philip	19½	1516	16913 0 5
Morier, James	10½	976	11767 16 9
Morton, Earl of	13½	436	3488 0 0
Orford, Earl of	15½	706	5471 10 0
Onseley, Sir Gore	5½	1786	31255 0 0
Paget, Sir Arthur	13	1786	44650 0 0
Penrose, Rev. Thomas	½	213	4473 0 0
Pierrepont, Henry	5½	1066	26801 1 6
St. Helen's, Lord	19	2056	72553 1 2
Smith, John Spencer	8½	1066	27449 10 0
Strangford, Viscount	22½	2056	13550 9 1
Stuart de Rothesay, Lord	29½	2056	7373 0 0
Talbot, James	6½	526	15517 0 0
Taylor, Right Hon. Sir Brook . . .	30	1336	11173 0 9
Thornton, Right Hon. Sir Edward . .	25	1786	20872 7 0
Walpole, Thomas	13	706	25416 0 0
Werry, Francis Peter	13½	436	3815 0 0
Wickham, Right Hon. William . . .	6½	1066	29315 0 0
Willcock, Sir Henry	17	346	2076 0 0

* These pensions are, in several cases, increased pensions, those granted in the first instance having been smaller in amount; but the whole are included in the aggregate.

LONDON.—CHARLES KNIGHT, 22, LUDGATE STREET, AND 13, PALM-MALL EAST.		
Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following Booksellers:		
London, GROOMBRIDGE, Hull, Stevenson.	Plymouth, Nettleton.	
Panzer-alley, Pater-noster-row.	Jersey, Carre, jun.	Portsea, Horsey, jun.
	Leeds, Baines & Newsome.	Sheffield, Ridge.
	Lincoln, Brooke & Sons.	Shrewsbury, Tibham.
Bath, Simms.	Liverpool, Willmer & Smith.	Southampton, Fletcher.
Birmingham, Drake.	Llandovery, D. R. & W. Rees.	Lane End, Staffordshire, C. Watts.
Bristol, Westley & Co.	Lynn, Smith.	Worcester, Deighton.
Bury St. Edmunds, Lankester.	Manchester, Robinson; and Webb & Simms.	Dublin, Wakeman.
Canterbury, Marten.	Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Charnley.	Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
Cardiff, Thurnam & Scott.	Norwich, Jarrold & Son; and Wilkin & Fletcher.	Glasgow, Atkinson & Co.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.	Nottingham, Wright.	Aberdeen, Smith.
Devonport, Byers.	Oxford, Slater.	New York, Jackson.
Doncaster, Brooke & White.		Berlin and Petersburg, Asher.
Exeter, Baile.		
Falmouth, Philp.		

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THE POOR-LAWS.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Introduction	97	Proper Mode of Relief	104
Incidental Advantages of a Poor-Law	93	Necessity of an Improved and Uniform System in the Administration of the Poor-Laws	106
Provisions of the English Poor-Laws	100	Education	110
Defects in the English Poor-Laws	101	Tabular Accounts	111, 112

INTRODUCTION.

THE working of the poor-laws has at length taken so forcible a hold on the public mind, that it is easy to foresee that important changes in these laws must soon be made. It would be but a truism to remark that, when on the point of legislating, it is of great importance that the whole country should have before it a clear view of the facts and arguments of the case.

The question of the poor-laws,—that is, the question whether or not it is really wise and humane in society to undertake the care and relief of the indigent,—is one on which able, upright, and benevolent men have come to opposite conclusions. Thus it is that, at the present moment, while many excellent persons are strongly advocating the introduction of poor-laws into Ireland, others, with equally good motives, are not only opposing such a measure, but are condemning the existence of poor-laws altogether, and endeavouring to prepare the public mind for their repeal in this country.

The fact is, the question is one of such extent, and branches off in so many directions, that it is no easy matter to get that general view of it which is necessary to enable us to pronounce whether, *as a whole*, the institution is good or bad. For so much is there of good and of bad in the working of it, that any one who enters upon its examination, with an impression either in its favour or against it, will find plenty of materials to support his opinion.

The public is indebted for a vast amount of evidence, relating to the working of the poor-laws, to the laborious researches of different committees of both Houses of Parliament, and to those gentlemen who form the present Poor-Law Commission. We shall draw abundantly from the stock thus amassed.

The English poor-laws, as they now stand, were enacted somewhat more than two hundred years ago,—namely, in the year 1601, being the 43d year of the reign of Elizabeth. For many years previous, owing chiefly to the breaking up of the feudal system in the reign of Henry VII., by which the retainers of the great landed proprietors were dissevered in vast numbers from their ancient connexion, pauperism and crime (which almost always go together) had existed to a frightful extent in this country, and many ineffectual attempts had been made to suppress them. Punishment in its most appalling form had been tried in vain, not only on the malefactor, but on the mere beggar. In the year 1546 (1st of Edward VI.), a law was passed condemning any able-bodied man or woman, who should refuse to labour, and who should be idle for three days, to the punishment of being branded with the letter V, with a red-hot iron, on the breast, and adjudged the slave of the informer for two years. If, after this, he ran away from his master, he was, on being caught, to become his slave for life. Subsequently to this statute, another was passed (in the year 1572), by which begging, if by children under fourteen years of age, was punished, “in the first instance, by grievous whipping, and burning through the gristle of the right ear,” unless some creditable person would take the beggar into his service for a year; and if a vagabond, above eighteen years old, offended a second time, he was liable to suffer death as a felon, unless

some creditable person would take him into service for two years; and if he offended a third time, he was to be adjudged a felon.

As to the punishment of ordinary offences, such as theft, burglary, &c., no bounds appear to have been observed. Sir Frederick Eden, in his *History of the Poor*, says, when speaking of the state of things in the sixteenth century,—“Writers who contend that severity of punishment is not the best preventive of crime, are fully justified by the history of the period. Never were severe laws issued in greater abundance, nor executed more rigorously; and never did the unrelenting vengeance of justice prove more ineffectual. The prisoners for debt, in the different gaols in the kingdom, are stated by Mr. Hume, on the authority of an Act of Parliament passed in 1512, to have exceeded the number of 60,000; and Harrison, a writer soon after the period in question, assures us that the king (Henry VIII.) executed his laws with such severity that 72,000 ‘great and petty thieves were put to death during his reign.’ Harrison adds that, even in Elizabeth’s reign, ‘rogues were trussed up apace;’ and that there was not ‘one year commonly wherein 300 or 400 of them were not devoured and eaten by the gallows in one place and other.’”

That the numbers of executions just given are not exaggerated, is rendered probable by the fact that, great as they are, Harrison complains of the relaxation of the law, and regrets that so few rogues were punished in his time; and yet confirms, by his own statements, the numbers of deaths we have given.

To picture to ourselves the bloody work of the law (which Harrison thought insufficient) in its full extent, it is necessary to bear in mind that the population of the country three hundred years ago was much less than it is at the present time.

These accounts are strongly corroborated by a statement preserved by Strype, which was written by an eminent Justice of the Peace for Somersetshire in the year 1596. In enumerating the disorders which then prevailed in that county, the author informs us that 40 persons had there been executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; 35 burnt in the hand; 37 whipped; 183 discharged; that those who were discharged were most wicked and desperate persons, who never could come to any good, because they would not work, and none would take them into service: that, notwithstanding these great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to trial; and the greater number escaped censure, either from the superior cunning of the felons, the remissness of the magistrates, or the foolish lenity of the people: that the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to a perpetual watch of their sheepfolds, pastures, woods, and corn-fields: that the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somersetshire, and many of them were even in a worse: that there were at least 300 or 400 able-bodied vagabonds in every county who lived by theft and rapine, and who sometimes met in troops, to the number of sixty, and committed spoil on the inhabitants: that if all the felons of this kind were reduced to good subjection they would form a strong army: and that the magistrates were awed by the associations, and the threats of confederates, from executing justice on the offenders.

It is plain, therefore, that, at the time when poor-laws were introduced, the country, from whatever cause, was in such a condition, from the prevalence of beggary and crime, as to make the adoption of some measure for the alleviation of the evil a matter of absolute necessity. The poor-law of the 43d of Elizabeth answered at least this temporary purpose; and whatever may have been its effects on the whole,

an important consequence, which immediately followed from it, was undoubtedly the removal of much of the destitution which had previously existed, and of the lawlessness to which that destitution led.

The length of time, in the second place, during which a legal provision for the poor has now been established in England, and the extent to which the habits of the labouring classes have become moulded to an accordance with that system, will be admitted, we believe, by all reflecting persons, to oppose an insuperable obstacle in the way of any attempt to effect its abolition except by the most gradual process. No such scheme can be entertained by any one who is not prepared to see society thrown into entire confusion. We must plainly lay our account, therefore, with the existing of the poor-laws for a long time to come. Indeed, the period of their abolition, if ever it should arrive, must be determined by the extent of the moral and intellectual advancement of the great mass of the working people. They must perceive themselves, that the poor-laws interfere with their advancement, and keep them down in the scale of society, before the removal of these laws can be safely, or even justly, set about. The only mitigation of the evil, which can be prudently attempted at present, is a reform of the administration of the law, and of such of its provisions as may be amended without its principle being interfered with. This being the case, it may not be amiss for us, before we proceed further, to notice shortly a few of the incidental advantages which seem to belong to a poor-law, that we may be the better disposed to submit to the pressure which, whatever may be its amount, we cannot all at once shake off.

INCIDENTAL ADVANTAGES OF A POOR-LAW.

1. *A Poor-Law seems to create a strong motive in the wealthy classes to attend to the welfare of the poor.*

The state of Ireland may serve as an illustration of the complete separation that will sometimes take place between the landholders and the labourers of a country, and of the dreadful condition in which the latter may be consequently left, when the misgovernment which has created the causes of the division is not met and counteracted by this corrective. The following is an extract from Mr. Scrope's able work on that country:—

"A servile war has, indeed, been for some time raging in Ireland: a convulsed and desperate struggle of thousands for existence. Those who have undertaken the task of pacifying and improving that country are much mistaken if they think that the remission of church-rates, or the concessions they have made of a part of the Protestant church establishment, will go any way towards effecting their object. The tithe question—the church—the grand-jury laws—the more or fewer Catholics appointed to the sheriffalty or magistracy,—these are all topics for political agitation among idle mobs; but the midnight massacre—the daily plunder—the frequent insurrection—the insecurity of life and property throughout the agricultural districts of Ireland,—these are neither caused by agitation nor can be put down by agitation. They are the desperate efforts at revenge of a people goaded by want and misery to madness: they are the necessary and natural results of a state of the law, which allows the land-owners of a country at one time to encourage an excessive growth of the population on their estates, and at another, when the caprice seizes them, to dispossess all this population, and turn them out on the highways, without food, home, or shelter!

"That this is the true source of the horrible outrages which are now in almost daily perpetration in Ireland is proved beyond a possibility of doubt by an examination of the nature of these offences. Against whom are these sanguinary attacks and threats of attack for the most part levelled? The tithe-owners or their protectors? The magistrates and gentry? Excisemen or travellers? No! But against the 'land-takers,' as they are called—the *incoming tenants* of farms, whose former occupiers have been turned out to make room for them. Against those who, in the desperate competition for the occupation of land, as the only means of existence, outbid the herd of houseless wretches, and excite in them the same rabid jealousy as rouses a pack of gaunt and starving wolves against the one who may get possession of the morsel for which they are contending."

As a pleasing contrast to the conduct of many Irish land-owners, we will lay before our readers a statement of the truly benevolent exertions of the parish-officers of Oldham in Lancashire, on an occasion of unforeseen calamity to the

working classes. We extract from the Report of Mr. Henderson, one of the Poor-Law Commissioners:—

"The sound condition of Oldham is not attributable to uninterrupted prosperity. In the year 1826, in consequence of the failure of Saddleworth bank, the accidental burning of the Priory mills, and many of the factories ceasing to work, a large portion of the population was thrown out of employment and reduced to want. The poor-rates were doubled; and the select vestry made great efforts to meet the evil, sometimes assembling at twelve o'clock in the day, and sitting until three or four o'clock the following morning; and it was remarked that the relief administered by the select vestry was far more efficient than the subscription funds sent from London, and distributed through other hands. A well-organized system of relief has peculiar value in fluctuations such as these, to which manufacturing towns are extremely liable. The expenditure of the township was gradually reduced to its usual limits, as the difficulties of the times were surmounted. The poor-rate last year was 2s. in the pound, on a valuation of three-fourths of the rack-rent."

2. *The Poor-Laws put it in the power of society to check the rate of increase in population.*

The very opposite of the advantage here pointed out is often, indeed, justly laid to the charge of poor-laws; for it is said that these laws, by making a parent sure that his child will be provided for, act as a premium to improvident marriages.

The fact is, that almost anything, however excellent in its nature, may be perverted into an engine of mischief. As Bentham says, a loaf, shot from the mouth of a cannon, becomes an instrument of death. So, in the present case, if pauper parents are put under no discipline, and no part of the burden of the child is thrown on to their shoulders, they will surround themselves with families, without making any provision for their maintenance; and not only disproportionately increase the number of labourers, but exhaust the labour-fund in the shape of relief for want. In whole districts in this country, too, the restraint upon encumbering society with illegitimate children is very small. The mother is allowed to continue at large, and positively to receive more money every week for the support of the child than the child costs.

But suppose that principle of the poor-laws, which gives to society the control of those it is called upon to support, to be carried into full effect in all parts of the country—as it is to a certain extent in the best-regulated parishes—and then how do matters stand? Parents, who are giving birth to children they are unable to support, would be removed to a well-disciplined workhouse, separated, and made to work hard, until they had shown that they can be returned to society without becoming a burthen to it, either as regards themselves or their children. If this plan were always adopted, those who, without considering their means of providing for a family, would run headlong into marriage, thinking to throw the support of their children on their more prudent and industrious neighbours, would soon be stopped in their career, and made to feel the consequences of their attempt to defraud society.

In illustration of the better course of things in a well-regulated English parish, we will give an extract from the evidence of John Grey, Esq., before the Committee of the House of Lords appointed two years ago to inquire into the working of the poor-laws:—"Do marriages take place generally at a very early period?—Not very early. There is one check which I think is very salutary, the custom of being possessed of a cow. It is not considered a very reputable thing for a young man to marry, unless he can be so independent as to furnish a house and obtain a cow: when they are able to purchase a cow and furnish a house, they have a degree of independence which enables them to face the world and set up for themselves. It certainly does happen sometimes that there are early and improvident marriages, especially if there is a child in the way; that commonly ends in a marriage; but in such cases it is not unfrequent that there is that connexion between the master and servant, that the master may either lend him a cow of his own until he is able to get one, or give him a little assistance in purchasing it till he is able to work it out. I have done that, and prefer that mode, because it is desirable to let a man have a feeling of having a property of his own, for by so doing you encourage a spirit of independence."

3. *The Poor-Laws, rightly applied, afford an additional motive to the exercise of foresight and prudence, by making the reward of good conduct certain.*

Here again, as in the case of increase of population, the very opposite effect is often brought about by the unwise proceedings of parish officers and magistrates. In many parts of England, as we shall presently see more fully, a plan has been introduced, which, for its absurdity and demoralizing tendency, stands perhaps unrivalled. We refer to what is called the *allowance system*; which simply means an arrangement devised by certain country magistrates for securing to a pauper regular fixed wages every week, without the slightest regard to the man's character, his industry, or the value of his work. A pauper applies to the overseer for relief, and this is the kind of proceeding—"Have you a wife?—Yes. And how many children?—Five. Let me see: a man and his wife is nine shillings, and five children is seven shillings: that makes sixteen shillings. What wages are you getting?—Seven shillings a week, sir. Seven shillings? Hum! Seven from sixteen, leaves nine. There's your money. (Gives the man nine shillings.)"

This is no exaggeration of what takes place hundreds of times every week. But it is no more in the true spirit of the poor-laws to act in this way, or to treat all paupers alike, whatever be the cause of their poverty, than it might be to subject all criminals to the same punishment, whatever be the nature of their offence.

4. *The Poor-Laws withdraw temptation to crime, and give security to property.*

What we have said about the great decrease of crime in this country since the introduction of poor-laws, is here applicable; as are also our remarks on the vast amount of crime in Ireland at the present time.

When, in carrying forward the principle of the poor-laws, a good system of national education shall be established in this country, we may hope to see even the present amount of crime in England greatly reduced. The improvement in the public morals effected by education in some of the American states is most gratifying. It is the province of the poor-laws to step in, when, from any cause, whether from inevitable calamity or from sheer misconduct, a man is reduced to that state of destitution in which he is placed under great temptations to commit crime. For its own sake (to say nothing of the unhappy individual) society should take charge of any one of its members who has arrived at this point, unless the doing so is likely to bring others into the same situation.

There is much evidence in favour of the belief that the number of thieves is not very great. The person at the head of the police of the town of Birmingham informs us that the same set of offenders come through his hands time after time. He mentioned one case, in which a young woman had been committed to the county gaol *nine times in one year*. A cunning rogue, however, will not, he says, venture on more than two convictions in the same county—a third conviction being too frequently followed by transportation, a punishment not at all popular among thieves; after a second conviction, therefore, he generally moves his quarters to a neighbouring county.

The tax which society is silently paying in consequence of the existence of but a comparatively small number of thieves is enormous. How many thousands are there in this country who would gladly pay a yearly tax of ten, twenty, or fifty pounds, to be freed from the necessity of guarding against robbery! How much, too, would most kinds of property be increased in value, and how greatly would the daily transactions of life be facilitated, by any arrangement by which those who are likely to commit depredations should be placed under control!

5. *Mild punishments can be of little avail, unless either there is but little poverty in the country, or there is a provision for relieving the poor.*

It is evident that to a starving man, a prison in which he would be fed, clothed, and lodged, and required to work but moderately hard, would be anything but an object of fear. He would wish for admittance; and if he were not allowed to enter without going through the ceremony of breaking a law, the breach would soon be made. As it is, and even with an asylum provided for the poor, the dread of being placed in an English gaol, or of being sent to the hulks as a convict, is not always very great, as the following extracts from Mr. Chadwick's Report (pages 241—243) will show.—

Mr. Brown, one of the present overseers of Bethnal Green, stated that—

"It is quite common for the officers from the police-offices to come to our parish to inquire for bad characters against whom charges are made. The police-officers are well acquainted with their characters. It is the worst characters who generally raise tumults. They repeatedly tell me, that, by being sent to Bridewell, they are sure of getting plenty of food, and shall be sent out with clothes. I do not know what clothes are given to them there: but I have frequently seen them better dressed when they came out of prison, than they were when they were sent in. They frequently dare me to send them to Bridewell. There is no difference between the girls and the men; except that, of the two, the girls are the worst."

Mr. Charles Mott, the present contractor for the support of the poor of Lambeth parish, and who formerly contracted for the poor of Gosport, gave the following evidence:—

"I am sure, from conversations which I have had on the subject with the superintendent of convicts, that the convict receives more bread a-day than the pauper. Indeed, it is notorious at Gosport, where I have heard it descanted upon by many of the inhabitants, that the convicts receive one ounce of meat per day more than the soldiers set to guard them. I heard at Gosport, that the convicts being told to do something which they did not like, one of them exclaimed, in the presence of the military guard, 'What next, I wonder! d—n it, we shall soon be as bad off as soldiers.' The convicts ridicule the soldiers; and I have myself seen a convict hold up some food to the guard, saying, 'Soldier, will you have a bit?' Yet the operation of this system in gaols and workhouses was pointed out years ago, and it still continues. The convict's labour is proportionably slight.

"Do you find this state of things, as to punishment, react upon the workhouse?"

"Decidedly so; and most mischievously as to discipline and management. The paupers are well aware that there is, in fact, no punishment for them. From the conversation I have had with convicts, it is clear, that confinement in a prison, or even transportation to the hulks, is not much dreaded. 'We are better fed,' I have heard them say, 'have better clothes, and more comfortable lodging, than we could obtain from our labour;' and the greatest, in fact almost only, punishment they appear to dread, is being deprived of female intercourse. Some months since, three young women (well-known prostitutes) applied for relief at Lambeth workhouse; and, upon being refused, two of them immediately broke the windows. On the moment, the *three* were given into custody to the police; but recollecting that only *two* were guilty of breaking the windows, the beadle was sent to state the fact, and request from the overseer, that the innocent person might be discharged: she, however, declared that she would not be separated from her companions, and immediately returned to the house and demolished two or three more windows to accomplish her desire."

Nothing can be clearer than that the actual condition of the labouring man, who maintains himself and his family without assistance from the parish, ought always to be kept in view in regulating the allowance of food, and the different comforts, of criminals and of paupers. The quantity of food given to the pauper ought always to be less than that obtained by the independent labourer, and of a coarser kind; he should also be required to work harder than the free labourer, and in every other respect he ought to be in a worse condition. So again the prisoner, the man who has committed a moral offence, ought to be in a lower state of comfort than the pauper. All this, one would think, is as plain as possible; yet as we have seen, and as we shall have occasion to point out again, this order of things is frequently positively reversed. The root of the evil is the want of an uniform system, as well for those receiving parochial relief, as for prisoners. As regards both classes, there is the widest difference in different parts of the country.

6. *The Poor-Laws, if fully administered, may be made to supersede the necessity of other charitable institutions of almost every kind.*

There is unhappily no doubt that the effect produced by many of the numerous charities of this country is by no means one of unmixed good.

Charitable relief injudiciously applied acts as a reward to imposture, distracts the attention of the working man from

his own means of bettering his condition, creates discontent, and is in every way hurtful to society at large. It has been remarked by some traveller in Spain, that the convents at which alms are doled out without regard to the real merits of the applicants are always the centres of wretchedness. There is no doubt that the same effect is produced, to a certain extent, by some of the charities of this country. Some evidence relating to this matter appears in the report of the Lords' committee before referred to; and a good deal more has been met with by the present Poor-laws Commissioners.

The fact is that, unless there exists some ready test of a person's necessities, such as his willingness to enter a well-disciplined workhouse, and submit to hard work and spare diet, it is no easy matter to administer charity in a way that shall really promote the general welfare of the community. To perform the task of judiciously administering charity, it often demands a high degree of intelligence, a power of foreseeing distant effects, a capability of weighing evidence and sifting the truth, and lastly the power of keeping the feelings under the control of the judgment. Without these qualities in the dispenser of charity, there is great danger that he will be doing positive mischief. Some institutions, such as those for the blind, and the deaf and dumb, hospitals for the reception of the maimed, or those who are suffering from acute illness, together with schools for education without maintenance, are but little exposed to imposture; and are doubtless productive of great good. There are, however, many other kinds of charitable institutions, which, though highly honourable to the benevolent feelings of the supporters, and showing the greatest *desire* on their parts to do good, are nevertheless productive, we fear, of more evil than benefit.

The thing to be specially guarded against in relieving the misfortunes of others is *so acting as to turn that which was a misfortune, really into a source of advantage*. It is unnecessary to point out the mischief to which a departure from this rule is sure to give rise.

Now such institutions as we have mentioned are not exposed to this evil. No one will poke out his eyes or cut off his leg for the sake of getting into a blind asylum or an hospital. So with a well-regulated workhouse: if the diet is sparer and the work harder than that of the independent labourer, no one will covet admittance. But if, in consequence of a little illness, a lying-in, or a difficulty of finding work, a person gets money from one institution, clothes from another, and food from a third, besides perhaps small amounts of relief from ten or twenty private individuals, each ignorant of what the others have done, the object of all this charity may be much better off than if no illness had occurred, and there had been plenty of work to get for asking. The lesson thus taught is never forgotten. If once a man can "live by his misfortunes," misfortunes will come down upon him as thick as hail-stones; and in a wonderfully short time his neighbours will be found in a similar plight, and clamouring for the same "relief."

The following is taken from Mr. Chadwick's Report (pages 291 and 295.) The first extract consists of a reply to a question from Mr. Chadwick from the Rev. William Stone, rector of Spitalfields: a gentleman who appears to have become practically familiar with the administering of charity, and with all that relates to the welfare of his parishioners:

"Do you find many of the visitors competent to form a correct judgment as to the real wants of the poorer of the labouring classes?—I think that visitors are frequently mistaken; they are too apt to take into the houses of the poor their own standard of the value of money, and apply their own scale of personal and domestic comfort to *their* condition. I have known a visitor of our charities give an order for four bushels of coals, as the lowest proper amount of relief to a person of a class in which they obtain their own supplies only in pecks, or even in half-pecks."

Mr. Hewitt, the master of the workhouse of St. Andrew, Holborn, and St. George the Martyr, stated, "I am satisfied that the in and out-door paupers of this metropolis get by far the greater share of the charities in and about London, or else the greater part of them could not consume so much tobacco and other things, and return home intoxicated, and money in pocket." "What evidence have you that they obtain money from the charities?"—"I have searched them, and found not only money but charity-passes showing from whence they came, and tickets and other things belonging to the different voluntary charities."

Mr. Thorn, assistant-overseer of St. Giles', Cripplegate, examined:

"Have you any monies to dispense in charities within your parish?"—"We have about 1600*l.* per annum available to be given to the poor in our charities, according to the directions of donors. For the most part, the donations consist of bread, fuel, and clothing."

"What is the effect produced by the distribution of these donations?"—"We find that, a few weeks previous to the gifts being distributed, the people leave their work in search of them. There are always a great many more seekers of gifts than finders. Most of them by leaving their work neglect their families, and become really necessitous: those who are disappointed are irritated, and then demand relief as a right, the parish being called upon to make good their loss. Even those who have received relief always say, when they come to us afterwards, 'that, though it was very true they had received the gift, yet it had done them no good; they had lost so much time, and they had got into debt.' We employ some of the out-door paupers in carrying home the gifts of coals, and pay them liberally for doing so. These men, when they apply for relief, and are told, 'Why, we gave you money the other day!' say, 'It is very true; but then we were in debt to our landlord, or the Chandler-shopkeeper, and we were compelled to pay him when we returned from labour;' so they always calculate on the relief. After every season for the distribution of the gifts the applications for parochial relief are more numerous."

"During the time when the gifts are distributed, are the demands on the poor-rate reduced?"—"Not at all: in fact, when the effects of these charities are examined, as shown in our parish, it will be admitted by the most prejudiced person that they are a curse rather than a benefit. They were a great deal worse formerly, when settlements were to be obtained by forty days' residence in the parish, as it led numbers to endeavour to obtain settlements with us. I am sure that our parish has been considerably injured by them. I have long been of opinion that it would be of great advantage to have the funds of these charities applied directly in aid of the poor-rates."

The above evidence, and much more that might be given, goes to prove the importance of introducing a better system in the management of our charities. The fact is, that the only way in which frauds of this kind can be prevented, is by establishing a connexion between institutions of voluntary charity and those for regular and parochial relief; the whole being to a certain extent under the guidance of one central body. With a regulation of this kind, the assistance of those whose humane feelings prompt them to take part in the administration of charity, and who can command time for that purpose, might still be taken advantage of; and the public might be certain that every shilling subscribed for the relief of the unfortunate was wisely applied: they might also feel assured that an asylum was provided for every one who was really in destitute circumstances; and that, therefore, every person who attempted to obtain charitable relief on the plea of helpless misery *must necessarily be an impostor*.

Wherever there is a provision for the destitute we should say, "Clear the streets and roads of beggars, of drunkards, and of prostitutes; and place them, whether they wished it or not, in a place where they can neither annoy nor disgust: where they may be kindly treated, but where they shall be subjected to a discipline of labour and spare diet." Under such a system these miserable beings would in many cases change their character, and endeavour so to conduct themselves as to show that they might safely be restored to society.

The remainder of our subject we shall consider under the following heads:—

1st. The Provisions of the English poor-laws.

2nd. Defects in the English poor-laws, as well in their construction as in their administration; with the evils arising therefrom.

3rd. Tabular accounts showing the cost of the poor of England and Wales at several different periods; also, the comparative state of different parts of the country as regards pressure of poor-rates, &c.

PROVISIONS OF THE ENGLISH POOR-LAWS.

The object of the poor-laws, as expressed in the act of 1601, (43rd of Elizabeth,) is "to set the poor to work: to

relieve the lame, impotent, old, and blind, and to put out their children as apprentices." To attain this object, the inhabitants of every parish in the country are required to raise a fund sufficient to maintain their own poor; and a way is open to a pauper by which he can compel the parish-officers to relieve him.

The poor-rates are raised by a tax on all the *real* property (as it is improperly called) in the parish.* Real property is defined to mean land, and every thing attached to the land, as houses, canals, &c. The yearly value of such property being assessed, the occupier or tenant is required to contribute towards the support of the poor in proportion to the amount.

The parish officers, whose business it is to make the assessment, to collect the rates, and to take the charge of the poor, are chosen in part by the rate-payers, and in part by the magistrates of the parish. The appointment of the overseer, who is nominally at the head of the parish, as regards the administration of the poor-laws, always rests with the magistrates, excepting in cases where, by the provisions of a local act, the power has been taken out of their hands.

In the best managed parishes, the rate-payers place the powers entrusted to them in the hands of a small body, chosen by them from their own number and called sometimes the Select Vestry,† and sometimes the Guardians of the Poor. This body appoints the assistant overseers and other standing officers, fixes their salaries, and holds them to responsibility for the performance of their duties.

In other parishes there is an open vestry; by which is meant that the management of the concerns of the parish, instead of being put into the hands of a chosen body, is left to the great body of rate-payers, each doing as much or as little as he likes. The affairs of such parishes are generally wretchedly managed; and when, as is often the case, even the assistant overseer is not a paid and permanent officer, the whole business is usually a scene of confusion.

It remains to point out how it is determined to what particular parish a pauper belongs, and what are his means of enforcing relief. The *law of settlement* is one which gives rise to endless disputes. By the enactments regulating this matter, every person is made to belong to that parish in which he was born, unless he has subsequently served an apprenticeship in another parish, or been hired in service for a whole year, or has occupied a house rated at not less than 10*l.* a-year. Either of these gives a settlement; but a man cannot have two settlements at the same time; by acquiring a new one, he always loses his former settlement. When a pauper applies to the officers of a parish for relief, and it appears that he does not belong to that particular parish, the officers apply to the magistrates of the district for an *order of removal* to the parish in which the pauper was last settled. Should this order be disputed by the officers of the other parish, the question is carried before the next quarter-sessions for revision.

Bastardy.—In cases of bastardy, the law of settlement is frequently very mischievous in its operations, as we shall presently see. A bastard child, like any other, obtains its first settlement in the parish in which it was born; but the parish officers may obtain an order of removal for any woman, not belonging to their parish, who is in a state of pregnancy. If the woman does belong to the parish, then their interest is to hunt out the man, and if he belongs to another parish, to frighten him or bribe him into marrying the woman. If they succeed in this, they can then get rid of the woman, (for the husband's settlement always extends to his wife,) and be secure against being burthened with the child. Parish officers have been known to go to the expense of a license, when time would not admit of the publication of banns, or when they feared the man would escape.

In many parts of the country the oath of the woman is considered sufficient evidence of the identity of the father. This regulation gives rise to the grossest perjury and injustice. Cases will be cited presently.

Enforcement of Relief.—If, for any cause whatever, an

* By law some kinds of moveable or *personal* property are subject to the poor-rate. But in practice such property is seldom if ever assessed.

† Much misunderstanding has arisen from the terms *select vestry* being used, not only in the sense just applied, but also to designate self-elected bodies like those at the head of some of the London parishes.

overseer or assistant-overseer refuse to grant relief to a pauper applying for it, any neighbouring magistrate may, on the application of the pauper, summon the overseer to appear before him, and state his reasons for refusing relief: if the magistrate be not satisfied with these reasons, he may *compel* the overseer to grant the relief applied for, during one month from that time; and if at the end of the month the overseer should again refuse, the magistrate may grant a new order, and so on. The exercise of this right of magistrates to interfere with the parish officers has, in country parishes, been carried to a very great extent; and, as we shall presently see, has been productive of endless mischief.

There are many other provisions in the English poor-laws, such as that for obliging parents to support their pauper children, and children their pauper parents, &c.; but the clauses we have mentioned are the most important.

DEFECTS IN THE ENGLISH POOR-LAWS.

Without disputing the soundness of the general principle of compulsory relief to the poor, the questions to be considered are, what description of persons ought to be relieved? what should be the nature and extent of such relief? how ought the necessary funds to be raised? and under whose control should they be disbursed? In examining each of these points, we find much in the English system of poor-laws that cries aloud for amendment. We shall consider the two first questions together.

What description of persons ought to be relieved? and what should be the nature and extent of such relief?

We have already intimated our opinion, that a regimen of hard work and coarse food should be provided for all who choose to accept it; and not only for these, but for all who cannot show that they are earning an honest livelihood, whether they are inclined to submit to the discipline or not. Such men are not safe members of society; they are constantly exposed to strong temptation to crime; and it must always be borne in mind, that by some means or other, either by begging or stealing, such persons are, in fact, living on society. Society does not and cannot escape from the cost of their maintenance: and the only question is, how can they be maintained with the least cost to society, and with the best prospect of their own reform?

In answer to this question we reply, and we think most of our readers will agree with us, that this object can be best attained by subjecting the destitute to strict, but kind treatment—by enforcing the regular performance of hard bodily labour—by withdrawing stimulating food of every kind—by the adoption of a judicious system of encouragement and advice as soon as amendment begins to show itself. This we maintain to be the best and the *cheapest* way for society to go to work with the idle, the drunken, and all who are destitute in consequence of their own misconduct—hard work and spare diet for the body, and for the mind, the alternate use of remonstrance, friendly counsel, and sympathizing interest.

Such is the treatment which experience has shown to be the best for the idle and the vicious. But for the poor of another class—for those who have been struck down by a power beyond their own control, or against which no common prudence or foresight could have protected them—a very different management should be adopted. These latter should, wherever it is practicable, be kept quite separate from the idle, the vicious, and the drunken; not only is it desirable that they should occupy distinct rooms, but, if possible, they should live in separate buildings, and in different quarters of the town. Every regard, consistent with economy, should be paid to their feelings. The husband and wife should not be kept apart, nor should they be debarred from the occasional society of their children. Relief may, indeed, often be safely given to paupers of this class at their own homes, or work provided at which they may, without degradation, earn sufficient wages to procure the necessaries of life. In all arrangements, however, even for this class of the poor, the condition of the independent labourer must be steadily kept in view. To whatever degree our sympathies may be excited, it is unwise, nay, it is unjust to the independent labourer, to raise beyond a certain point the condition of the helpless.

The standard of the comfort of the man who earns his own bread, ought always to be in advance of that dependent on others. Before society ventures to increase the comforts of

the latter class, let it first see that the independent labourer has risen in the scale of comfort and happiness.

We will now see how far the principles just laid down are abided in granting relief to paupers in many parts of this country.

In the first place it is notorious, that numbers of beggars and prostitutes are to be found in most of our roads and streets; it is also tolerably certain that many of them would not, if allowed the choice, accept of a permission to enter a well-regulated workhouse; and that the mere knowledge that they should be placed there, if they did not change their mode of life and look out for honest work, would of itself greatly reduce their number. However numerous the remainder might be, it would be better to support them in a house than allow them to remain at large: in other words, it would be better to maintain them in a cheap way than in a dear way. But is this the usual mode of proceeding? On the contrary, are not our streets and roads allowed to harbour beggars, drunkards, and harlots, to the injury of public morals, the encouragement of impostors, and to the restriction of the personal liberty of the virtuous female? No one can hesitate in the reply, and few we hope can differ from us as to the remedy to be applied.

Let us now inquire what plan is followed in the treatment of the applicants for parish relief. Is it made to depend on the past and present conduct of the pauper, and on the condition of the independent labourer? Is the treatment in all cases such as to make a man earnestly desire to cease to be a pauper, and maintain himself and his family by his own efforts? Is it such as to correct the habits of the idle, the drunken, and the vicious? To all these questions we are compelled to answer in the negative, as regards the greater part of the country. A most absurd and mischievous arrangement has been adopted in the whole of the south of the island, in many of the midland counties, and in some districts in the north, by which the question of character is altogether set aside; the idle and the industrious, the virtuous woman and the prostitute, the rogue and the honest man—all are treated alike; except, indeed, that the most insolent and turbulent are generally best served.

The Allowance System.—The most disastrous system, to which we have already referred, and which is called the *allowance system*, originated in an order published by the magistrates of Berkshire in the year 1795. It is very probable that the error made by these magistrates sprang from good motives; but it betokened, it must be confessed, a most profound ignorance of the principles of sound government. The order was to this effect:—every labourer who received wages below a certain scale (drawn out by the magistrates) might require the overseers of his parish to make them up to that scale, on his showing that he had nothing but his wages to live on. It may readily be conceived what evils must have been created by this plan of laying down a rule of relief, to be abided by without regard to the character of the applicant, or the means of the rate-payer. It is evident in the first place, that, under this system, unless a man does work enough to get higher wages than those on the allowance scale, he may (as regards the amount of wages) just as well do no work at all; for all that he gets will be deducted from his allowance; whereas every hour's hard work ought to better a man's condition.

In some places the scale of allowance is so high, and consequently the inducement to work so low, that the greater part of the parishioners are positively living in idleness, whilst men from other parishes are hired to do the work. A man will frequently do work by stealth, and thus get a full allowance and wages to boot; or he will get a false statement of his wages from his employer; the farmer and pauper dividing the difference between them. Sometimes he will deceive the overseers as to the number of his children; for his wages, according to the allowance scale, increase with every additional child,—which increase is, in some parishes, so large as to more than cover the cost of the child's maintenance. In fifty different ways then is this absurd allowance system destructive of the morals of the people, to say nothing of the effect on the *property* of the community at large.

After these introductory remarks, our readers will be prepared for the following description of the state of things at Ely in Cambridgeshire, extracted from Mr. Cowell's Report, page 386.

"Ely is divided into two parishes; of which Trinity contains 4325, while the total population is 6189.

"The amount of rates, 3970*l.*, and of charities about 1200*l.* per annum.

"The bench of magistrates meet once a year at Michaelmas, and call before them all the overseers, and say to this effect: 'We have considered the price of things, and shall recommend 1*s.* 6*d.* for a child, &c. We shall make order according to this scale, and we think it may save trouble to you and ourselves to tell you so at once.' Mr. Bishop and I examined eight or ten persons, being overseers and vestrymen. They described themselves as having no chance whatever against a pauper before a magistrate; declared unanimously that they were disgusted with applying to magistrates in any case, however flagrant; and as finding it, by experience, to be the best way to settle as well as they could with a pauper claimant, without permitting him to summon them.

"They pay the parish paupers every Wednesday, from six to nine o'clock in the evening, who are so turbulent and violent, that they are obliged to have a constable always present for their personal protection. Relief is independent of character, and they make no inquiry as to whether the wants of the applicants are real or simulated; guiding themselves, in giving or withholding relief, in every particular case, by their conjectures as to the probability of the magistrates ordering it or not.

"The following was given us as a specimen of the way in which applications were made and disposed of.

"'I want my money.'

"'How much have you earned?'—'Four shillings.'

"'How many children have you?'—'Six.'

"'Well, here are six eighteen-pences for you.'

"We inquired what, if the man had said he earned nothing, instead of 4*s.*, they should have given him.—13*s.* instead of 9*s.* We inquired if they could assign any reason why the man earned or acknowledged earning 4*s.*—None.

"Publishing the names of paupers is rather detrimental than otherwise. Those who are not receiving relief, read the names of those who are, and come immediately and apply for 'their money'; and if they do not receive it, abuse the overseers, and say they will have them up before their betters.

"There is quite work enough in the parish for all the population; the labour of which, however, under the system above described, is insufficient, and recourse is had to ex-parishioners, whose wages are half as much again as those of the native population, owing to their superior conduct, accounted for by their having no dependence except on character and ability.

"A pauper named Sutton returned to the parish with his wife and child, having been away some time, and applied for relief and clothes for himself and family. The overseers, suspecting that he possessed clothes, managed to get him and his wife out of the room, keeping his little girl in, and then asked the child where her Sunday frock was. She answered, that it was locked up in a box at Cambridge with other things. Here the mother came in to call the girl out, but the overseers would not let her go, whereupon the father Sutton came in with a bludgeon, and seized the child by the arm. The overseers held her, but the father pulling her so as to hurt her, they let her go, and he took her out and beat her violently. He then returned, demanding relief, which they refused. He abused them dreadfully, threatening to rip up one, burn the town, &c. and behaved with such violence that they were compelled to have him handcuffed and his legs tied, and he was wheeled in a barrow to the magistrate, where they charged him with assault. The magistrate asked whether they could swear they were in bodily fear of Sutton, and they replying that they were not, he dismissed the charge, and ordered Sutton relief."

That the melancholy and demoralizing state of things just described is not necessarily connected with the poor-laws is proved by a few simple facts. 1. Although the poor-laws apply to the whole of England, there are many parts in which the allowance system is unknown. 2. From several parishes, into which the allowance system had been introduced, it has subsequently been driven out, and the people brought back to a condition worthy of the character of the English peasantry. 3. The poor-laws were, in their present form, introduced into England in the year 1601; the allowance system was a device of 1795: so that of the 232 years during which the present poor-laws have existed, the allowance system has defaced them during thirty-eight years only.

And here we may remark how frequently one evil brings others in its train; and, therefore, how important it is to keep in the simple track of justice. The real cause of the introduction of the allowance system into England (joined with the ignorance of those who originated it) was the violent change in the value of money which took place about forty years ago; and later changes, of equal or perhaps greater violence, have done much towards extending the use of this system. At the time in question (1795), money was rapidly falling in value,—in other words, prices were rising. Now, it unfortunately happens that wages, which, like everything else, ought to rise and fall with the value of money, change very slowly either in one way or the other. Thus, in the time we are speaking of, bread and meat were getting dearer faster than wages were rising, so that the labouring man was in great distress; and this it was, probably, that induced the Berkshire magistrates to attempt to regulate wages: in doing which they planted a deadly weed which has since spread over a great part of the country.

Again, the more recent changes in the value of money have, by greatly raising the farmer's rent, &c., thrown him in many cases into great difficulties; and his distress at length reaching the labourer, new motives have offered themselves to the unreflecting for extending the allowance system.

In justice, however, to those who have either introduced or propagated the allowance system, it must not be forgotten that a great deal of the blame lies with the country at large, in not providing an efficient system of police to protect life and property from the turbulent and lawless. Many of those who have the administration of the poor-laws are fully aware of the dreadful evils of the allowance system: they see that, in many places, it is hurrying both themselves and the labourers to ruin; but it requires no ordinary courage and firmness to take a step which would, in many cases, put their property and lives in peril.

The following is the pleasing picture of a parish redeemed from the state of degradation into which the allowance system had reduced it. It is taken from Mr. Cowell's Report, p. 388. The parish is that of Bingham, Nottinghamshire; and the gentleman to whom the honour of the reform is due, is the Rev. Mr. Lowe, incumbent of the parish. Mr. Lowe began the good work in the year 1818. The year before, the poor-rates were 1200*l.*, the population being 1500. An immediate effect was produced on the amount of the rates, as is shown by the following table:—

1817	.	.	1206
1818	.	.	984
1819	.	.	711
1820	.	.	510
1821	.	.	338

Such was the change in the cost of the poor; and we have no doubt that, if a scale could be drawn out, showing the real comfort and happiness of the inhabitants generally, it would be found that those advanced quite as rapidly as the poor-rates fell off. The present amount of the rates is 450*l.* The population of Bingham has, however, increased somewhat; and, of course, Bingham cannot escape the causes of agricultural distress, beyond the reach of local reforms.

"The Rev. Mr. Lowe became the incumbent of this parish in the year 1814; he is a magistrate, and resides on his living. He found it in a terrible state. In the year 1817 there were more than forty inmates in the workhouse; seventy-eight receiving constant weekly pay out of it; and, for the twelve weeks ending the 27th of June that year, I [Mr. Cowell] counted the number of roundsmen in the parish books, and found it amount to 103.

"The state of morals was that which invariably accompanies this manner of administering the poor-laws. The labourers were turbulent, idle, dissolute, profuse; scarcely a night passed without mischief; and in the two years preceding 1818, seven men of the parish were transported for felonies. The poor, to use the words of my examiners, Mr. Lowe, and Deane the overseer, were completely masters.

"In 1818-19, Mr. Lowe undertook to remedy this state of things. Being satisfied that it proceeded entirely from the operation of the poor-laws, and that there was no cause, independent of their influence, to prevent his parishioners from being happy, honest, and industrious, and knowing that it was impossible to refuse relief, according to the practice and custom of the country, he devised means for rendering relief itself so irksome and disagreeable that none would

consent to receive it who could possibly do without it; while at the same time it should come in the shape of comfort and consolation to those whom every benevolent man would wish to succour—the old, infirm, idiots, and cripples. For this purpose, he placed in the workhouse a steady, cool-tempered man, who was procured from a distance, and was not known in the parish, as master, refused all relief in kind or money, and sent every applicant and his family at once into the workhouse. The fare is meat three times a week, soup twice, pudding once, milk porridge five times.

"Surely no man who says that he cannot maintain himself, wife, and children, by the sweat of his brow—who declares that he is starving—who applies for charity—has a right to complain of being placed in a clean and comfortable house, of having a good bed to sleep on, and such fare every day as I have described above; and had Mr. Lowe stopped here, matters would not have been much mended. But the applicant who entered the workhouse, *on the plea that he was starving for want of work*, was taken at his word, and told that these luxuries and benefits could only be given by the parish *against work*, and in addition, that a certain regular routine was established, to which all the inmates must conform. The man goes to one side of the house, the wife to the other, and the children into the school-room. Separation is steadily enforced. Their own clothes are taken off, and the uniform of the workhouse put on. No beer, tobacco, or snuff is allowed. Regular hours kept, or meals forfeited. Every one must appear in a state of personal cleanliness. No access to bed-rooms during the day. No communication with friends out of doors. Breaking stones in the yard by the grate [piece], as large a quantity required every day as an able-bodied labourer is enabled to break.

"What is there in all this of which an applicant for a portion of the property of others, *on the ground that he is starving*, has any right to complain? He has a better house over his head, better clothes on his back, better and more palatable food to eat, better medical advice, than nine-tenths of the peasantry of Germany, France, Switzerland, and Italy, and he is not required to do harder work. But the monotony, the restraint, the want of stimulants, the regularity of hours, are irksome to the pretended pauper. He bethinks himself of liberty and work, and work he will find, if there is a job undone in the parish or neighbourhood within a day's walk. No man stood this discipline for three weeks. After a struggle which lasted a few months, the paupers of Bingham gave the matter up. The inmates of the workhouse dropped from forty-five to twelve, who were all either old, idiots, or infirm, and to whom a workhouse is really a place of comfort. The number of persons relieved out of the workhouse dropped from seventy-eight to twenty-seven. The weekly pay from 6*l.* to 1*l.* 16*s.* to pensioners, all of whom are old and blind, or crippled. These are permitted to live with their relations, as such instances of relieving out of the workhouse produce no mischief.

"Wages rose to twelve shillings a week, winter and summer, all the year through; the labourer husbanded his resources, took a pride and pleasure in his cottage, and resumed his rank in the scale of moral being.

"The effect of this system is far more important in a moral point of view, than in a pecuniary or an economical one. The conduct and habits of the population of Bingham, according to the representations of Mr. Lowe and Deane, and by the consent of the neighbourhood, are now as different from what they were fifteen years ago, as can be conceived; no crimes, no misdeeds, no disturbances."

The example set by Mr. Lowe, in the reform of Bingham, has been followed in other places with equal success; and reforms, on a more extensive scale, have in the course of the last few years, been effected in Liverpool, Birmingham, Derby, Oldham, and other large towns. In some of these (as we shall show when considering the effects of superior parochial government), the cost of the poor has been greatly reduced, even with an increasing population; and this reduction of the burthen to the rate-payers has been brought about without any sacrifice of the real interests of the poor—nay, to their great benefit.

Bastardy.—The provision for bastard children forms, to a certain extent, a branch of the allowance system. We have already given some explanation of the state of the law of bastardy. The burthen of the support of a bastard child, like that of any other child, falls by law on the parents—the parish being required to provide for the child only in case of extreme indigence on the part of the parents; the

parish, in that case, having the power to prosecute the father and mother for the offence which has brought a burthen upon it. Now, there is nothing objectionable in the *principle* of the law, as just laid down, but the *practice* is bad enough. The parents are seldom punished in any way whatever; and the allowance to the mother for the support of the child is often greater than that afforded to the widow for her legitimate offspring,—nay, the mother of a bastard child is often the better off for her offence; *she frequently receives more than the child costs her*: her children, therefore, become a source of income to her, and make her an object to be scrambled for in marriage by the young fellows of her parish.

The following extract from Mr. Cowell's Report of the parish of Swaffham, in Norfolk, (page 393,) will show that our picture is not overdrawn. The Reports from the other Commissioners, as also that of the Lords' Committee in 1831, abound in similar matter; and here we may observe that the evidence given in the Report of the Lords' Committee has been very generally confirmed by the Poor-Law Commissioners. Several of the facts we have extracted from the Commissioners' Report might have been taken from that of the Lords' Committee.

"A woman in a neighbouring parish had five illegitimate children, for whom she was allowed 10s. per week, and 6s. for herself. Finding herself pregnant for the sixth time, she employed a man to go round to various persons with whom she might or might not have had connexion, to acquaint each of them separately with the fact of her pregnancy, and of her intention of swearing the child to him unless he consented to send her a sum of money, when she would engage to swear it to some one else. Her demands for this hush-money ranged as high as 10*l.* in some instances. The first man to whom her ambassador applied gave him 10*l.* The ambassador returned, and represented to his employer that the man had laughed at her threat, but had sent her half-a-crown, out of which he thought she ought to give him 1s. 6*d.* for his trouble. To this she consented; so he benefited 9*l.* 19*s.*, and she 1*s.* by this first negotiation. She carried on this course with several persons with various success, and at last swore the child to a man who resisted, and on his appeal succeeded in getting the order on him quashed. The case was tried at Swaffham, where the above circumstances came to light in court.

"This woman was never punished. She gave birth to her child, was allowed 2*s.* for it by the parish, and is now in the receipt of 18*s.* per week, the produce of successful bastardy adventures.

"My informant in this and the following instance was Mr. Sewell, clerk to the magistrates at Swaffham.

"A woman of Swaffham was reproached by the magistrate, Mr. Young, with the burdens she had brought upon the parish, on the occasion of her appearing before him to present the parish with her seventh bastard. She replied, 'I am not going to be disappointed in my company with men to save the parish.' This woman now receives 14*s.* a week for her seven bastards, being 2*s.* a head for each. Mr. Sewell informed me that, had she been a widow with seven legitimate children, she would not have received so much by 4*s.* or 5*s.* a week, according to their scale of allowance to widows. A bastard child is thus about 25 per cent. more valuable to a parent than a legitimate one. The premium upon want of chastity, perjury, and extortion, is here very obvious; and Mr. Sewell informed me that it is considered a good speculation to marry a woman who can bring a fortune of one or two bastards to her husband. Mr. Sewell had never known in the course of his experience but two women punished for having illegitimate children. The profligacy in this neighbourhood is very great."

It is needless to expatiate on the utter incapacity of men under whose management such a state of things as this could arise. What can be more simple than that if you give a premium for incontinence and perjury, incontinence and perjury will be created? The conclusion, however, to be drawn from the facts just given, and from a hundred others of a like kind, is, that the administration of the poor-laws ought to be placed in the hands of men who are chosen *because of their fitness for office*—who have some knowledge of human nature and of the springs of action, and who are held responsible for the performance of their duties. The extent of bastardy, in any particular district, like that of most of the other evils we have considered, depends more on the intelligence or ignorance of those who

administer the poor-laws than on anything else. As one among many proofs of this, we may mention Burghfield parish, near Reading, where the introduction of a superior parochial government was quickly followed by a reduction to one-half in the number of births of bastard children.

PROPER MODE OF RELIEF.

Having now pointed out some of the many evils resulting from the relief by allowance, it appears advisable to state in what manner it seems most eligible to afford relief. In rendering relief, the three things to be constantly kept in mind are, 1st, a strict economy of the funds of the rate-payers; 2dly, the moral improvement and real welfare of the pauper; 3dly, the effect of the treatment of the pauper on the independent labourer.

We have already spoken of the treatment of paupers in workhouses. According to their character, conduct, and past character, the discipline should approach that of the prison in severity, or place the inmate in a situation not very far inferior to that of the independent labourer. The most difficult part of the duty of a parish officer, however, is the relief of out-paupers—so various are the ways in which he may be imposed upon. The out-pauper may be getting higher wages than he states, or he may be able to get work which he refuses to take, or he may be wasting part of his income at the gin-shop, or he may be receiving relief from some charity, or from another parish. In any one, or in all these ways, the out-pauper may be deceiving and defrauding.

What are the precautions to be taken against all this? In the first place, we should say that, excepting under very peculiar circumstances, such as a sudden and unforeseen calamity causing general and severe distress, no person ought ever to receive relief out of the workhouse, unless the overseer fully believes him to be a sober, honest, and industrious man. If there be any doubt of his character, he should be immediately placed in the workhouse, where (under good arrangements) he can be compelled to work, and has no opportunity of abusing the parish relief by buying gin, &c. Even those who may be safely trusted to receive relief at their own homes should not obtain it in *money*. That most tempting commodity, money, ought never to get into the hands of a pauper; for if it is to be of real service to his family, the man must exchange the money for bread and clothes: then why not keep him out of temptation by giving him food and clothes at once? Independently of this, relief in kind is the cheapest; for surely a parish can, under tolerable management, buy and cook more economically than a man who has only a few shillings to expend. In a later part of our article, we shall (in speaking of the advantage of incorporating small parishes) give some valuable evidence on the saving that may be effected by providing for people in large numbers. Relief then, we repeat, should always be given in kind, never in money. Another regulation we venture to recommend, is, to have the food, clothing, &c., carried round to the houses of the paupers, and delivered to the *wife*, who is almost always a better manager than the husband, and more anxious for the comfort of the children. With this arrangement, too, there would be no chance of a man's getting supplied by two parishes at the same time. Again, the fact of his receiving relief would be generally known to the charitable in the neighbourhood; moreover, the man's own day would not be broken into by his having to fetch his parish allowance, nor would he be brought into association for a couple of hours every week with numbers of other paupers.

In no case, except that of sickness, should relief be afforded without a full quantity of work, of some kind or other, being previously done. In many parishes, the cost of the paupers has been considerably reduced by the work performed by them. In the workhouse of Shardlow parish, Derbyshire, for example, the able-bodied poor, according to Mr. Pilkington's Report, very nearly earned the cost of their maintenance last year. If the out-paupers did nothing more than keep the streets and roads clean in wet weather, and well watered in hot, dusty weather, they would be doing something which would add very much to the comfort of the inhabitants of our towns and villages. The out-paupers might also do a great deal towards protecting the health of the town by draining, removing heaps of manure, whitewashing, cleaning, &c. The state of our towns and villages, when the fear of the cholera roused attention to these matters, showed how much labour might be profitably employed in

the way we have pointed out. But the greatest advantage derived from the plan of hard labour is the ready test it affords of a pauper's necessities. The principal instrument in effecting the parochial reforms we have spoken of has been *work*; and any relaxation has been followed by an increase in the numbers of paupers.

The following is taken from Mr. Henderson's Report from Liverpool, page 346. Mr. Henderson is speaking of the way in which the reform of parish affairs there was carried into effect,—a reform which, in the space of two years, reduced the amount of poor-rates from 41,000*l.* to 23,000*l.* This took place in the years 1821 and 1822.

"This change was brought about by a thorough investigation of all the cases on the parish books: the parties receiving relief were examined, and the circumstances under which they first became chargeable were carefully scrutinized, by which means numerous impositions were detected, and the parish was enabled to reduce or withdraw many of the allowances. Great exertions were also made to provide work for able-bodied paupers: the vestry at one time contracted to fill up part of an old stone quarry, and make a road over it; at another to cultivate by spade labour a large tract of ground called the Rector's Fields; and at another time to level, for the sum of 1000*l.*, a large rock near the workhouse, on the site of which the Infirmary has since been built. Thus they set to work all able-bodied applicants for relief, and also turned all able-bodied men out of the workhouse, paying them one shilling a day to provide themselves, and exacting a good day's work in return. Many under this system, who had been for years in the workhouse, quitted it, and eventually found employment for themselves elsewhere."

Mr. Chadwick gives the evidence of some of the assistant-overseers of London parishes, on the necessity of providing work for out-paupers. The following is that of Mr. Luke Teather, assistant-overseer of St. Mary, Lambeth:—

"If you could get hard work for your able-bodied out-door poor, so as to make their condition on the whole less eligible than that of the independent labourer, what proportion of those who are now chargeable to the parish do you think would remain so?—On a rough guess, I do not think that more than one out of five would remain."

"Can you state any facts to justify that conclusion?—Yes: the instances of the proportions who have left us on their having had work given them. Some time ago, for instance, we had a lot of granite broken; there were not above twenty per cent. of the men who began the work who remained to work at all; there were not above two per cent. who remained the whole of the time during which the work lasted. Many of them, however, were not idle men; but they found other jobs."

"With the view of reducing the parochial expenditure of the populous parish of Marylebone, the stone-yard was discontinued, as it was believed to be conducted at a loss, and the able-bodied paupers receiving out-door relief were no longer employed. Soon after this proceeding, the able-bodied applicants for parochial relief increased in such numbers, that it has recently been found necessary to recur to the use of the stone-yard to stem the influx. Nine hundred of the applicants for relief were set to work; only eighty-five have continued at work. The average wages were from 10*s.* to 12*s.* per week, but some got as much as 18*s.*"

The evidence of the Rev. Thomas Wheatey, before the Lords' Committee, is very strong on the advantages of providing work for the poor. Mr. Wheatey is speaking of Cookham parish, Berkshire:—

"The system of management introduced by the select vestry of the parish of Cookham has been attended with very beneficial effects, both to the rate-payer and to the poor. To the former it has saved in eight years up to Lady-day last, compared with the preceding eight years, no less a sum than 15,008*l.* To the latter it has been equally beneficial, by introducing habits of frugality, industry, and providence, which have been strongly marked by their beneficial effects. Only one bastard child has been registered in either of the two last years. The system is simple, and may be accommodated to the circumstances of most agricultural parishes. Its leading features are the employment of the able-bodied poor, who apply for relief, at low wages and at hard work by the piece, showing them that the parish is the hardest task-master and the lowest pay-master they can apply to. Never giving any thing in aid of labour, rent, or rates. Dividing the paupers in the workhouse into two classes; the old, infirm, and impotent form the first; the idle, impro-

vident, and vicious constitute the second. To the former is allowed an ample supply of butcher's meat and other suitable food; to the second class nothing but bread and cheese. None are allowed to absent themselves from the workhouse, or to receive visitors within its walls, without an express and written order from an overseer.

"Every possible encouragement is given to honest industry, providence, and frugality, by the establishment of a saving-bank, a friendly society, a lying-in-charity, and all other means that can be devised. Young persons going to service are allowed an outfit of clothes; and a member of the friendly society is always received by the select vestry with marked attention. I cannot help adding that, during the late troubles, there has been no fire, no riot, no threatening letter in the parish."

Mr. Chadwick's Report bears evidence of the happy effects on the comforts and moral welfare of the inhabitants of Cookham, produced by these and other arrangements introduced by Mr. Wheatey:—

"In Cookham, where the change was the most extensive, the parochial expenditure was reduced from 3133*l.* to 1155*l.* and the general condition of the labouring classes improved. Mr. Russell, the magistrate of Swallowfield, stated to me, that in riding through Cookham he was so much struck with the appearance of comfort observable in the persons and residences of some of the labouring classes of that village, that he was led to make inquiries into the cause. The answers he received, determined him to exert his influence to procure a similar change of system in Swallowfield."

We may here remark how true it is with voluntary charities as with compulsory relief, that their good or bad effect depends on their administration. In few places is more done for the poor and the labouring classes than at Cookham; the assistance, however, is judiciously afforded, and few places can be pointed out in which the people are in a more thriving state.

To return, however, to the subject of pauper labour. Whenever there is any difficulty in obtaining the proper amount of work from an out-pauper, the privilege of receiving relief at his own house should be withdrawn, and he should be forthwith subjected to the discipline of the workhouse.

Under a good general system of management we have little doubt that work might readily be found, in draining, cleansing, cutting new roads, widening streets, &c. &c., which would enable society with very little loss to afford wages sufficient to procure the necessities of life to all who choose to apply for employment. If this could be brought about, most of the vexations about paupers' settlements, &c. would be done away with. If a man earned, or nearly earned, the allowance afforded him by the parish, there would be but little motive for inquiring whether or not he happened to belong to that particular parish.

The following evidence of Mr. William Winkworth, the overseer of the parish of St. Mary's, Reading, is from Mr. Chadwick's Report, p. 207:—

"In this town great advantages would be derived by a union of the parishes: first, in obtaining more efficient officers and administrators; next, in systematic and united management; thirdly, in more economical expenditure; and fourthly, in finding things for labour, and in directing the labour of the able-bodied paupers."

"The town, for example, wants draining. We have brickmakers and carpenters, and other labourers, on the parishes, receiving relief: and the whole town might be well drained by the labour of these paupers, at the expense of materials only—bricks, wood, mortar, and sand. This, however, is a work which the parishes cannot, or will not, undertake separately: it is prevented by petty jealousies and dissensions, and the want of able officers to direct the work of the paupers. The owners of premises well situated and well drained, say, 'Drainage is a benefit to the owners of the property, and we do not see why we should be called upon to contribute money for their benefit.' The owners of the houses where the drainage is most wanted say, 'We can get no rents to pay for the work, and the nuisances which are caused by the want of it must therefore continue.' No account is taken of the necessity of finding work of any sort for the able-bodied paupers: nothing can be done with the separate parishes governed by open vestries, no cordial co-operation can be got, and the benefit of considerable labour is lost. As the surveyor of the road from this town to Ba-

singstoke, and also of the road from hence to Shillingford, I can state, from my observation of the several parishes (nineteen in number) through which these roads pass, that very considerable labour might be found, under good direction, in improving their private roads. This is an instance of the sort of work which might frequently be found for paupers. In some of the parishes the roads are kept in very good order,—but this is more accident; whilst in the immediately adjoining parishes more money will be expended, and the roads will, nevertheless, be in so bad a state, that the parish is indictable for them."

Again, at page 316, Mr. Mott gives the following evidence:—

"From the statements of medical men in the metropolis, and also of such persons as Dr. Kay of Manchester, it appears that, in consequence of the want of drainage of certain districts, and the crowded and dirty state of the habitations, there are some neighbourhoods from which disease is never absent. 'Have you observed similar effects in the parishes with which you are acquainted?'—'I have observed it, not only in Lambeth, but in all crowded neighbourhoods; and, seeing how large a source of unavoidable pauperism this is, I have long regretted that the proprietors of these small houses were not compelled to keep them in a proper state. An independent labourer may be industrious and provident, and yet both he and his family may be subjected to a fever, or other disease, and thrown upon the parish, in consequence of want of drainage, and filth, and other causes, which he has no means of removing.'

"So that, looking merely to the poor-rates, it would be good economy to pay attention to drainage and the enforcement of sanitary regulations?"—"I think so; and that it would be attended with great benefit. Some neighbourhoods are so constantly the seats of particular diseases, and sources of pauperism from that cause, that if assistant-overseers, and others accustomed to visit the abodes of the poor, were asked for cases of those diseases, they could direct you to particular places where you would almost be sure to find the disease at work. I remember that, one winter, when the weather was very severe, the beadles of Newington parish were directed to pay particular attention to the sick out-door poor. They went at once to some courts in Kent Street, as a matter of course, without making any inquiry (just as a gamekeeper would go to a well-stocked preserve); and returned with two coach-loads full of most deplorable objects, the victims of frightful disease."

NECESSITY OF AN IMPROVED AND UNIFORM SYSTEM IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE POOR-LAWS.

The remaining defects in the English poor-laws (we speak of the principal ones only) can perhaps be best considered under the present head.

Parishes too small.—As the present division of the country, as to parishes, was made long before the introduction of poor-laws, and therefore without the slightest reference to their administration, it is not surprising that it should prove a very inconvenient one; the only wonder is, that the arrangement has not been changed long ago. One thing appears certain, namely, that, as regards the administration of the poor-laws, most of the existing parishes are far too small. There is plenty of evidence to show that, excepting under peculiar circumstances, the large parishes are much better managed than the small ones.

In the year 1831, the cost of the poor of Liverpool was only 4s. 3½d. per head of the population; that is to say, every person on an average was called upon for only 4s. 3½d. of poor-rates. In Oldham the rates were yet lower, being only 2s. 3½d. each individual. Taking the whole county of Lancaster, with its great towns and throngs of inhabitants, the poor-rates amounted to not more than 4s. 4½d. per head of the population, *which is considerably less than in any other county in the whole of England and Wales.* This low rate is most nearly approached by the counties in the extreme north of the country. We are not aware that parishes are at all larger there than elsewhere; the inhabitants, however, have in their old-established customs many securities against pauperism which do not exist in other parts of the country. We wish we had room to give a detailed account of their mode of life; for the present we must content ourselves with referring such of our readers as have access to the document, to the very interesting evidence of Mr. Grey given in the Report of the Lords' Committee of 1831.

We will now inquire what the amount of poor-rates is in some parishes where the bad management, generally found in small parishes, is not checked by causes like those operating in the north. In Berkshire, the rates in the year 1831 were 15s. 2d. a head; in Wiltshire, 16s. 7d.; and in Sussex, 19s. 5d.; being more than four times the proportion of poor-rates to population in Lancashire, and nearly *eight* times what it is at the town of Oldham.

With these general facts to start with, we may now go on to consider in what the advantages of large parishes consist.

In the first place, a great deal of trouble and vexation is saved in determining settlements. In a large parish, a man may generally go where his labour is wanted, and may change his abode many times without making any alteration in his settlement, or giving room for any dispute concerning it; but in the ridiculously small parishes to be found in some parts of the country, containing only a few hundred acres of land, a labourer can scarcely take a hop, stride, and jump, without changing his parish, or at least getting on debatable ground.

England and Wales are at present chopped up into as many as 10,000 distinct parishes; and the city of London, within the walls, containing a population of not more than 55,000, is divided into ninety-six separate parishes.

If the 10,000 parishes, into which the country is divided, were incorporated into 500, there would still be much room for further union at a future time. Still, however, an important step would be taken, and much good would result. If such new divisions of the country were made, advantage should be taken of the opportunity of forming districts or parishes on really good principles of union. We would submit the following for consideration, each to be abided by as far as a general attention to all will admit:—Equality of population and wealth—similarity of interests and occupations among the inhabitants—facility of intercourse—and convenience of boundary. A number of parishes formed on these principles might together make a county, and be placed under a municipal government.

With a good system of management, such as is at the command of large bodies acting in unison, the advantages resulting from the junction of parishes would probably be so great that, in a few years, there would be a general inclination to join yet further. In this case we should venture to recommend that the parishes should still remain separate, as far as regards the amount of poor-levies required from them, but that they should be united in all that relates to the expenditure of the levies. The question how much each particular parish should be required to contribute, might be decided by the municipal government; and should be determined on a consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the parish, and how far the inhabitants had exerted themselves to remove, by education or otherwise, the *causes* of pauperism.

To return to the evils produced at present by the settlement laws, and the division of the country into small parishes. As we have before said, a great deal of money is at present wasted in determining to what particular parish a pauper belongs; and labouring men are often refused employment in parishes where they are really wanted, lest they should get settlements there, and so eventually become a burden. To prevent settlements of this kind another evil is often run into. Labourers and servants are hired for short periods; and thus a bar is put to the growth of those mutual sympathies between employer and labourer which are so important in their effects on the character of each. Sometimes the difficulty is on the side of the labourer himself, who refuses work offered him elsewhere, lest he should lose a settlement in a "good parish;"—meaning by that, a parish in which the allowance system is in full play, and the scale high. It is easy to see that all this must lead to a great deal of trouble and mischief; and by referring to the evidence of facts, such conclusion is fully borne out. Mr. Chadwick, from whose able Report we have already given several extracts, supplies us with the following apposite matter:—

"The Rev. R. R. Bailey, chaplain to the Tower, who has had extensive opportunities of observing the operation of the poor-laws in the rural districts, states,—

"I consider that the present law of settlement renders the peasant, to all intents and purposes, a bondsman: he is chained to the soil by the operation of the system, and it forbids his acquiring property, or enjoying it openly or honestly. I am of opinion that management by hundreds,

instead of by parishes, would greatly benefit all classes. Very frequent instances have occurred to me of one parish being full of labourers, and suffering greatly from want of employment, whilst in another adjacent parish there is a demand for labour. I have no doubt that if the labourers were freed from their present trammels, there would be such a circulation of labour as would relieve the agricultural districts.'

"Can you give any instances within your own knowledge of the operation of the law of settlement?"—"I was requested by Colonel Bogson, Kesgrove House, to furnish him with a farming bailiff. I found a man in all respects qualified for his situation; he was working at 9s. a week in the parish where I lived. The man was not encumbered by a family, and he thankfully accepted my offer: the situation was, in point of emolument, and comfort, and station, a considerable advance; his advantages would have been doubled. In about a week he altered his mind, and declined the situation, in consequence, as I understood, of his fearing to remove from what was considered a good parish to a bad one, the parish to which it was proposed to remove him being connected with a hundred house, in which there was more strict management.—I was requested by a poor man, whom I respected, to find a situation for his son, in London; the son was a strong young man, working at that time at about 8s. a week. I eventually succeeded in getting him a good situation of one guinea per week, in London, where his labour would have been much less than it was in the country; but when the period arrived at which he was expected in London, he was not forthcoming. It appeared he had altered his mind, and determined not to take the place; as I understood, his reason for refusing to accept it arose from a reluctance to endanger his settlement in his parish. Such are the instances which are continually presented to my observation, with respect to the operation of the present system of settlement."

In connexion with the subject of bastardy, we have already given some facts, showing evils arising from the present settlement-laws. The following displays an abuse of another kind:—

"A proprietor possessing nearly the whole of a parish at some distance from Ely, has, we are told, hired a farm in Ely, which he manages by a bailiff; he sends his own parishioners to work on it. To these persons his bailiff gives settlements in Ely, by hiring; and at the end of the year they are turned off upon Trinity parish in Ely, and their places supplied by a fresh immigration from the mother parish. The proprietor may have had very different motives from those attributed to him by our examiners; and this circumstance is not mentioned for the purpose of casting any reflection on him, (we do not know his name, nor what account of the transaction he himself might give,) but in order to point out the temptations which 'settlement by hiring and service' throws in the way of persons even of station and education. In the case of Great Shelford, narrated above, are not the landowners, who daily see their property slowly but surely passing away from them, under a strong temptation to save themselves from ruin by hiring a couple of farms for seven years, in two distinct parishes, and bribing their supernumerary families to take service there? And this is clearly possible by the existing law."—*Report of Poor-Law Commissioners*, p. 387.

From all that has been brought forward, it appears that the evils connected with the question of settlements are very great, and that the remedies to be applied are, 1st, Enlargement of parishes. 2d, The introduction of a uniform system throughout the country, so that a pauper may receive exactly the same treatment in one parish as in another. 3d, The reduction of the cost of a pauper to the least possible amount, as well by attention to strict economy as by employing the pauper in useful labour. In addition to these reforms it would be well to adopt some more simple law of settlement than the present one. In Scotland every person belongs to that parish in which he has dwelt during the greater part of the previous three years; and this law of settlement appears to work tolerably well—at any rate very much better than the English law; for the amount of litigation in Scotland on the subject of settlement is trifling compared with the amount in England.

Frauds by Paupers.—These would be much checked by an enlargement of parishes, and the introduction of a general and uniform system of administration. We have already, in considering the way in which relief should be afforded,

spoken of the frauds practised by paupers. For additional information on this subject we turn to Mr. Chadwick's Report, p. 257:—

"The general effect of particular modes of living and gradation of dietaries, may be best proved by the declarations and conduct of those who have tried them all.

"In consequence of the inquiries I have made on this subject, many of the inmates of the workhouses have been questioned as to their experience. Mr. Hewitt, the master of the workhouse of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. George the Martyr, made separate and close inquiries of several of the paupers in that house, who had been in various prisons and workhouses, and on board the hulks. He has furnished me with several dietaries made up from the statements of the paupers, and I find that they correspond very accurately with the dietaries set forth in the official returns. From the statements and admissions of the paupers, it appeared that they usually knew to an ounce the dietaries of the metropolitan prisons, and the hulks, and of many of the workhouses, of which some one amongst them had made trial. One of the paupers, named James Philby, a stout able-bodied man, (with the exception that he had a club foot,) had been fifteen times in the House of Correction for various misdemeanours. He also acknowledged that he had received relief from the parishes of St. James, Clerkenwell; Chelsea; Bethnal Green; St. Giles, Bloomsbury; St. Dunstan, Fleet Street; St. Andrew, Holborn, above bars; the Liberty of the Rolls; Whitechapel; St. Mary, Newington; St. Andrew, Saffron Hill; Kensington; and St. George, Southwark. He had resided in all these workhouses; he had lived in one workhouse whilst he managed to get relief as an out-door pauper from others, and that too during the same week. He had also received 'sets up,' or grants of stated sums for stated periods, from the several parishes. He admitted that he had, at times, varied his occupation by stealing a little. One instance was mentioned, where, after he had been liberated from an imprisonment for stealing a gentleman's great coat, he went to the owner, and, as a favour, offered to let him have his own coat back a bargain. This pauper, after having received relief fraudulently from St. George's parish, Southwark, during twelve years, was prosecuted by them, and his sentence was four months' imprisonment. This sentence, according to his own statement, transferred him from the workhouse—where, as an inmate on a low diet, the allowance was only 134 oz. of food weekly—to a place where the allowance was 230 oz. From the statements of these persons, it appeared that the average dietaries of the workhouses in the metropolis was about 170 oz. of solid food, whilst in prison the dietaries were from 200 oz. to 280 oz. of solid food weekly. They admitted that the labour in the prisons was very often little more than 'mere exercise;' that they were always 'very kindly' treated; but that, as they lived well enough in the workhouse, they preferred it, because they had more liberty there, and could get better society when they were out. 'As to regular work,' Philby said that he could at all times travel to any part of the country, and live better on the road than he could possibly do by hard labour."

Superior Economy of large Parishes.—Under other heads we have had occasion to bring forward some facts in support of the opinion that the maintenance of the poor in a large parish can be managed more economically than in a small one. The following additional evidence has been given by Mr. Charles Mott, the contractor for the poor of Lambeth parish:—

"The city of London within the walls comprehends a population of 55,000, whose poor are relieved and managed in ninety-six parishes. Lambeth comprehends a population of 87,000, and the administration of relief to the poor is managed by one establishment, and the money raised for the purpose is collected on one rate.—What do you consider would be the effect of the subdivision of Lambeth into ninety-six independent parishes, each managing the poor independently of the rest, or each exercising the right of assent or dissent from any combined management in the same way as each parish belonging to the incorporated hundreds?—The chief effects which appear to me to be likely to ensue, are, that we should have ninety-six imperfect establishments instead of one; ninety-six sources of peculation instead of one; ninety-six sets of officers to be imposed upon by paupers instead of one set; ninety-six sources of litigation and of expense for removals and disputed settlements instead of one; and ninety-six modes of rating instead of one."

The witness referred to the returns of parochial expenditure, and stated,—“It appears that the ninety-six city parishes, (many of which are extremely wealthy and lightly burthened with poor,) with a population of 55,000, expended for the relief of the poor in the year 1831, 64,000*l.* Lambeth, with 32,000 more people, and many densely-peopled districts containing very poor people, expended on the relief of the poor only 37,000*l.* during the same year. In the wealthy parishes of the city of London the money paid as poor's-rates amounted to 1*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* per head; whilst in Lambeth the amount paid is 8*s.* 6*d.* and a fraction per head. I believe that the individuals relieved are much more numerous in Lambeth than in the city of London. They were so formerly, and I believe they are so now. The adults of Lambeth parish are now supported in the workhouse at 3*s.* 11*d.* per head; whilst in the city of London, the greater proportion of all classes of poor, including children, are farmed out at an expense of from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* each, whilst the expense of those maintained in the small city workhouses varies from 5*s.* to 8*s.* per head per week for all classes.

“Do you think this statement gives a fair view of the merits of management in small as compared with large town parishes?—It never occurred to me to make any comparison of this kind until it was suggested by the question; but my impression is, that it does afford a fair comparison. The management of the poor in incorporated hundreds is undoubtedly superior to the management by independent parishes; but still the good of the hundred management is much diminished by the numerous sets of officers, and quarrels and conflicting interests of the separate parishes.”

Profitable Work more easily provided in large Parishes.—The evidence of the overseer of St. Mary's parish, Reading, (which we have given under another head,) is here also applicable. The following is, moreover, well worthy of consideration; it consists of another extract from Mr. Mott's evidence. (See *Report*, p. 318.)

“It has been stated to us that in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, the paupers have been usefully employed in cleansing the streets more frequently than would be done by the contractor. Do you not think that much labour of that sort might be found for the paupers?—The mischief is, that the superintendence of the paupers, and the application of their labour, and the management of the roads, are usually under distinct trusts. In most cases the surveyors do not like to be troubled with paupers. Arrangements might, I think, be made, to render the greater proportion of the road-labour available for the purpose of employing the poor. But this could only be by a union of management of large districts, in which there would always be a large stock of pauper labour available, and in which there could be skilful management.

“Have you observed that, in the smaller agricultural parishes, one main difficulty in the way of the employment of the paupers is the want of permanent superintendents of adequate skill to direct their labours?—Yes; and the cause is obvious, in the want of sufficient extent of the parish to pay a competent person, and the want of a sufficient amount of disposable labour to make it worth while to employ such a person, even if the parish could afford it.”

Mr. M'Adam, the celebrated improver of the art of road-making, is of opinion that great public advantage might be derived from the introduction of a general system for the employment of paupers in repairing the roads. We extract the following evidence, given by Mr. M'Adam before a committee of the House of Commons, on labourers' wages:—

“I am of opinion that if several parishes—three or six, according to the size—were consolidated, as to roads, under one management, or rather under one proper and efficient surveyor, paid for his services, and a very small portion (say a fourth part) of the value of the statute labour was taken in money, and that was judiciously applied upon the roads, that they would be in a much better state; the poor would be employed, and the roads would be put into a good condition.

“A very fruitful source of employment might be found in parishes undertaking to supply the several trusts that run through their parishes with materials prepared for the repair of the roads; which materials they might obtain and prepare at such times as they were most oppressed with applications for relief from persons who could not otherwise obtain employment.

“Do you find that by putting the labourers to task-work you have diminished the poor's-rates in many parishes?—

Very considerably, indeed. In the parish of Ewell it was stated in evidence, if I recollect correctly, before a committee of this House, that the poor's-rates were reduced one half, in consequence of the poor being employed on all the roads by task-work.”

Superior Government in large Parishes.—The enlightened management adopted in the large parishes of Liverpool, Birmingham, Oldham, &c., has already been referred to. It indicates a very superior parochial government to that which is to be found in the generality of small parishes, where there is seldom a paid and responsible officer, or, at any rate, one whose time and attention are exclusively devoted to the business of the parish. The salary which a small parish can afford to pay is quite insufficient to provide a man with a respectable maintenance for himself and family; whereas, in a large parish, the magnitude of the concern makes it well worth while engaging competent persons to give their whole time and attention to the parish business.

Men of enlarged views, with their thoughts concentrated on the subject, and with the advantage of daily and hourly experience, will not waste their time and the funds of the parish in silly squabbles about settlements, but will employ themselves in devising and carrying into effect plans for improving the discipline of paupers, reducing the expense of their maintenance, and (where practicable) for removing the causes of pauperism.

In Birmingham and Liverpool a provision has been made for taking the children of paupers from the care of their parents, training them in habits of industry, and giving them the elements of education, so that they may never follow in the track of their parents. Even when the children have left the asylum in which they are brought up, and are placed out as apprentices, an eye is kept over them. Once every year they are all visited, and the master is questioned as to the conduct of his apprentice, while the apprentice is also examined as to the kind of treatment he receives from his employer; and whenever a case arises in which it appears that the child has not been kindly dealt with, measures are taken for compelling the master to give him up.

But how can all this be done without that division of labour obtained by people acting on a large scale? It is evidently impossible. With a separate establishment and distinct set of officers for every little parish, the expense and labour attending the adoption of such plans would be enormous in comparison with the numbers benefited.

We have already given specimens of mismanagement of parish business. The following short extract from Mr. Moylan's Report (p. 179) is all the additional matter of this kind for which we have room:—

“Nothing, I think, strikes one more than the unfitness of the men who (particularly in small places) fill the responsible office of overseer. From the temporary nature of the appointment, it would, indeed, be difficult for them to acquire a sufficient knowledge of their duties; to say nothing of the unreasonableness of expecting from men engaged in their own concerns such a devotion of their time, without remuneration, as would qualify them for the discharge of those duties. It necessarily follows, that the assistant-overseer is often left in the exclusive management of the poor, and almost unlimited control of the parish funds.”

In contrast with the ordinary mismanagement of small parishes, we will now give a description of the way in which parochial business is conducted at Liverpool. We extract from Mr. Henderson's Report, page 346:—

“The permanent usefulness of the select vestry consisting in their vigilance and intelligence in administering relief, it may be well to state a few details of their proceedings in this department.

“The select vestry is divided into five boards, each of four members; one of these boards sits in rotation every week-day, except Tuesday, at nine or ten A.M., and the business usually lasts till one P.M. A salaried secretary constantly attends, and takes a principal share in conducting the business. This preserves uniformity in the management of all the boards, and on changing the select vestry the parish still has the benefit of the secretary's experience and knowledge of the cases on the boards.

“On a first application for relief, if entertained at all, the name and address of the applicant are taken down on a card, which is delivered to the visitor, a salaried officer, in order that he may ascertain the nature of the case at the abode of the party; the visitor makes a written report to the select vestry, on which, and on a subsequent examination of

the party, relief is granted or refused. In cases of urgent necessity, a few shillings are sometimes ordered before visitation, and the visitor has always a discretionary power to relieve when he visits, but the general rule is for the vestry to decide on the propriety of relief.

"When the distress is of a temporary nature, the pauper is required to appear once a week before the board. No excuse, except sickness, proved by a medical certificate, is admitted. The party is urged by the board, when it seems practicable, to seek other means of support; and when this is not done within a reasonable time, the relief is diminished or stopped. When the case presents no prospect of early improvement, a card or ticket is given for relief during a definite period of three or six months, according to circumstances, and the sum granted is paid weekly on presenting the card at the pay-office. When the period has elapsed, another visitation and examination takes place before another card is granted; the cards in cases apparently hopeless used to be perpetual, but are now subject to annual revision, and the members of the select vestry frequently act as visitors in such cases."

General Board of Control.—In addition to an enlargement of parishes, and the other measures we have pointed out, it appears very desirable that there should be established a central body, having a certain influence over all the parochial governments in the kingdom. Until, however, its advantages were generally appreciated, and it had secured the confidence of the people, it would be well to allow any parish to obtain exemption from its authority, provided it could be shown that the administration of the poor-laws in the particular parish was in a good state.

The good that would result from a well-appointed Central Board would be manifold. A Central Board is perhaps the only means by which a uniform system of administration can be obtained. The mere introduction of a general system of parish accounts (an arrangement which could be brought about at once by a Central Board) would be attended with great advantages in preventing fraud and jobbing; and would be of no little value to the country at large, by enabling it to obtain correct statistical information on the subject of the poor.

All pretence for the interference of magistrates in parochial matters would be done away by the appointment of a Central Board. We have already given a good deal of evidence showing the mischievous effect of this interference; and we have remarked that they were the originators of the allowance system, and have always been its main supporters.

We are far from attributing bad motives to the magistracy of the country, nor are we unmindful that the reformers of parochial abuses have in several instances been of their number. Still, taken as a whole body, and in their character of *magistrates*,—placed as they are above the authority of the rate-payers, and in fact subject to no efficient control of any kind,—frequently not living in the parish in whose concerns they interfere, and paying nothing towards its poor-rates,—we must give it as our opinion that they have, as a body, exerted a most pernicious influence on the administration of the poor-laws. In fact, one of the great advantages of large towns (when they form but one parish) is the practical exemption they enjoy from the interference of magistrates.

We could more than fill the remainder of our article with evidence of the evil complained of. The following, in addition to that which has been given, must suffice.

Mr. Okeden, (pages 101 and 110):—

"Soon after the riots of 1830 a new and more liberal scale was made by the magistrates of the division; and in February, 1831, an order was given to the overseers of Hasilbury Bryan, requiring them to relieve ten families, all able-bodied and in employ, by the new scale. The overseers contended, and the clergyman protested, against this order in vain. In this district, indeed, the overseers know so well the inutility of resistance, that to avoid trouble, expense, and reproach, they generally accede to the demands, and settle all claims, not by character or merit, but by the rules of addition and subtraction. I have already named, in my Report on Dorsetshire, the district of Sturminster Newton, as the worst regulated as to poor concerns, with the highest proportionate rates, in the county. It is certain that in no district is there so much magisterial interference.

"Cranbourne, Dorset, is an instance of a large and populous parish, which, after suffering for many years by constant magisterial interference, has, by a complete change of system, risen to comfort and content, and in which the

most satisfactory improvement in morals, appearance, and character of the poor, has succeeded to depression and degradation."

Mr. Bishop's Report from Oxford, (page 118):—

"The city magistrates themselves are perhaps civil, but lukewarm and indifferent to the overseers; and the precincts of the court are beset by a number of blackguards, who assail the overseers with scoffs and jeers and insults, sometimes almost with personal violence. This the overseers have to encounter in their official character,—as *such* they are marked out for insult,—and this conduct seems to meet with no check or animadversion even from the magistrates."

Mr. C. T. Villiers, Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire:—

"Riots and destruction of property were carried to great lengths in this neighbourhood. Some of the magistrates raised their scale of relief upon this occasion, and went round themselves to the farmers, to insist upon their giving higher wages, and making larger allowances, to men with families."

Mr. Chadwick, (page 265.) Evidence of Mr. Waite, one of the parish-officers of Whitechapel:—

"I adduce these as instances of the impositions which, though detected and defeated before the board, unavoidably succeeded before the magistrates." [Mr. Waite had just given some cases of gross fraud on the part of paupers.] "These characters, males and females, at the office doors were often so clamorous and desperate, that it became necessary to let me out from the police-office by the private door. I have been pursued by them through the streets, and obliged to seek shelter in shops. During twenty-seven years at sea, I encountered many perils in the waves, but these never hurt my mind so much as apparent perils amongst paupers. Had this system gone on, the expenses of our parish must have materially increased, notwithstanding the utmost labour that I or any other officer could have bestowed."

"Fortunately for our parish, and probably for the other parishes in the district, a different system was soon after adopted at Lambeth-street Police-office. The parochial business of the office being left to Mr. Walker, and he having determined not to receive any appeals from the decisions of the parish-officers, who were the best acquainted with the circumstances of the paupers, we got rid of a number of this sort of cases, when we found that they were cases of imposture."

"Had you any riots or any disturbances when the poor were thus left wholly at the mercy of the parish officers?—No; not so many riots by far as we had before the alteration. Formerly the paupers of the worst class were accustomed to swear at us when we refused them relief, and would say that they would have us before our masters and compel us to relieve them. I had my windows broken several times, and was constantly threatened and annoyed at my doors. Since the appeal to the magistrates is altered, we find the parish materially benefited, and that there is less bad behaviour on the part of the paupers."

"Did the independent people of the labouring classes—those who might become chargeable—manifest any sympathy with the paupers, or evince any disposition to rise for their protection?—None whatever: they appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the proceedings of the parish officers. I received more praise from independent labourers than from any other classes."

By the appointment of a general board of control, improvements made in particular parishes in the administration of the poor-laws might be readily introduced into other parishes. There is no doubt that if the reforms which have already been effected, and the means by which they were brought about, were generally known, they would be followed to a considerable extent.

A general board of control would have sufficient influence with parliament and government to call attention to defects in the poor-laws requiring legislative enactments for their removal; such, for instance, as the present regulations respecting settlements, and the power of interference possessed by magistrates. The general board could also have good opportunities for collecting evidence as to the causes which affect the condition of the working classes generally. It would have the means of estimating the advantages which would be obtained by the adoption of a system of national education; of ascertaining how far certain taxes tend to injure the labourer and create pauperism, &c. &c. Lastly, when the working of the poor-laws was deranged by the bad state of some other department of government, the general board would at once become aware of the fact,

and would have access to those with whom the remedy lay. There is no doubt, as we have before remarked, that the inefficient state of the police of the country, especially in rural districts, has been one main cause of the evils frequently laid to the charge of the poor-laws. Protection is not afforded to life or property; and in such a state of things people will yield to threats and intimidation.

The evidence we have given on other points contains many facts connected with the general state of the police. The following also may be quoted: it is taken from Mr. Majendie's Report, page 26:—

"The riots in the north-east parts of the rape of Hastings commenced simultaneously on the 5th and 6th of November, 1830. The farmers observed that their labourers all at once left their work: they were taken away by night by a systematic arrangement; no leader could be identified, but bills were run up at the public-houses in the evening, and in the morning a stranger came and paid.

"The mobs generally had written forms containing their demands; they varied a little in the amount of wages, but all agreed in the amount of 'allowance' of 1s. 6d. for every child above two; that there should be no assistant-overseer; that they should be paid full wages wet or dry; that they would pay their own rents*. There were nine cases of incendiarism that winter at Battle. The mob which assembled there, on the day of the magistrates' meeting, amounted to nearly 700: all the principal magistrates of the division, nineteen in number, assembled; the arrival of a troop of horse established order.

"Though the guilt of one of the incendiaries, J. Bufford, who was executed, was clear and admitted by himself, yet the feeling of the country was so much in his favour that he was considered as a martyr: he was exhibited in his coffin, and a subscription made for his family.

"A permanent bench of magistrates was established at Battle, at which Mr. Courthope presided, at their particular request, and directed by day and night the measures which were requisite for public tranquillity.

"This harassing duty continued during a month; but from that period, a certain degree of intimidation has prevailed in this district. The assistant-overseers having been then ill-treated by the mobs, are reluctant to make complaints for neglect of work, lest they should become marked men, and their lives rendered uncomfortable or even unsafe. Farmers permit their labourers to receive relief, founded on a calculation of a rate of wages lower than that actually paid: they are unwilling to put themselves in collision with the labourers, and will not give an account of earnings, or if they do, beg that their names may not be mentioned. A similar feeling prevails in East Kent: at Westwell, the farmers are afraid to express, at vestry-meetings, their opinions against a pauper who applies for relief, for fear their premises should be set fire to. Two of the fires immediately followed such a resistance; one of them happened to a most respectable farmer, a kind and liberal master, and a promoter of cottage allotments."

We have already referred to one gross abuse, arising, no doubt, in great measure, from the want of a general directing body, and a regular connexion between the police department and that of the poor-laws. We speak of the extraordinary fact, that criminals have in many gaols a greater allowance of food than that given to paupers, and that paupers in their turn are often better fed than independent labourers. The following striking document has been drawn up by Mr. Chadwick from authentic sources:—

"THE SCALE.

I. THE INDEPENDENT AGRICULTURAL LABOURER—

According to the returns of Labourers'

Expenditure, they are unable to get, in the shape of solid food, more than the average allowance of

Bread (daily) 17 oz. = per week	119	
Bacon, per week	4 oz.	
Loss in cooking	1 "	
		Solid Food.
		3 — 122 oz.

II. THE SOLDIER—

Bread (daily) 16 oz. = per week	112	
Meat .. 12 ..	84 oz.	
Loss in cooking	28 "	
		56 — 168

* "This last point is remarkable: perhaps it may be thus explained,—that the labourers were aware that high rents, paid out of the poor-rates, formed part of the system of parish jobbing, of little advantage to them."

III. THE ABLE-BODIED PAUPER—

Bread per week	98	oz.
Meat	31 oz.	
Loss in cooking	10 "	
		21
Cheese	16	Solid Food.
Pudding	16	— 151 oz.

In addition to the above, which is an average allowance, the inmates of most work-houses have—

Vegetables	48 oz.
Soup	3 quarts.
Milk Porridge	3
Table Beer	7 ..

and many other comforts.

IV. THE SUSPECTED THIEF—(see the Gaol Returns from Lancaster)—

Bread per week	112	
Meat	24 oz.	
Loss in cooking	8 "	
		16
Oatmeal	40	
Rice	5	
Peas	4	
Cheese	4	— 181
Winchester—		
Bread per week	192	
Meat	16 oz.	
Loss in cooking	5 "	
		11 — 203

V. THE CONVICTED THIEF—

Bread per week	140	
Meat	56 oz.	
Loss in cooking	18 "	
		38
Scotch Barley	28	
Oatmeal	21	
Cheese	12	— 239

VI. THE TRANSPORTED THIEF—

10½ lbs. meat per week	= 168 oz.	
Loss in cooking	56 "	
		112
10½ lbs. flour, which will increase, when made into bread		218 — 330 "

EDUCATION.

When we entered on the subject of the poor-laws, we hoped to have had an opportunity of touching on many topics which want of room compels us to pass by. Especially we wished to point out some of the immediate and exciting causes of pauperism, and to bring forward the remedies which private or local experience has proved to be successful. On some of the more remote causes, too, we should have liked to dwell. The necessity of the establishment of a system of National Education is a matter which must force itself on the attention of any one who dives below the surface in inquiring into the causes of pauperism. Nor is it less obvious, when we consider the mismanagement of the fund for the relief of want, and the general ignorance of some of the leading causes of the creation of want, that those who administer the poor-laws are in many essential particulars as ill-educated as the poor themselves. Upon this subject, which is one of great importance, we refer our readers to an article in the Quarterly Journal of Education, No. XI. which has just appeared. The concluding passage of that article may appropriately conclude our own paper, the limits of which have prevented us dwelling as fully as we had hoped to do upon the great remedy of pauperism—the elevation of the moral and intellectual condition of the people:—

"We hold that the poor-laws cannot be better administered until those who administer them are better educated. But we further maintain that the necessity for a vigilant, we had almost said a severe, administration of them will never cease, until the working classes are raised completely above a dependence upon charitable relief, whether forced or voluntary. The poor man must be made a thinking man—a man capable of high intellectual pleasures; he must be purified in his tastes, and elevated in his understanding; he must be taught to comprehend the real dignity of all useful employments; he must learn to look upon the distinctions of society without envy or servility; he must respect them, for they are open to him as well as to others, but he must respect himself more. The best enjoyments of our nature may be common to him and the most favoured by fortune; let him be taught how to appreciate them. Diminish the

attractions of his sensual enjoyments, by extending the range of his mental pleasures.

"Let the child be taught some of that knowledge which may render him happier in his domestic relations, and wiser in his public ones. He cannot be a good citizen if his obedience to the laws is founded upon ignorance. The greater part of the heartburnings of the working classes proceeds from their utter ignorance of the structure of society, and the principles of social happiness. They believe that everything is to be done by a government, and nothing by themselves. They know not how much their own powers of industry and of self-control influence their own condition and that of all the community. They have no means of comparing their own actual condition, bad as it may be, with the worse condition of the past generation, and the still worse condition of men less advanced in civilization. They are told by the ignorant or factious, that they live in a time of unexampled distress, and that the labouring man is worse off than at any previous period of our history. How can they arrive at the rejection of these monstrous falsehoods, unless they have a considerable share of accurate knowledge—knowledge, indeed, which the rich want as much as themselves? Capable as their condition may be of still further improvement, it has yet improved in spite of profligate poor-laws and lavish taxation. The great springs of our national industry have still preserved their elasticity under the loads imposed upon them. No one who has examined the history of the people can doubt that the humblest among us has now a larger command of the necessaries and comforts of life than a person of the same class had a quarter of a century ago.

Machinery and improved communication have doubled and quadrupled the power of every consumer. It is a part of the general ignorance of which we complain, to believe that our condition is deteriorating. Our best hope for the final removal of social evil is the conviction that we are steadily progressing; that the body is sound, though it is deformed by external marks of disease. Mr. Chadwick, whose researches into the causes and effects of pauperism are beyond all praise, gives his testimony to the improved condition even of the agricultural labourers—

"The evidence with relation to the labourers in agricultural districts which I visited appeared to establish these facts: that the labourers have now the *means* of obtaining as much of necessaries and comforts as at any former period, if not more:—i. e., that their wages will go as far, if not farther, than at any time known to the present generation: that, although the position of the agricultural labourers may be (as the subsequent evidence will show), relatively to others, one of great disadvantage, it is nevertheless a position from which they may fall still lower; and that the single labourers are aware, that if the factitious inducements to improvident marriages afforded by the ordinary administration of the poor-laws were removed, it would be their interest to remain unmarried until they had attained a situation of greater comfort and secured the means of providing for their offspring."

"The condition of the manufacturing population may be estimated by the following table, which has been communicated to us from an authority upon which reliance may be placed:—

Wages of Young Women employed in Cotton-Mills at Manchester, compared with the Prices of Articles of Necessity.

	1803	1808	1813	1818	1823	1828	1833
Throstle Spinners, per week } of 72 hours }	s. d. 9 1	s. d. 9 0	8s. 4½d. adv. to 9s. 2d.	s. d. 9 10	s. d. 9 1	s. d. 9 1	s. d. 8 10
Hours worked	78	60	75	77	74	72	69
Wages paid	s. d. 10 1½	s. d. 7 5½	8s. 8d. adv. to 9s. 6d.	s. d. 10 5	s. d. 9 3½	s. d. 9 1	s. d. 8 5½
Bread, per lb.	..	..	rose to 4d.	1816 } 4½d. 1817 } 1818 2½d.	0 2	0 2 to 2½	0 1¾
Flour, per load of 240 lbs.	40 0	55 0	70s. to 82s.	47s. to 60s.	40 0	45 0	35 0
Oatmeal, per load of 240 lbs.	36 0	49 0	55s.	42s. to 50s.	31 0	30 0	25 0
Potatoes, per load of 240 lbs.	7 0	12 0	rose to 12s.	7s. 6d.	{ 3 9 } to 5 9 }	7 0	4 6
Butcher's meat, per lb., (con- tract price for Salford Workhouse) }	0 6	0 5½	..	0 5	0 4½	0 4½	0 3¾
Cheese, per 112 lbs.	80 0	85 0	80s. to 85s.	63s. to 85s.	60 0	75 0	55 0
Butter, per 112 lbs.	120 0	122 0	126s.	134s.	..	..	90 0
Soap, per lb.	0 9	0 9½	8d. to 9½d.	9d.	0 6½	0 6½	0 6
Candles, per lb.	0 10½	0 10	11½d. to 12½d.	9½d. to 11½d.	0 6½	0 6½	0 6
Coals, per 112 lbs.	0 10	0 8½	8d.	6d. to 7d.	6d. to 6½d.	6d. to 6½d.	0 5¾
Salt, per lb.	..	0 3	3d.	4d.	0 4	0 0¼	0 0¼
		1810			1820		
Linen, per yard	..	1 6	..	..	1 2	..	0 9
Strong Calico, per yard	..	0 10	..	..	0 9	..	0 4
Printed Calico, per yard	..	2 2	..	..	1 4	..	6d. to 8d.

"Here, then, is our encouragement to pursue a wiser course with the working population. They have the means of comfort in their own hands, if they could be provident and moral: they cannot be provident and moral while they are ignorant. Is there any other course but education—a large, comprehensive National Education? When we have advanced a few years in such a course, the poor will cease to be abject and the rich will cease to be overbearing. That friendly intercourse between man and man, which religion and philosophy equally prescribe, will stand in the place of that proud reserve, and that suppressed insolence, which are the remaining badges of feudality. The poor's-rate will then be the refuge of the helpless widow and the fatherless orphan,—of the aged man tottering to his grave, and the infant whose mother is not here to cherish it. Few, indeed, will

be the cases in which relief will be asked; for a moral and provident race of working men will have a joint stock purse for the mitigation of casual misfortune. Then will come the time when the farmer may sleep in peace, without the dread of waking to the light of his own burning homestead; and then the better-educated lord of thousands of acres, whose miserable progenitor now rushes to a foreign land in the dread of anarchy, (leaving his proxy to be wielded against every improvement by which anarchy may be arrested,) may look upon a smiling tenantry and happy labourers, nor tremble at the phantom of political convulsion, nor dread that all the real distinctions of civilized life will be swept away, because the artificial pretensions are levelled, not by the degradation of the mighty, but by the elevation of the humble."

TABULAR ACCOUNT, showing the Cost of the POOR of ENGLAND and WALES at several Different Periods. also the Comparative State of the Country, as regards Pressure of POOR-RATES.
[NOTE.—The amounts are given in round numbers.]

		Amount of Poor-Rates expressed in MONEY and in WHEAT.		Average price of WHEAT per quarter	Average amount of Poor-Rates levied on every head of the population		Population.	Fraction of the population receiving some amount of parochial relief.
		MONEY. £	WHEAT. quarters.		in MONEY. s. d.	in WHEAT. pecks.		
Year ending at Easter	1776	1,500,000	700,000	42 8	4 0	3	about 7,500,000 9,000,000 11,000,000 14,000,000	not known.
Ditto	1803	4,000,000	1,267,000	63 2	8 11	4½		not known.
Average of three years ending at Easter	1815	6,100,000	1,232,000	99 0	11 1	3½		7½
Year ending at Easter	1832	7,000,000	2,187,000	64 0	10 0	5		not known.

MANUFACTURING AND COMMERCIAL COUNTIES.

	Rates expended on the poor in the year ending at Easter, 1832.	Population in 1831.	Average Rate levied on each head of population.
	£		s. d.
Cornwall	102,000	302,000	6 9
Derbyshire	81,000	237,000	6 10
Gloucestershire	173,000	387,000	8 11
Lancashire	301,000	1,340,000	4 8
Middlesex	688,000	1,360,000	10 1
Nottinghamshire	74,000	225,000	6 7
Staffordshire	133,000	410,000	6 6
Warwickshire	168,000	337,000	10 0
Yorkshire—West Riding	283,000	976,000	5 10
Totals	2,003,000	5,574,000	7 2

AGRICULTURAL COUNTIES GENERALLY.

	Rates expended on the Poor in the year ending at Easter, 1832.	Population in 1831.	Average Rate levied on each head of the population.
	£		s. d.
Bedfordshire	77,000	95,000	16 2
Buckinghamshire	145,000	147,000	19 8
Cambridgeshire	104,000	144,000	14 5
Cheshire	105,000	334,000	6 3
Devonshire	225,000	494,000	9 1
Hampshire	231,000	314,000	14 9
Herefordshire	63,000	111,000	11 4
Hertfordshire	96,000	143,000	13 5
Huntingdonshire	41,000	53,000	15 6
Leicestershire	116,000	197,000	11 9
Lincolnshire	178,000	317,000	11 3
Monmouthshire	28,000	98,000	5 9
Norfolk	318,000	390,000	16 4
Northamptonshire	154,000	180,000	17 1
Oxfordshire	137,000	152,000	18 0
Rutlandshire	9,000	19,000	9 6
Shropshire	89,000	223,000	8 0
Somersetshire	192,000	404,000	9 6
Suffolk	279,000	296,000	18 10
Surrey	283,000	486,000	11 8
Worcestershire	87,000	211,000	8 3
Totals	2,957,000	4,808,000	12 4

NORTHERN AGRICULTURAL COUNTIES.

The people in the northern districts are more generally educated than elsewhere. The peasantry, too, are paid for their services in a way which appears to be attended with the happiest effects. They receive the greater portion of their wages in *kind*, and that too without regard to fluctuations in prices. They are thus secured against the dangers of an irregular income, and the temptations created by the possession of ready money. In point of fact, the northern peasantry are distinguished for frugality, prudence, and sobriety; and for the great length of time they remain with the same employer.

	Rates expended on the poor in the year ending at Easter, 1832.	Population in 1831.	Average Rate levied on each head of population.
	£		s. d.
Cumberland	48,000	170,000	5 8
Durham	86,000	254,000	6 9
Northumberland	78,000	223,000	7 0
Westmoreland	26,000	55,000	9 3
Yorkshire—North Riding	86,000	191,000	9 0
East Riding	106,000	204,000	10 5
Totals	430,000	1,097,000	7 11

SOUTHERN AGRICULTURAL COUNTIES.

The southern district, especially the eastern part of it, is distinguished for a bad administration of the poor-laws, for a neglect of education, and for the demoralization of the people. The fires of 1830-1 first burst out in this district, and were there carried to the greatest extent.

	Rates expended on the Poor in the year ending at Easter, 1832.	Population in 1831.	Average Rate levied on each head of the population.
	£		s. d.
Berkshire	121,000	145,000	16 8
Dorsetshire	93,000	160,000	11 7
Essex	278,000	317,000	17 6
Kent	364,000	480,000	15 2
Sussex	285,000	272,000	20 11
Wiltshire	199,000	240,000	16 7
Totals	1,340,000	1,614,000	16 7

WALES.

	Rates expended on the Poor in the year ending at Easter, 1832.	Population in 1831.	Average Rate levied on each head of the population.
	£		s. d.
Anglesey	18,000	48,000	7 6
Breconshire	20,000	48,000	8 4
Cardiganshire	19,000	65,000	5 10
Carmarthenshire	35,000	100,000	7 0
Carnarvonshire	21,000	66,000	6 4
Denbighshire	37,000	83,000	8 11
Flintshire	22,000	60,000	7 4
Glamorganshire	43,000	127,000	6 9
Merionethshire	15,000	36,000	8 4
Montgomeryshire	37,000	66,000	11 3
Pembrokeshire	25,000	81,000	6 2
Radnorshire	14,000	25,000	11 2
Totals	306,000	805,000	7 7

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Scotch Burgh Reform Bill	113	Portugal—Don Pedro and Don Miguel	124
Factories Inquiry	116	Public Petitions	127
Amendment of the Apothecaries' Act	119	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers	129
Warwick Borough Election	121		
Official Tables of Revenue, &c.	123		

SCOTCH BURGH REFORM.

Two bills, brought in by the Lord Advocate, have just passed the House of Commons, which, when they shall become the law of the land, will effect, in some respects, a greater change in the political state of that division of the empire to which they apply than has been effected even by the Reform Act itself. We allude to the bills respecting the election of Magistrates and Councils in the Royal Burghs of Scotland, and in the other burghs and towns of that part of the island, which now return, or contribute to return, members to parliament.

Before the passing of the act for the reform of parliament, Scotland could hardly be said to have a constitution at all. The people generally had no political rights whatever, no share in the election of their legislators and governors, no power of influencing the conduct of public affairs, any more than the cattle that grazed, or the trees that grew, in the fields. The elective franchise was wholly in the possession of a mere handful of individuals, not amounting to much more than one five hundredth part of the population. If this was a constitution, it was one in which the democratic element was altogether wanting. Still, there were circumstances which, even under this vicious arrangement, preserved to public opinion some controul over the conduct of the parliamentary representatives of the country. First, there was the usual protection arising from the division of parties in the state. Secondly, there was the publicity of parliamentary proceedings. And lastly, and principally, there was the nearly complete identification of the interests of the country, and of its government and public concerns, with those of another country enjoying so comparatively free a constitution as England.

On these accounts the Reform Bill, although it may be said to have given for the first time a free constitution to Scotland, and could not therefore fail to change the whole aspect of things almost as if a new sun had appeared in the heavens, nevertheless did not bring with it that feeling of entire regeneration which, in different circumstances, might have been expected to attend the sudden endowment of a whole people with the gift of a political existence. The restoration of a free constitution to the burghs, although apparently a far lower as well as more limited reform, will probably occasion a greater immediate stir and renovation. This will be to let in the light where all has hitherto been impenetrable darkness,—to bring under the popular control what has, up to this time, been almost as independent of public opinion as the movements of the planets. The details which we are about to present will sufficiently prove that we do not exaggerate in thus expressing ourselves.

The Royal Burghs of Scotland are sixty-six in number, all having charters older at least than the year 1707, when the Act of Union was passed, which declared that their number should never be either increased or diminished. The antiquity of some of them reaches, we believe, to the eleventh century.

The reform of the constitution of these corporations has been loudly demanded by the public voice for nearly half a century. The subject was taken up about the year 1787, by the burgesses, or freemen, who appointed delegates to proceed to London, and to manage an application to parliament in their behalf. A bill was even prepared which it was pro-

posed to bring forward in the House of Commons; and a select committee of that House was appointed to take the subject into consideration. That committee made its report in 1793; but here the matter dropt. The war with France drew off attention from all questions of domestic policy; and the alarm excited by the progress of the Revolution in that country made the very name of reform or change unpopular in this. The agitation of the subject was not resumed till some time after the termination of the war; nor was it till the year 1819 that it was again formally brought before parliament. On the 6th of May that year the late Lord Archibald Hamilton moved in the House of Commons for a select committee to examine the allegations of the numerous petitions which had been previously presented, complaining of the existing system of government in the burghs; and although he was opposed by Mr. Canning and the ministers, he carried his motion by a majority of 149 to 144. The committee produced a voluminous report the same session; and, having been permitted to resume their labours in 1820, followed it by another that year,—both strongly confirmatory of the statements and views of the petitioners. In 1821 a new committee was appointed, by whom a third report was produced; and on the 20th of February in the following year Lord Archibald Hamilton moved that the subject should be taken into consideration in a committee of the whole House. The motion, however, was negatived on the division by a majority of 35 in a very thin House,—only 46 voting for it and 81 against it. Soon after, in the course of the same session, the Lord Advocate brought in a bill, which passed both Houses, restricting to a certain extent the powers hitherto exercised by the magistrates in the expenditure of the burgh funds,—but not touching the existing system in any other respect. And this is all that has been done in the matter up to the introduction of the present bills.

In one most material respect, however, the act for the reform of the representation has anticipated the object of burgh reform. Till that act was passed, the election of the members for the burghs was wholly in the hands of the magistrates and councils, the general body of the inhabitants having nowhere anything whatever to say in the matter. That is now altered; and one consequence is, that burgh reform becomes a question to be considered by itself, and not, as before, chiefly in reference to another and a more important question. The grand argument against the reform of the burghs used to be, that it would be in effect a reform of parliament. Mr. Canning employed no other in opposing Lord Archibald Hamilton's motion in 1819. Those, therefore, by whom the proposition was brought forward, were always wont to be vehement in their protestations that they had really no such ultimate object as was thus imputed to them; but, with all their pains, they could not disprove or dispute the fact, that the tendency and effect of the measure would be what was asserted. From all this difficulty and embarrassment they are now relieved, and the question comes to be, simply, whether or no the right government of the burghs themselves requires that a new constitution should be given to them.

Originally the magistrates and councils in the Scotch royal burghs appear to have been elected annually by the votes of the burgesses, or of the whole community. But in the year 1469, an act was passed by the parliament, which entirely abrogated this free constitution, by declaring that for the future the votes of the burgesses or community should not be taken at all, but that at the end of every year the old council should elect the new. By another act passed in 1474, it was further ordered, that four of the persons composing the new council should be always selected from the old one. Upon these two acts is founded the practice of election which now universally prevails.

The particular mode, however, in which the principle of

self election is carried into execution, varies a good deal in the different burghs. The committee of 1793 state, that in thirteen burghs the majority of the council either may or must be continued without change or re-election; that in one, half the council are continued without election, and there is no restriction against re-electing the majority of the remainder; that in two, one less than the half of the council is continued, and that with that number a majority of the council may be re-elected; that in thirty-four the council, or a part of the council, elect the majority of the new council, without there being any restrictions in the sett, (or constitution,) against their re-electing a majority of themselves; and that in four, the old council elect the new, but a majority of the counsellors for the ensuing year must be different persons. The setts, it is remarked, appear in several cases to have been framed by the Town Councils themselves, while, in other places, the modes of election rest on no other authority than usage.

The new mode of election introduced in 1469, although designed, as expressed in the act, to get rid of the great contention yearly occasioned "through multitude and clamour of commons, simple persons," was not attended with the tranquillity and contentment which it had been expected to secure. On the contrary, it not only led to multiplied abuses in the government of the burghs, but produced, as their natural consequence, a dissatisfaction in the community generally, which repeatedly vented itself in attempts to bring about a restoration of the old order of things. Complaints were constantly made both to the parliament and to the convention, or meeting of delegates from the several town-councils, held every year at Edinburgh. The committee of 1793 sum up the result of their inquiries, by stating that, from a very early period after the year 1469, "the administration of the affairs of the royal burghs appears to have been matter of great and frequent complaint in several of the royal burghs, as repeatedly declared by the parliament and by the executive government of Scotland, by the Claim of Rights, by supplications of individual burghs to the general convention, and by the acts of the general convention itself; that the principle of election introduced by that statute still continues to act universally, or almost universally, in the royal burghs, although with respect to the particular modifications of that principle, and the various ways in which it has been carried into effect, the modes of election in the burghs appear to be widely different, to depend on no certain or uniform authority, and to be maintained in direct contradiction to the clauses of election in a great majority of the charters; that taxes have been imposed without the authority of parliament, and greater sums levied in the name of, or together with the land-tax, than what is paid to government, and the expense of collecting taken together; and that the powers exercised by the town-councils, before the Union, of contracting debts, disposing of the common revenues, and alienating the common property and common lands of the burghs at their pleasure, remain unaltered and undiminished."

An order was made in 1789 for an account of the revenue of each burgh for the preceding year. No returns to this order were made by two of the burghs, Pittenween and West Anstruther; but of the remaining sixty-four the gross revenue appeared to be somewhat above 47,000*l*. No more recent account has fallen under our notice; but, notwithstanding much waste and alienation which have since taken place, there can be little doubt that the increased value of property has now considerably augmented this amount of annual income. In 1817 the net revenue of Edinburgh alone had risen to 39,200*l*.; and that of Glasgow and of most of the other large towns must also have greatly increased.

While their resources have thus been improving, however, so wretched has been the mismanagement resulting from the close and irresponsible system on which the government of these burghs has been hitherto conducted, that several of them are now in a state of insolvency. The debt of the town of Aberdeen did not, in 1789, amount to 12,000*l*. In 1817 the annual interest alone had risen nearly to that sum—the debt itself being somewhat above 230,000*l*. In the month of February of that year the treasurer found himself obliged to make a public declaration that the town was bankrupt.

This event, and the investigations with which it was necessarily followed, led to some disclosures curiously illustrative of the conduct of self-elected town councils. As a specimen we quote the following statement from the report of the committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1819. "Previous to the insolvency of the burgh, several

of the office-bearers of the corporation were possessed, as trustees, of lands destined for charitable purposes, almost all of which appear to have been sold by order of the magistrates and council, not from any want of money on the part of these charities, but that the price might be lent to the treasurer, to supply the expensive speculations of the magistrates. All these office-bearers are now creditors of the town, to the amount of 68,134*l*. 17*s*., for such charities as are under the sole control and management of the magistrates and council, and to the amount of 12,367*l*. 7*s*. 8*d*. for those of which they are only joint trustees. Mr. Hardie, the chamberlain, states, that there is not one charitable institution under the management of the town council, whose funds have not been lent to the treasurer, and involved in the town's insolvency; and these charities now receive only 4 per cent. interest, with but a distant prospect of being repaid the principal."

The disgraceful transactions which were thus brought to light, excited throughout the country a feeling of no small alarm as well as of indignation; for, according to the law as it then stood, it was generally held, that in case of the magistrates being unable to fulfil their engagements from the property of the burgh, the burgesses, although without a voice in the management which had produced such a result, were liable to be called on to make good the deficiency. It has since, indeed, been declared by the act passed in 1822, that that liability shall no longer exist,—although it is certain that the creditors of the burghs had very generally lent their money in the confidence of possessing such an ultimate security. The announcement of the insolvency of Aberdeen awakened the citizens of Edinburgh, in particular, to extreme apprehension respecting the financial concerns of that burgh, which had been for some time suspected to be not in the best condition. They were indeed in a state sufficiently awkward and alarming. In 1817, it appeared, according to accounts submitted to the committee of 1819 by the magistrates themselves, that the deficiency of the revenue, as compared with the expenditure, had been above 16,000*l*. In 1818, the deficiency had been 18,242*l*. In 1819, the amount of debt owing by the burgh was 497,101*l*.; the total value of the then available property belonging to it, being, by the magistrates' own estimate, only 158,765*l*. Adding what might in course of time become available, but which could not be counted upon with any certainty, the total amount would only be 181,772*l*. On the whole, after disposing of whatever could be sold to pay off so much of the debt, and paying interest for the remainder, it appeared that, by the most favourable calculation, there would remain to the city a net revenue of only about 11,000*l*., while the absolutely necessary expenditure amounted annually to above 14,000*l*.

"No book," says the committee, "exhibiting an account of the debts of the city, or of its property, or of its net revenue, or of the necessary annual charges on the revenue, or of the comparative amount of annual expenditure and revenue, has ever been kept; nor has there ever been any attempt to make up an account of the state of the city's affairs, till, in December, 1817, the present Lord Provost thought fit to direct the statements which have been laid before your committee to be prepared by the accountant, as it appears, for his private information. * * * Nevertheless, the Lord Provost being asked by your committee what he considered the state of the city of Edinburgh's affairs? answered, 'Decidedly favourable;' and it is certain that he took no measures to diminish the expenditure; and that he never communicated that document to the town council, or called their attention to the result. On the contrary, when a motion was made by Deacon Paterson, in the council, soon after Michaelmas, 1818, that a statement of the funds of the city should be laid before the council, the Lord Provost joined in opposing it, and the motion was lost by a majority of 21 or 22 to 3. It appears from the Lord Provost's evidence that during the last eighteen months a series of motions in succession, and protests in succession, were made by Deacon Paterson and others; but no statement of the city's affairs was laid before the council; for which the Lord Provost has in his evidence assigned as a reason, 'that he did not consider it his duty merely to gratify Deacon Paterson.'"

To this curious exposition it only remains to be added, that notwithstanding the "decidedly favourable" state in which, according to the Lord Provost, the city's affairs were in 1817, the magistrates, we understand, have within these

few months has been deliberating whether they should not follow the example of Aberdeen, and make a declaration of insolvency.

Now where has all this money gone? Here is a sum amounting to within a few pounds of half a million sterling, which has been borrowed, all probably in the course of the last fifty or sixty years by this single burgh, and expended in addition to its large ordinary revenue. Who have chiefly received the benefit of all this extravagance? A glance at the mode in which the successive town councils and office-bearers of the corporation have been elected answers the question. The magistracy of one year has been regularly and unvaryingly the mere representative and *locum-tenens* of that of the preceding. The burgh has thus been all along in the hands of the same little knot of individuals or of families, who accordingly could hardly have been expected to look upon it in any other light than as a sort of private estate. Indeed they have exercised over its funds and revenues nearly all the rights which they could have exercised over their own property, and with fully as little responsibility. They have not only loaded the estate with an immense amount of debt, but they have sold and alienated such portions of it as they chose. And as to the expenditure of the income, they have merely applied it to any object they thought fit, without considering themselves accountable to anybody.

The following extract from the evidence appended to the report of the committee of 1819, affords an exemplification, too good to be omitted, of the way in which the individuals who have been fortunate enough to be connected with this system have been wont to secure to themselves a share in the good things accruing from it. The witness is speaking of the burgh of Dunfermline in Fife:—"From what sources is the income of the town derived?—From the rents of land, coal, and the common good of the burgh. Have those properties been let by public or by private sale, and the utmost income derived from them by competition?—I believe all the properties have been let by public sale; but many instances have occurred where persons in the council have taken these at public sale, who have afterwards induced the town council to depart from the conditions of the sale, much to the disadvantage of the town. Can you state any particular instances where, by such interference of the council, the funds of the burgh have been injured or lost?—I can state one very strong instance: the farm of Belycomur and Preydans was let by public roup to Baillie David Beveridge, at a rent of 261*l.* in 1808. By the articles of roup the tenant was allowed to expend to the extent of 630*l.* in erecting a new steading, and that steading he was bound to erect within three years; he was allowed to retain one-half of his rent yearly, until that sum should be repaid to him; Baillie David Beveridge persuaded the council to depart from the articles of the roup; got the town-council to build the steading themselves; and instead of building one to the amount of 630*l.*, they built him a steading which cost nearly 1700*l.* For how many years was that lease granted?—Nineteen years. Was Baillie Beveridge a member of the council at the time?—He was a member of council, and the leader of the party. He also prevailed upon the council to lower his rent for the year 1815, and during the currency of the lease, to 2*l.* per acre (the former rent being 2*l.* 18*s.*), and to grant him a temporary abatement, for the last three years, of 25 per cent.; these two abatements amount annually to 119*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* They have also planted seven acres, one rood, thirty-one falls and seven ells of the farm, for which they allow him at the rate of 4*l.* per acre, which amounts to 29*l.* 16*s.* Counting the interest on the cost of the steading at 7½ per cent., which amounts to 126*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*, and the insurance of the steading 1*l.* 5*s.*, the town lose by this lease 16*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*, annually, besides deriving no rent whatever from that farm. By the statement which I have made, the town will lose by the end of the lease, in consequence of having departed from the original agreement with Baillie Beveridge, 4190*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.*; and if the abatement of 25 per cent., which is only temporarily given, be continued to the end of the lease, and which is by no means unlikely, a further sum of 419*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* will be lost, besides the interest of the latter sum. Is Baillie Beveridge a relative of the present chief magistrate?—He is. What profession is he?—He is a farmer. Will you deliver that statement in to the committee?—Yes: the town council have also allowed the Baillie to build a farm servants' house upon the property, for which they have agreed to

allow him value at the end of the lease. When they reduced the rent 25 per cent., did they make any deduction from the allowance they made to him for planting?—None; they only draw from that land, now, thirty shillings an acre, while they continue to give him 4*l.* an acre for the barren parts which have been planted. Are there any other instances?—There is another very strong instance which I have also here; Baillie Scotland is tenant of a considerable part of the town's lands; he subset them very soon after he took them, and in the year 1816, while he was deriving a considerable surplus revenue from the lands, on the very day that Baillie Beveridge applied for a reduction, Baillie Scotland made a verbal application for a reduction of his rent also; and the town-council, without any more consideration of the matter, granted him an abatement of 25 per cent.; at that time, by his own admission, he was deriving a considerable surplus from subsets. He was a member of council?—Yes. Was he likewise related to the Provost?—He is married to the Provost's niece."

Any thing of the kind richer than this is not to be desired. We have, however, to bring forward an instance of dexterity in the application of the principle of self-election which probably outdoes anything that has been attempted either by the Dunfermline town-council or by any other. Indeed it deserves rather to be described as an improvement of the machinery which has more than doubled its efficacy. Its conception is due to the inventive genius of the rulers of another burgh in Fife, a county which, although only one of thirty-three, and but of moderate dimensions, contains no fewer than thirteen, or about a fifth of the whole number of burghs, and may therefore claim to be designated the Cornwall of Scotland. The burgh in question is Cupar; and we will give from the evidence appended to the report of the Committee of 1820, the description of the very curious mode in which the annual election of the magistrates and council was then wont to be conducted:—

"The old council, consisting of thirteen, meet on the Wednesday after Michaelmas, to elect the new council of a like number. If one or more of the thirteen are absent, those who appear proceed to fill up the vacancy by open vote, the magistrate last in office, or the councillor who has been longest in the council, being in the chair, and having a vote and the casting vote. The thirteen old council being thus full, they proceed to elect the new council thus, —not by vote, but by beginning at the person whose name stands first on the roll of the thirteen old councillors, and asking him to nominate a councillor to succeed him for the ensuing year. This he does by naming whom he chooses. The town clerk then opens the town-house window, and calls the person's name so elected over the window, and desires him to come up to the council-room and take his seat. This he does; and in the same manner it proceeds, until the whole thirteen have each named one." The two individuals, one of whom thus nominates the other as his successor, go by the name of joint or neighbour councillors; and A electing B one year, B in turn elects A the next.

For some time the committee could not be made exactly to comprehend this singular process, by which the council was in fact divided into thirteen parts, each entirely independent of the rest. It appeared to them that although it might be customary to allow each individual in this manner to nominate or rather to suggest the person who was to succeed him, the thing could only be managed by an understanding upon the part of the majority, that when it came to the vote, they were to support each other's choice. The town-clerk accordingly was asked what happened in case of the council not ratifying any individual member's nomination of his successor? The old man, who had spent the greater part of a long life in intimate connection with the system, and to whom its workings must have been all as familiar as any of the most ordinary processes of nature, seems to have been struck with no little surprise at the question. The notion of any member's choice being in the slightest degree interfered with by the rest, he scouted as a mere folly and absurdity,—as something inconsistent with the very constitution of things; "They do not ratify it at all;" he replied with contemptuous asperity; "*they have no business with it.*"

The pertinacity with which these compacts seem to have been adhered to is very remarkable, and may be taken as another illustration of Milton's assertion as to the "firm concord" of persons engaged in common pursuits which are:

not of the most creditable description. One witness states that he knows only of two instances within the last hundred years in which the practice of joint councillors has been departed from. According to the Cupar code of honour no baseness seems to have been accounted comparable to that of breaking through this arrangement on any pretence, or for any reason whatever. If two individuals, who had been thus leagued, became personal enemies, they still continued united as neighbour councillors. It not unfrequently happened that they were even the leaders or followers of the two opposite parties in the council; but still each usually considered himself bound to call up his opponent to be his successor when he was himself obliged to resign his seat. One instance in particular is mentioned, which occurred a few years ago, of a member, at a critical moment, when the continuance of the ascendancy of himself and his party, of which he was the head, depended upon a single vote, nevertheless holding by the established usage, and nominating to the new council a man who was not only one of the most zealous partisans of the adverse faction, but his personal enemy besides, to whom he had not spoken for ten years. In another case, also of recent occurrence, a challenge which would have led to a duel between the parties if the peace officers had not taken them into custody on the field, is stated to have been the immediate result of a breach of the family compact on the part of one of them. For, so far was the thing wont to be carried, that when either party died, it was considered that his son stepped, as a matter of course, into his place in the confederacy, and inherited all his rights and obligations. When there was no son, the dead man's representative was found in any more distant relation, whom it was agreed upon to put forward. Nothing evidently could go beyond this system in its tendency to secure a perpetuity of office to one set of people and their descendants. One of the witnesses examined by the committee, states that his own ancestors or those of his wife had, he believed, sat in the town-council for two hundred years.

The effects of the system were such as might have been expected—a thick growth of abuses of all descriptions. The funds of the burgh, in the first place, appear to have been managed in the usual way. One witness, who had been for a short time a member of the council, says—"I moved that an abstract of the income and expenditure of the funds of the burgh should be made out for ten or twelve years; that motion I carried unanimously, and was empowered to employ a clerk to make out the statement; and I also moved that it should be printed and circulated to the inhabitants. I employed a clerk for the purpose, and gave him all the necessary documents for that purpose; but one way or another he was kept back from doing so; one councillor came and took away one book; another councillor came and took away another book, and I fought for the whole of the two years I was in council to get that accomplished, but till this day it never was done." No; they were not such fools as to permit anything of the kind. Print and circulate an account of the income and expenditure of the burgh! They would have thought it as reasonable and proper to submit to the public an account of their yearly gains in their several private capacities.

Places so snug as these were accounted of some value, and bore their price in the market. From evidence which was laid before the committee, it appears that a seat in the Town Council of Cupar sold for from thirty to a hundred guineas. Various instances of the completion of the bargain are given, with the names of the parties, and all other particulars. We content ourselves with quoting the judgment of the committee:—"A specific allegation," they say, having been made, that seats in the council of that burgh had frequently been bought and sold, your committee lament to report, that the evidence has fully confirmed this allegation; that these proceedings, so gross and iniquitous in their nature, and so injurious in their effects, have been fully established; nay, even admitted to be true, by the very persons themselves who took part in them, and who were in fact the principal delinquents."

As a sample of the benefits which the town has been accustomed to derive from being ruled in this way, we may refer to the evidence of one of the witnesses who had been an inhabitant of Cupar for twenty-two years. He states, that for many years past the town has been engaged in lawsuits, both before the inferior, and also before the superior courts—that these lawsuits have generally been occasioned by differences that took place with the people in the town—

and that he never knew the council to gain a suit except once.

Now, is not all this as bad as can be, and do not the facts we have stated make out a perfectly irresistible argument for the total abolition of a system of which such have been the results? It is impossible to conceive grosser misgovernment than that which these burghs have almost universally exhibited. Generally speaking, there is no part of their trust which the magistrates have not abused—no power they have been permitted to exercise which they have not, as far as possible, turned to their own advantage, without any regard whatever to that of the community. But there is nothing in all this at which we are entitled to be surprised. When has power, exercised without responsibility, been exercised otherwise than selfishly and mischievously? This is the root of the whole evil, and must be put an end to before any minor or more partial corrective can be usefully applied.

The bill brought in by the Lord Advocate to alter and amend the laws for the election of the magistrates and councils of the Scotch royal burghs, restores to those burghs the full amount of that ancient free constitution of which the act of 1469 deprived them. After declaring, by way of preamble, that the right of election "appears to have been originally in certain large classes of the inhabitants of such burghs; by the abrogation of which ancient and wholesome usage, much loss, inconvenience, and discontent have been occasioned," it goes on to enact that in future the electors of the town councils in all such burghs shall be all who are entitled to vote at the election of the member of parliament for the burgh; or, in other words, all the householders within the limits of the burgh who occupy houses rented as high as ten pounds a year. This is the governing provision of the measure; but the bill of course contains many other enactments, regulating the particular manner in which the new principle of election is to be applied. Into a detail of these, however, we cannot at present attempt to enter. The second of the two bills brought in by the learned Lord is intended to meet the case of those burghs and towns of Scotland which, since the passing of the Reform Act, return, or contribute to return, members to parliament, and are not royal burghs. In regard to them, the same principle is adopted as in the case of the others; in all of them the ten pound householders are to elect the town-council. We may give a summary of the other provisions of these two acts when they shall have been passed into laws.

FACTORIES INQUIRY.

THE Central Board of his Majesty's Commissioners "appointed to collect information in the manufacturing districts, as to the employment of children in factories, and as to the propriety and means of curtailing the hours of their labour," have published two Reports, with Minutes of Evidence. The first, was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 28th June, and the second, on the 15th July. They are most voluminous documents. The evidence, in particular, will offer most abundant materials for a more complete view of the general condition of the manufacturing population than we have yet been able to obtain; and as this Inquiry naturally involves the consideration of many highly important points in our social economy, we propose, for the present, only to offer an abstract, and that principally in the words of the Commissioners themselves, of the Report before us, without comment. Our readers will, in this way, be better prepared for that general view of the subject of the proposed interference between the capitalist and the labourer, which we shall feel it our duty to lay before them, at no distant period.

The Central Board first states the mode in which the inquiry was conducted:—

"Four districts were traced out, comprehending the seats of each of the principal branches of manufacture in which any large proportion of infant labour is employed. Two civil commissioners and one medical commissioner were appointed to each district."

The abstract of the evidence first refers to the duration of labour:—

"In relation to the regular hours of labour, it appears from the evidence, that in Scotland there are two or three factories in which the regular hours of labour do not exceed from ten to eleven daily, but that in general they are from twelve to twelve hours and a half, while in several districts they are not less than thirteen.

"It is customary to leave off work on the Saturdays, in some places one and in others two hours earlier than on the other days; but the time thus lost on Saturday is sometimes made up by working a quarter of an hour later on the other days.

"In England, in the north-eastern district, in a few factories, the regular hours of labour do not exceed eleven. In general, both at Leicester and Nottingham, they are not less than twelve. 'Eleven hours is called a day at Leeds;' but it is seldom that in this district the hours are really less than twelve, while occasionally they are thirteen. In Manchester the regular hours of work are twelve. There are many places in the western district, as at Coventry and Birmingham, in which the regular hours of labour do not exceed ten; while it appears that some of the work-people labour upon an average not more than nine hours daily. In these towns, indeed, there is no factory labour, properly so called; for the operatives, with few exceptions, work at their own houses. But in some of the factories in the great clothing district the hours of labour are the same, seldom if ever exceeding ten. In general, however, they are somewhat longer; both in the carpet and in the clothing factories they are seldom less than eleven, and scarcely ever more than twelve. * * *

"In some factories, in the several districts, there is no intermission of the work, day or night. In such cases, two sets of work-people are employed, each set commonly working twelve hours; occasionally there are three sets, and then each set works eight hours.

"It appears that the time allowed for meals differs considerably in different districts, and in the same district in different factories. In one or two factories in Scotland, the meal hours are one hour for breakfast, and one hour and a half for dinner. In a few others, three quarters of an hour is allowed for each of these meals; but in the great majority of cases the time allowed is half an hour for breakfast and half an hour for dinner, with no stoppage for tea, or drinking, as it is termed. In the north-eastern district, the practice in some factories, as at Leicester and Nottingham, is to stop half an hour for breakfast, one hour for dinner, and half an hour for tea; but in others only a quarter of an hour is allowed for breakfast, and half an hour for dinner; sometimes there is no stoppage either for breakfast or tea, but only for dinner—in some factories for an hour, in others and this is the more general rule, for half an hour. At Leeds they sometimes stop half an hour for breakfast, one hour for dinner, and half an hour for drinking, but this is very unusual. It is seldom that they stop more than forty minutes for dinner, and often not at all either for breakfast or drinking. There is, however, much difference in this respect in different factories; and in some it is pretty evident that practices have been resorted to, to cheat the work-people of a portion of their meal hours, which cannot be too strongly reprobated. * * *

"In many factories it is not an unusual practice for the work people to stop during a part of the dinner-hour to clean the machinery; this sometimes occupies them half their dinner-hour, at other times not more than ten minutes. The children commonly stop to clean their own work. In some factories care is taken on the part of the proprietors to secure to the work-people the whole of the time allotted to meals; while in others this time is encroached upon without scruple. Occasionally, but not often, the work continues without intermission during the whole of the meal-hours; the engine never stopping excepting about ten minutes to be oiled, and the work-people 'eating how they can.' * * *

"In order to regain the time lost by stoppages, whether from the breakage of machinery, from the want of a due supply of water, or from holidays, it is the custom for the people to work sometimes half an hour, at other times an hour, and occasionally even as much as two hours daily, until the whole of the lost time be made up. When the children do not clean the machinery out of the hours allotted for their meals, they clean it at extra hours. * *

"For additional labour to make up lost time from stoppages, with scarcely a single exception, no additional wages are paid, and the work-people, young and old, perform this labour with reluctance.

"On the other hand, when from any cause there is a press of work requiring extra hours of labour, for which extra wages are paid, there seems to be no limit to the period for which the people will continue at their employment; sometimes, indeed, reluctantly, but more often, not

only without grudging, but with thankfulness, looking upon the permission to do so as a privilege and a boon."

The ages at which children are employed is thus stated:—

"It appears in evidence, that in some rare instances children begin to work in factories at five years old; it is not uncommon to find them there at six, many are under seven, still more under eight, but the greater number are nine; while some, but comparatively few, branches of manufacture do not admit of the employment of children under ten years of age."

The general state of the factories, as connected with the well-being of the work-people, is thus noticed:—

"The present inquiry has led to a very complete exposition of the nature of the labour in which children are employed in the different factories of the kingdom. * * *

The present inquiry has likewise brought together a large body of evidence relative to those various circumstances connected with the state of factories, which concur with the nature of the employment in exerting an important influence on the health of the work-people, whether children or adults, but which more especially affect the health of the former. Such concurrent circumstances are, the situation of the factory, the state of the drainage about the building, the size and height of the work-rooms, the perfect or imperfect ventilation, the degree of temperature, the nature and quantity of the effluvia evolved, whether necessarily or not necessarily in the different processes of manufacture, the conveniences afforded to the work-people for washing and changing their clothes on leaving the factory, and the habitual state both of the factory and of the operatives as to cleanliness. Details, which place in a striking point of view, on the one hand, the conservative influence of careful and judicious attention to such concurrent causes in the general arrangements of the establishment, and on the other, the pernicious consequences that result from inattention to them, will be found in the account given of the state of individual factories in most of the reports. * * *

"While not a few signal examples are recorded of a beneficent care exercised over the work-people, yet it must be admitted that there are too many instances in which an utter disregard is shown, not only to their convenience and comfort, but even to circumstances which must influence, in no inconsiderable degree, their moral feelings and habits."

The treatment of the children by those to whose authority they are committed—the most important branch of the inquiry—is detailed as follows:—

"It will appear from the evidence annexed to this report, that the commissioners have everywhere investigated, with the utmost care, the treatment to which children are subjected while engaged in the labour of the factory. These inquiries have been obtained from the children themselves, from their parents, from operatives, overlookers, proprietors, medical practitioners, and magistrates. * * *

"It appears in evidence that in Scotland, and in the eastern district of England, where the harshest treatment of children has taken place, the greatest number of bad cases occur in the small obscure mills belonging to the smallest proprietors, and that the bad treatment is inflicted by violent and dissipated workmen, often the very men who raise the loudest outcry about the cruelties to which children are subjected in factories. * * *

"In considering the statements of the severe and cruel treatment of children, it would be injustice not to bear in mind that it is established by the most abundant evidence, that in Scotland, at least, the small mill is the only factory in which such treatment ever takes place in the present day, and that there are many, even of the smallest mills in that country, honourably distinguished for a kinder treatment of their workers; but the greater mass of the people employed in factories, and especially the young, are in establishments of which such descriptions as the following are given:— 'We reached Catrine, the great manufacturing establishment of Messrs. James Finlay and Company, yesterday morning. I had great pleasure in walking through the eighteen apartments of the spinning-mills and power-loom weaving establishment, and witnessing the admirable order of the works, and the apparent happiness of the people employed, which is quite as remarkable and as obvious as at any of the other great factories situated in country districts. The windows open from the top; the rooms are thoroughly ventilated; there is a clock and a thermometer in every room; no unpleasant smell in any part of the work; the utmost cleanness and neatness prevail throughout; the

works are well provided with fanners in the preparing-rooms ; there are between 800 and 900 workers, all occupying houses originally built by the company, of a very different and superior description from those generally occupied by persons of the same situation in life in this country. They have a chapel, and every establishment necessary for their accommodation. The population of the village amounts to 4,253 persons, one half of which is a population engaged in manufactures ; yet in the last twenty years the landed proprietors of the parish have only been called on to pay for the poor 212*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, not much more than 10*l.* per annum.* * * *

"In like manner, from the statements and depositions obtained under the present inquiry in the several districts in England, and from all classes of witnesses, it appears that, in the great majority of cases, corporeal punishment is prohibited by the proprietors ; while it is proved on oath, by several witnesses, that operatives and overlookers have been suspended, and even dismissed from their employment, for disobeying this command. It is impossible to read the evidence from Leeds, Manchester, and the western district, without being satisfied that a great improvement has taken place, within the last few years, in the treatment of children. What ill-treatment still exists is found chiefly in the small and obscure factories, while both in the large and small factories in England it is inflicted by workmen over children whom they themselves hire and pay, and who are completely under their control. In Scotland, personal chastisement, when inflicted, is inflicted by the overlooker ; in England, by the work-people."

The general treatment of children in the factories, and the collateral circumstances under which their employment is carried, naturally lead the Commissioners to inquire into the general effects of that employment :—

"The effects of factory labour on children are immediate and remote : the immediate effects are fatigue, sleepiness, and pain ; the remote effects, such at least as are usually conceived to result from it, are, deterioration of the physical constitution, deformity, disease, and deficient mental instruction and moral culture.* * *

"That this excessive fatigue, privation of sleep, pain in various parts of the body, and swelling of the feet, experienced by the young workers, coupled with the constant standing, the peculiar attitudes of the body, and the peculiar motions of the limbs required in the labour of the factory, together with the elevated temperature and the impure atmosphere in which that labour is often carried on, do sometimes ultimately terminate in the production of serious, permanent, and incurable disease, appear to us to be established. From cases detailed in the evidence, and the accuracy of which has been strictly investigated, we do not conceive it to be possible to arrive at any other conclusion. The evidence, especially from Dundee and Glasgow ; from Leicester, Nottingham, Leeds, and Bradford ; from Manchester and Stockport ; in a word, from all the great manufacturing towns, with the exception, perhaps, of those in the western district, in which there is little indication of disease produced by early and extensive labour, shows that grievous and incurable maladies do result in young persons from labour commenced in the factory at the age at which it is at present not uncommon to begin it, and continued for the number of hours during which it is not unusual to protract it."

We rejoice to see that the Commissioners have directed their attention to the principal evil resulting from the unremitting employment of children in factories—the neglect of their education. If education were really natural, as it ought to be, the want of a proper system of instruction amongst so large and important a body of the rising generation, would be the real ground for the interference of the State between the employer and the employed :—

"From the same evidence it appears, that the physical evil inflicted on children by factory labour, when commenced as early and continued as long as it now is, is not the only evil sustained by them. From the statements and depositions of witnesses of all classes, it appears, that even when the employment of children at so early an age, and for so many hours as is customary at present, produces no manifest bodily disease, yet, in the great majority of cases, it incapacitates them from receiving instruction. On this head, the statements of the children themselves must be admitted to be of some importance ; and it will be found that the young children very generally declare that they are too much

fatigued to attend school, even when a school is provided for them. This is more uniformly the declaration of the children in the factories of Scotland than in those of England. The evidence of other witnesses, both as to the capacity of the children for receiving instruction, and as to their actual state in regard to education, is conflicting. Few will be prepared to expect the statements that will be found on this head in regard to Scotland, where the education of the children is neglected to a far greater extent than is commonly believed, where only a very small number can write ; where, though perhaps the majority can read, many cannot ; and where, with some honourable exceptions, it seems certain that the care once bestowed on the instruction of the young has ceased to be exemplary. The reports of the Commissioners for Scotland, who will be found to have kept this subject continually before their view, are decisive on this head."

The injuries resulting to the work-people in factories, especially to children, from the want of proper care in the construction of the machinery, are justly pointed out :—

"One of the great evils to which people employed in factories are exposed, is, the danger of receiving serious and even fatal injury from the machinery. It does not seem possible, by any precautions that are practicable, to remove this danger altogether. There are factories in which everything is done that it seems practicable to do to reduce this danger to the least possible amount, and with such success that no serious accident happens for years together. By the returns which we have received, however, it appears that there are other factories, and that these are by no means few in number—not confined to the smaller mills, in which serious accidents are continually occurring, and in which, notwithstanding, dangerous parts of the machinery are allowed to remain unfenced. The greater the carelessness of the proprietors in neglecting sufficiently to fence the machinery, and the greater the number of accidents, the less their sympathy with the sufferers. In factories in which precaution is taken to prevent accidents, care is taken of the work-people when they do occur, and a desire is shown to make what compensation may be possible. But it appears in evidence, that cases frequently occur in which the work-people are abandoned from the moment that an accident occurs ; their wages are stopped ; no medical attendance is provided ; and whatever the extent of the injury, no compensation is afforded."

The general leadings of the evidence are thus summed up :—

"From the whole of the evidence laid before us, of which we have thus endeavoured to exhibit the material points, we find :—

"1st. That the children employed in all the principal branches of manufacture throughout the kingdom, work during the same number of hours as the adults.

"2nd. That the effects of labour during such hours are, in a great number of cases, permanent deterioration of the physical constitution ; the production of disease often wholly irremediable ; and the partial or entire exclusion (by reason of excessive fatigue) from the means of obtaining adequate education, and acquiring useful habits, or of profiting by those means when afforded.

"3rd. That at the age when children suffer these injuries from the labour they undergo, they are not free agents, but are let out to hire, the wages they earn being received and appropriated by their parents and guardians.

"We are therefore of opinion that a case is made out for the interference of the legislature in behalf of the children employed in factories.

"4th. In regard to morals, we find, that though the statements and depositions of the different witnesses that have been examined are to a considerable degree conflicting, yet there is no evidence to show that vice and immorality are more prevalent among these people, considered as a class, than amongst any other portion of the community in the same station, and with the same limited means of information. Distinguished from other classes by being collected together (both sexes, young and old) in large numbers, the language and behaviour common to uneducated people, under such circumstances, is found to be checked in no inconsiderable degree by the presence of fathers, mothers, and brothers ; and for any evil of this kind which may, nevertheless, exist, the proper remedy seems to be a more general and careful education of the young people."

Much of the evidence collected by the Commissioners would naturally relate to the probable effect of the measures

before Parliament; and they consequently offer the following conclusions, on a view of the whole character of what is called the "Ten-hour Bill":—

"That this bill does not accomplish the object at which it purports to aim. Its professed object is the protection of children; but it does not protect children. For the same evidence which shows that the legislative protection of children is necessary, shows that the restriction of the labour of children to ten hours a-day is not an adequate protection."

"Independently of the objection which there appears to be in principle to any compulsory interference with the hours or terms of adult labour, we find reason to anticipate very serious practical evils from imposing any such arbitrary restriction on the operations of so large a proportion of the manufacturing industry of the country."

"The most direct and undisputed consequence of the passing of the Ten Hour Bill would be the general limitation of the labour of adults within the same hours as those assigned to children and adolescents. We are spared the labour of weighing conflicting testimony on this point, as it is generally admitted or assumed on both sides of the question. On the part of the manufacturers it is generally taken for granted, that such will be the first effect of the measure under discussion, and that assumption is made the basis of reasoning as to its ultimate issue. With the operatives, the same assumption is prominently put forward in the arguments of most of the leading advocates of the measure, and is generally dwelt upon as forming a principle item amongst the benefits which they expect to derive from the passing of the measure."

"It appears to be the general opinion of the operatives, that though wages may in the first instance fall, from reduction of the hours of labour, the artificial scarcity of commodities thus occasioned will effect a rise of prices, and a consequent rise of wages, as well as an increase of work for hands which are now partially out of employ; by occasioning the erection of new establishments to supply the deficiency of production caused by the diminution of labour."

"There might indeed, if the restriction of hours affecting the productive power of machinery in this country, to the extent that would be effected by the proposed Ten-hour Bill were immediately enforced, be a temporary scarcity of manufactured goods, so as; in the first instance, to occasion a rise of prices, which might as long as it lasted, allow of the maintenance of wages; notwithstanding the reduced hours. But this rise could not in the nature of things be of long duration. This temporary rise of price, combined with the permanent advantage to the foreign manufacturer of the increased cost of production in this country, would inevitably operate in producing an extension of the existing works, and the erection of new ones abroad. The increased production from these, and from the extended works in this country, stimulated by the advance of price, would, after no long interval, restore the former proportion of the supply to the demand, and the consequences would then be most disastrous to the English manufacturer and workman. The smaller and less favourably situated manufactories would be swept away. Even the more opulent and best situated establishments would have great difficulty in maintaining their ground; workmen would be thrown out of employ, and wages must, under such circumstances, inevitably fall to the lowest point consistent with the most bare subsistence of the working class."

"These effects would vary in degree in the different branches of the manufacture to which the artificially restricted production in this country would apply; but the ultimate result in all would be a general reduction of profit and wages."

"And it may generally be stated, that the final clauses of this bill are of a nature so vexatious and arbitrary as; if sanctioned by the legislature, would create a serious objection to the investment of capital in manufacturing industry in this country."

The remedies proposed by the Commissioners are as follow:—

"The restrictions we venture to propose with regard to children are; that children under nine years of age shall not be employed in mills or factories, subject, however, to the considerations hereinafter stated. That until the commencement of the fourteenth year the hours of labour during any one day shall not in any case exceed eight. That until the commencement of the fourteenth year children

shall not in any case be allowed to work at night; that is to say, between the hours of ten at night and five in the morning."

"The great evil of the manufacturing system, as at present conducted, has appeared to us to be, that it entails the necessity of continuing the labour of children to the utmost length of that of the adults. The only remedy for this evil short of a limitation of the labour of adults, which would, in our opinion, create an evil greater than that which it sought to be remedied, appears to be the plan of working double sets of children."

It is not our intention, at present, to enter into a consideration of the plan of the Commissioners, or of the other measures before Parliament. We shall recur, without delay, to the subject; sincerely hoping that we shall not have to examine any act of blind legislation, upon a subject presenting greater difficulties; and involving more extensive and complicated interests, than any with which Parliament has had to deal.

AMENDMENT OF THE APOTHECARIES' ACT.

WHAT is called the Apothecaries' Act, is one of the most impudent pieces of legislation that have been perpetrated in modern times. Indeed, mischievous as much of our law-making within that period has been, we do not recollect any other statute passed since the commencement of the present century, the injustice and absurdity of which have been at the same time so sweeping and so scandalous.

The act in question was passed in the year 1815, and is entitled, "An Act for better regulating the practice of Apothecaries throughout England and Wales." The deception, of which the whole measure is a tissue, commences with the title. Though *Apothecaries* is the term employed here and elsewhere, in order to afford a pretext for the powers conferred upon the Apothecaries' Company, the persons whom the act affects are, with few exceptions, the whole body of medical practitioners throughout the kingdom. In London, and some of our other great towns, there are physicians and surgeons who do not compound or vend medicines; but in the country this distinction of the three branches of the profession does not exist. Except in a few of our largest towns, every man who practises medicine at all, likewise deals in drugs, and must do so, unless he should undertake, in the treatment of his patients, to dispense with the *materia medica* altogether, or to cure them by making them swallow the written prescription itself, instead of the actual powders, draughts, and boluses. If he were not to supply them with medicines, there is nobody else from whom they could procure them.

The consequence is, as we have said, that over all England the medical practitioners are also apothecaries, within the meaning of this act. The exceptions are to be found only in the metropolis, and a few of our other largest towns. But even in the metropolis, probably nine-tenths of the practice is in the hands of persons who dispense drugs as well as advice and attendance.

Now, by this act, all these persons, constituting as they do all but the entire medical profession throughout England, must, in the first place, be Licentiates of the Apothecaries' Company. When apothecaries were first heard of in England, they were accounted merely grocers, with whom they formed one company in the City of London, down to the year 1617. The separation which was then made between the dispensers of a class of articles so numerous, and requiring such accurate measurement, and such nice discrimination as medicines, and the venders of dried plums and pepper, was perfectly proper. But it does not seem quite so reasonable that, because the apothecaries have ceased to be grocers, they should be forthwith invested with the entire regulation of the practice of medicine in England.

This would not, we think, be a judicious arrangement in any circumstances, nor although it had been guarded by the strictest checks and corrective provisions. A mercantile company originally instituted for the sale of certain commodities, and whose chief business that still continues to be, would not seem to be the fittest authority to which to confide the superintendence of one of the liberal professions, and the power of saying who shall, and who shall not, be permitted to enter it. Even if we had had no colleges and universities where medicine was taught as a science, and no incorporated societies of the practitioners of its higher branches, it would seem to be sufficiently absurd to give

the right of licensing its practitioners to the Company of Apothecaries. Better to demand as a qualification the diploma of some foreign school, or to institute a new board for the trial and examination of applicants. Nor, if the Apothecaries' Company were a great public establishment, instead of being a mere private incorporation, and were regulated in regard to all its arrangements by some certain rules from which it could not depart, instead of being entitled to make for itself what by-laws and other regulations it pleases, would it still have any rational claim to be placed at the head of our national medicine.

But the apothecaries have not been contented with insisting that no one shall presume to practise medicine without their licence. By another clause of their act it is provided that no person shall have a right to be even examined by them for a certificate, unless he shall have served an apprenticeship of not less than five years to an apothecary. The absurdity of this regulation would be ludicrous were it not for its monstrous injustice. Of course, every medical practitioner who finds it necessary to be the dispenser of drugs to his patients, ought to have acquired the habit of distinguishing, and measuring, and mixing the various articles of the *materia medica*. But to pretend that this cannot be done without standing behind a counter for five years, is nonsense. Indeed, we are not aware that such an assertion has ever been distinctly made. The Company of Apothecaries themselves would probably be unwilling to affirm, in so many words, anything so ridiculous. In point of fact, there were few country practitioners in England before this act came into operation, as there are still few, if any, in Scotland, where it does not operate, part of whose professional education had not consisted in an attendance for some time, in a shop where medicines were sold. But not a great many of them, certainly, had devoted five years to the pestle and mortar alone. For a young man who has made himself sufficiently acquainted with chemistry, as well as with the other studies belonging to his profession, one year's practice in compounding and selling medicines, instead of five, will be found amply sufficient to give him the requisite knowledge and skill.

The injustice of this monopoly in the hands of the Company of Apothecaries, as bearing upon the prospects and fair claims of the members of one of our most eminent professions, is enormous; but the inconsistencies which it involves are, if possible, still greater. The act declares that, after the 1st of August 1815, none but licentiates of the Apothecaries' Company shall be allowed to practise, *except persons then actually practising*. Upon what ground is this exception tolerated? If it be indispensable for the safety of the lieges that nobody should be allowed to compound or vend drugs without having served an apprenticeship of five years to an apothecary, surely it is a strange thing to assert, that a person not so qualified may, nevertheless, be permitted to practise to the end of his life without injury or danger, because he was actually practising on the 1st of August, 1815. Or, if it shall be said, that justice to the established practitioners demanded that they should have the benefit of this exemption, let the danger be what it might, why, we ask, was it limited to them? Why was it not extended to all who had already finished, or even to all who had already begun their professional education—very few of whom can be supposed to have found it much more convenient, than would the established practitioners have done, to stop short in the course they have marked out for themselves, and to throw away five years in standing behind a counter, and running errands under the superintendence of a number of the Apothecary's Company?

But further, upon what principle are the people of England and Wales alone to be protected by this five years' apprenticeship? How comes it that, if such an ordeal be necessary to make a finished or even ordinarily competent medical practitioner, mere graduates of the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and Dublin, and of the colleges of surgeons of London and Edinburgh, are not only allowed to practise in any part of Scotland or Ireland, or the colonies, but are even admitted into the service of the East India Company, and into his Majesty's army and navy? If the Legislature considered the five years' apprenticeship to be an essential part of medical education, why did they not enforce it universally? How, above all, came they not to require it from those whom the Government selects to take care of the health and the lives of our soldiers and sailors?

But in truth, the Legislature in passing this act contemplated manifestly no such purpose, as that which it has been made to serve in the hands of the parties by whom it was procured. Parliament was taken in by the title of the bill, which bore to refer to the practice of apothecaries merely—a matter which the Company of Apothecaries might be, naturally enough, supposed to have some claim to interfere with. It never could have been imagined, that under the description of apothecaries were, in fact, comprehended almost all persons practising medicine throughout the kingdom, and that the whole profession was thus made over to be farmed and fleeced for the profit of this city company.

The consequences of the act have been, that no person graduated or licensed by the eminent and distinguished bodies that have been mentioned above, is now permitted to practise medicine (except simply as a physician or surgeon, not dispensing drugs) in any part of England—and, that, in place of such well-educated professional men, the country must be contented with the services of so many druggists' apprentices. This is a grievous hardship and injustice to the excluded graduates—to those who after preparing themselves for the exercise of their profession by a long, laborious, and expensive course of study, find themselves thus debarred from entering it;—and it is also a hardship in reference to the community, which is deprived of their services. The company, we may here remark, have not allowed their oppressive privilege to remain a dead letter. For some years past they have employed the powers with which they are invested, with more and more severity every year. According to a return furnished a few weeks ago to the House of Commons by themselves, it appears that the number of prosecutions for penalties which they have instituted since the 29th of March 1825, have been two in that year; two in 1826; one in 1827; nine in 1828; nine in 1829; sixteen in 1830; fifteen in 1831; and eighteen in 1832. In addition to these cases, numerous persons, they inform us, have discontinued practising on being threatened with prosecution. They complain of not having been able to enforce the law to the extent they would have wished, "in consequence of the great unwillingness and backwardness in parties, when called upon, to furnish evidence, or to come forward as witnesses." Here then we have a confession, under their own hands, of the public abhorrence of their monopoly.

Notwithstanding the difficulties they have had to encounter, however, they have contrived to work the act to some purpose. By another return it appears that from the 29th of March 1825, to the 19th of June 1833, their certificates alone have brought them 22,822l. 16s. But this is the least part of what the monopoly enjoyed by the Company puts into the pockets of its members. Their principal gains must arise from the premiums paid to them by their apprentices. There has also been laid before the House of Commons a return of the manner in which the money received for certificates has been expended; but it only accounts for 18,564l. 10s. 5d. of it. Of that sum, it appears, 10,218l. 12s. has been paid in the course of the eight years to the examiners, besides 980l. to their secretary; and 4,604l. 5s. 3d. have gone to defray law charges. Of the other items one is "Remuneration to Beadle for extra trouble during same period,—465l. 0s. 1d." The beadle seems to have his fair share of the spoil.

But the Company boast that they demand other accomplishments besides a knowledge of drugs from the persons to whom they grant their certificates; and that they have even laid down a course of study which candidates are required to pursue previously to being examined. In doing all this we would remark, in the first place, that the apothecaries seem to us to have stepped very far out of their proper sphere. But the whole statement is merely a piece of solemn absurdity. Will they pretend to compare the course of study which they have established with that which is made imperative upon candidates for graduation at, for instance, the colleges of Glasgow and Edinburgh? Without entering further into particulars, is it not the fact that while the latter occupies of necessity four years, independently of a previous literary course, the former, at least until within the last three or four years, might have been gone over in six, or at most in eight months? If the regulations respecting this matter have been since, in any respect, improved, as we believe they have been slightly, the reform has been forced upon the Company by the public agitation of the subject and the apprehension of parliamentary interference, and after all exists

merely by a by-law, which may be repealed at any time. Is there any law, we ask, which prevents the Company, if they please, from licensing a person who has served the requisite five years' apprenticeship, although he have not in addition gone through any course of medical study whatever?

This state of things has lasted too long; and we rejoice, therefore, that a bill, some time ago brought into the House of Commons to put an end to it, has already received the sanction of that branch of the legislature. We trust that this bill, notwithstanding the powerful opposition to be expected from the body whose mischievous monopoly it goes to destroy, will be triumphantly carried through the other House by the force of its own reasonableness and justice. It leaves quite as much authority over the medical profession to the Company of Apothecaries as they can with any fairness demand. It enacts that every person who has obtained, or shall hereafter obtain, the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the university of Edinburgh, of Glasgow, or of Aberdeen, shall be entitled to practise as an apothecary, and to dispense medicines to his patients in any part of England or Wales, without having undergone any such examination, or received any such certificate from the London Company, as the act of 1815 requires. He is merely required to notify his degree to that Company for registration. In order to secure the requisite knowledge of drugs, instead of the five years' apprenticeship, it is provided that in future no degree shall be conferred by any of the aforesaid universities, except on evidence being produced by the candidate, previous to his examination, that he has served an apprenticeship to a regularly licensed medical practitioner keeping a laboratory for the dispensing of medicines, or that he has attended for at least twelve months at the laboratory of a surgeon or apothecary, or of a public hospital or dispensary, or that he has, during that time, been engaged in compounding and dispensing medicines. As to persons having diplomas from the College of Surgeons of London, of Dublin, or of Edinburgh, or from the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, and who have acquired a knowledge of drugs in the manner just stated, they are to be admitted to examination by the apothecaries as a matter of course. Finally, it is enacted that for the future any person who has, or shall have, held any commission or warrant as a surgeon or assistant-surgeon in the Royal Navy, or as surgeon, assistant-surgeon, or apothecary in any of his Majesty's Land Forces, or as surgeon or assistant-surgeon in the service of the East India Company, may practise in any part of England or Wales as an apothecary, and dispense medicines without either the certificate of the Apothecaries or any examination by them, and without being liable to any penalty or disability whatever by reason of such practice.

WARWICK BOROUGH ELECTION.

THE history of contested elections scarcely affords anything to parallel the extraordinary scenes which appear to have distinguished the last election for the borough of Warwick. On that occasion, the candidates were the Hon. Sir Charles John Greville in the one interest, and Mr. Bolton King and Mr. Jones in the other; Sir Charles being supported by what is there called the influence of the Castle, that is, of the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Lieutenant of the county; and his two opponents by the independent party in the town. Sir Charles Greville and Mr. King were returned. Both returns, however, having been petitioned against, Sir Charles was unseated by the decision of a Committee of the House of Commons. This Committee, which made its report on the 15th of May, had, in the course of its investigations, discovered such evidence of gross bribery having been resorted to, both at the last, and at preceding elections for Warwick, that they directed their chairman to move for the suspension of the writ for the borough until further inquiry should be made. Eventually, an order of the House revived the same Committee, "to make further inquiry into the proceedings of the last election for the borough of Warwick, and to consider and report upon the best mode of preventing bribery, treating, and other corrupt practices in all future elections for members to serve in parliament for the said borough." The report of this second Committee, which commenced its sittings on the 27th of June, was presented to the House on the 22d of July, along with a voluminous body of evidence. This report is one of the most remarkable expositions ever laid before Parliament.

It commences by stating, that the gross bribery affirmed by the former report to have been committed at the said election, by the agents of Sir Charles Greville, remains uncontradicted. The names of several individuals, by whom acts of gross bribery have been proved to have been committed, are then given: among them is James Tibbitts, the town-clerk. It is added, "that the money distributed by those persons in such gross bribery, appears to have been paid to them by the said James Tibbitts; and that such money was supplied to the said James Tibbitts by Alexander Brown, the then steward of the Right Hon. Henry Richard Greville, Earl of Warwick, from the private funds of the said Earl of Warwick, standing in the name of the said Alexander Brown, at the Warwick bank of Messrs. Greenway and Greaves."

A subsequent passage is, "That it appears to your Committee, that there were unusual and serious riots previous to and at the said election, and that there were great injury to the persons of the burgesses, and destruction to their property; that the aid of the military was called in to support the civil power; that such riots and disturbances originated in the introduction into the borough, by the agents of the said Sir C. J. Greville, of large bodies of strangers and non-resident agricultural labourers, many of them in the employ of tenants of the Earl of Warwick, and of hired fighting-men from neighbouring places; and that such persons were maintained and paid by Henry Thomas Cooke and others, and the money provided by the said James Tibbitts, the town-clerk." Several aldermen and members of the corporation are then mentioned by name, as having been cognizant of the introduction of these fighting-men, and as having culpably neglected their duty, as municipal officers of the borough, in not preventing the disorders which arose. The following are the next three paragraphs of the report:—

"That it appears, that the Right Hon. Henry Richard Greville, Earl of Warwick, a peer of the realm, lord lieutenant of the county of Warwick and recorder of the borough, in violation of the resolutions and standing orders of the House, did unconstitutionally apply, by his agent and steward, Alexander Brown, 3000*l.* and upwards towards the election expenditure and promotion of the political interest of the candidate, Sir Charles John Greville, in the transfer of such sum of money to James Tibbitts, town-clerk of the said borough, who appropriated the same to various corrupt and illegal practices at the last election, the office of town-clerk being in the appointment of the recorder. That Alexander Brown, steward of the Earl of Warwick, subsequent to the election of 1831, caused numerous persons, (many of them non-resident in the borough, and dependants of the Earl of Warwick) to be fictitiously rated to the poor of the two parishes of the said borough, and chiefly in respect of property of the said Earl, for the sole purpose of creating fraudulent votes, and that fictitious receipts for rent appeared to have been prepared by Alexander Brown in support of them. That a considerable number of such colourably rated persons were erased from the register of electors by the revising barristers, but that many were retained and voted at the last election for the said Sir Charles John Greville, and that Alderman Henry Smyth and James Tibbitts, the town-clerk, aided and abetted Alexander Brown in supporting such fictitious votes; but that the Hon. Sir Charles John Greville does not appear to your Committee to have personally participated in the above corrupt and illegal practices. That your Committee have been impeded in their inquiries by the absence of Alexander Brown, the steward of the Earl of Warwick; and that it was proved to their satisfaction, that due diligence had been used to procure the attendance of the said Alexander Brown, and it is their opinion that such absence was wilful, and for the purpose of impeding their inquiry."

While we write, the evidence taken by the second Committee has not yet been placed in the hands of members, but a summary of it has appeared in the *Times* newspaper, from which many curious particulars may be gathered. The bribery by the agents of Sir Charles Greville appears to have been traced by the evidence of numerous witnesses, and to have been of the most reckless description, involving, in various instances, the deep and disgraceful guilt of instigating the persons upon whom it was practised to commit the most revolting perjury. But the most extraordinary part of the evidence is that which refers to the interference of the Earl of Warwick. It is proved that sums amount-

in all to 3,100*l.*, being money kept in the Warwick Bank by Lord Warwick, in the name of his steward Brown, were, at the time of the election, transferred by the latter to the account of Messrs. Tibbitts and Son; by whom 2,469*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* was subsequently drawn out by successive checks. Other large sums are also shown to have been paid to other agents and partisans of the Castle interest. It is proved that no fewer than thirty-nine public-houses and beer-shops were opened in the interest of Sir Charles Greville, and more or less kept open for treating the voters in his interest, from the canvass early in October up to the close of the poll of the 13th of December last. Twenty-five of the publicans were examined; who admitted, after much prevarication, that they had all headed their accounts "Sir G. Greville's Committee." Some had received part-payment from Cooke and Tibbitts. The accounts of these twenty-five ranged severally from 10*l.* up to somewhat above 500*l.*; the whole amount being 4,270*l.* The gross expenditure incurred in treating is estimated to have amounted to 10,000*l.* Orders for ribbons and handkerchiefs to drapers and silkmongers; from committee-men and partisans of Sir C. Greville; were likewise produced to the Committee, to the extent of above 400*l.*

The introduction of the fighting-men into the town was also distinctly traced to the agency of the partisans of Lord Warwick. A good many were hired by written orders from members of Sir C. Greville's Committee, and were paid by Cooke and Tibbitts. Another part of the evidence showed the intimidation exercised towards the voters by Lord Warwick; in notices to quit, and actions of ejectment served against his tenants in the opposite interest. Finally, his lordship's partisans were proved to have attempted, and partly succeeded, in the prosecution of a most daring scheme for the creation of fictitious votes, by getting persons colourably rated for property in the borough belonging to his lordship, who turned out to be, for the most part, non-occupiers of such property, and, in almost all instances, not to be actually paying the rent at which they were rated, and for which, nevertheless, they had got receipts from Brown the steward. The names of 140 persons in this situation had been put, in the first instance, on the list of electors.

Any comment upon proceedings such as these is quite unnecessary. They go evidently to turn the representation of the people, not into a farce, but into a nuisance and a curse; and to make an election merely a scene of wholesale profligacy and demoralization. Idleness, drunkenness, riotous blackguardism, political dishonesty, corruption, perjury—these are the vices which are by such doings taught the labouring classes, and diffused among them by their superiors in wealth and station. Can these persons have any other object except to barbarize and brutalize the people? Sure we are at least that they cannot count upon retaining their ascendancy through either the affection or respect of those in a humbler sphere by whom they are surrounded; for such conduct can engender no feelings towards them but contempt and loathing in the breasts even of the degraded wretches who consent to take their money. And if Lord Warwick could even thus buy and secure to himself, not merely the services for this particular turn, but the real and lasting adherence of every voter in his borough; what would it avail him against the indignation which transactions such as those we have detailed must excite in the minds of the public generally, wherever they shall be known?

It is probable that the report of the Committee will be followed by such an immediate enlargement of the constituency of Warwick, as shall, for the future, effectually emancipate that borough from the influence of the Castle. The plan adopted will, in all likelihood, be to throw into the borough the adjoining parish of Leamington-Priors, the population of which, being at the same time rapidly increasing, already amounts to above 6200 persons; among whom are 800 ten-pound householders.

There can also be little doubt that some at least of the individuals charged in the report with acts of treating and gross bribery, will be prosecuted at law for these offences. The House of Commons will probably order this to be done. Bribery at elections is a crime at common law, and punishable by fine and imprisonment. Under certain acts of parliament, actions may likewise be brought against the parties concerned in bribery or treating; and heavy penalties recovered from them. By the statutes of the 7th Will. III., cap. 4, and the 49th Geo. III., cap. 118, any person found

guilty of treating after the teste (that is, the date) of the writ, is declared to be rendered thereby incapable of serving for that place in that parliament; and if any money, gift, office, employment, or reward, be given or promised, the giver or promiser forfeits 1000*l.*, and the receiver 500*l.*, while both are for ever disabled from holding office in any corporation, unless either shall, before conviction, inform against some other offender, in which case he escapes from the legal consequences of his own guilt.

It does not appear that there will be any possibility of tracing a participation in the offence of bribery directly home to the noble lord who figures so conspicuously in the affair; but he, too, will probably be made to experience some further consequences of his conduct, besides the loss of his domination over the borough of Warwick. The right of a peer to interfere at elections of members of parliament, is one of the points upon which the two Houses have always been at variance. The Commons have been long in the habit, at the commencement of every session, of passing the following among their other resolutions:—"That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the House of Commons for any Lord of Parliament, or Lord Lieutenant of any county, to concern himself in the election of any member of parliament." There is not, however, we believe, any instance in which they have either attempted to get such conduct punished by the courts of law, or have punished it themselves. The case in which they proceeded farthest appears to have been that of Dr. William Lloyd, who, in the year 1702, was charged with having exerted himself to prevent the election of Sir J. Peckington for the county of Worcester. On the complaint of Peckington, who was returned, the conduct of the bishop was taken into consideration by the House; and, it appearing that the charge was made out, it was resolved to address the Queen to remove his lordship from the situation of her Almoner—a request with which her Majesty complied. But this dismissal, of course, can be considered as nothing more than a mark of disapprobation of the bishop's conduct by the court of the ministry. It was no punishment, as her Majesty herself told the House of Lords, when that House, immediately after it had been announced, sent up an address stating that, in their opinion, no person ought to be subjected to punishment on a mere resolution of the Commons, and without being allowed an opportunity of being heard in his own defence. To this remonstrance her Majesty merely replied; that she considered herself to have the right of saying who should and who should not hold places about her person. In other instances, the Commons have satisfied themselves with merely passing a strong censure upon the party implicated; as, for example, upon the Bishop of Carlisle, when in the year 1710 he was accused of having interfered to procure the return of Sir James Montagu as one of the representatives for that city. On this occasion the bishop was admitted into the House, and heard in his own defence; but, notwithstanding what he advanced, it was resolved that his lordship, "by concerning himself in the said election, hath highly infringed the liberties and privileges of the Commons of Great Britain." A similar resolution was passed in 1780, on a charge of the same kind being brought forward and substantiated to the satisfaction of the House against the Duke of Chandos.

On the other hand, as Mr. Hatsell remarks, the House of Lords has never admitted the principle thus maintained by the Commons; and that writer states, that individual peers have, in various instances, actually voted at elections, without having had their right to do so questioned. He adds, however, in a note, (*Precedents*, vol. iii., p. 13, edit. of 1818.) "I do not mean to justify this doctrine of the Lords. The resolution of the House of Commons, which is renewed every session, appears to me to be founded in the true principles of the constitution: and though it is every day abused by a contrary practice; and that abuse is overlooked by all parties, yet, when a flagrant instance occurs, it is becoming the dignity of the House of Commons to vindicate their independence in this particular; and if the private situation of the Lord complained of will not admit of their proceeding farther, they ought to reprehend this conduct in the peer, and to assert their own rights by a strong and spirited resolution."

In the present instance, if the House of Commons are to follow the opinion expressed by this eminent constitutional authority, their course is plain. The Earl of Warwick is not a nobleman placed in that "private situation" which

"will not admit of their proceeding farther." He is lord lieutenant of his county. Let then the chairman of the Committee which has detected these scandalous transactions move, as was done in the case of the Bishop of Worcester, in the reign of Queen Anne, that his Majesty be addressed to dismiss Lord Warwick from the place which he holds under the crown. We do not think that his Lordship's dismissal should be the unprompted act of the government, or even that the motion for the House to address the crown should come from the ministers. The House ought to take upon itself the duty of asserting its own privileges, and of seeking redress for the violation of its repeatedly-affirmed resolution. If it so act, there cannot be a doubt as to the result. Unless his Majesty's ministers mean distinctly to say, that in this old controversy between the two Houses, the Lords have all along been in the right and the Commons in the wrong, they will dismiss the Earl of Warwick from his lord lieutenancy as a matter of course. And in the present day, we believe there is but little chance that the peers will, either by a remonstrance or in any other way, attempt to dispute or avert such an exercise of the royal prerogative.*

OFFICIAL TABLES OF REVENUE, &c.

SINCE the date of our last publication, a volume calculated to throw much light upon the condition of the country, and to assist materially in the business of legislation, has been laid by command of his Majesty upon the tables of both Houses of Parliament. This volume—the contents of which are derived from official sources—is entitled, *Tables of the Revenue, Population, Commerce, &c. of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies*, and the compilation is made to embrace the period of twelve years, from 1820 to 1831 inclusive.

We learn from the notice prefixed to these tables that it is intended to follow up this presentation by the immediate preparation of another volume, to contain those occurrences in detail for the year 1832 which are here given in a more condensed form for the twelve preceding years; and that a similar volume will in future be printed annually, with the view of simplifying the labours of Parliament, by supplying, at the earliest possible moment after its meeting, connected statements with regard to all those points of a statistical nature which have usually claimed its attention.

The collecting of statistical information can never be so satisfactorily undertaken by individuals or private societies as by governments, which alone can impart that assurance of authenticity in which the principal value of such statements must consist. However much this fact may have been disregarded up to the present time by our own government, it is one which has been generally recognized and acted upon elsewhere, so that there scarcely can be mentioned even a second-rate power on the continent of Europe which has not a statistical office attached to some branch of its executive government.

It has constantly afforded matter for surprise, how the business of legislation can have been carried on in this kingdom with a due regard to its various and complicated interests, seeing what a total absence there has been of all system and arrangement for preserving a record of facts and circumstances which should form the groundwork of that business. It may be said, that until a recent period, a great part of the important work of legislation was intrusted to men whose lengthened experience stood them in some degree in the place of such a system of arrangement. Now, however, that election has taken the place of nomination to seats in the popular branch of our legislature, something beyond mere technical experience is looked for as a qualification in our representatives, and the necessity is rendered undeniable of possessing a compilation which will present in a lucid and compendious form; the leading facts which bear upon the commerce and the fiscal system of the government.

Few, except those persons whose avocations have led them

* Since the above article was in type, and as we are about to put to press, we observe that Lord Althorpe has intimated in the House of Commons that a letter has been, or will immediately be, addressed to the Earl of Warwick, who is abroad, stating what had been reported against him, and calling on him for an explanation, in order that the Government might ascertain whether it was necessary or desirable to take any further steps in the matter.

to an acquaintance with the course of parliamentary proceedings, can form any correct idea of the number and bulk of the volumes in which the Sessional Papers of the House of Commons are comprised. None but those who have been compelled to consult their contents can conceive how unsatisfactory, in regard both to their substance and arrangement, are the documents thus brought together. It is hardly possible to extract from them a series of statements upon any one point which affords means for making comparisons between similar matters occurring in different years, although it must be evident that by means of such comparisons alone can a true judgment be formed, in many cases, as to the effect of particular measures. Even where the inexperienced inquirer might imagine that he had discovered the materials for making such comparisons, a nearer inspection of the accounts given in the Sessional volumes may show him to be mistaken. If, for example, information be sought upon some branch of trade, respecting which returns have been constantly required by Parliament, it will often be found; that these returns have been called for in order to suit particular and partial objects, and that they are made to comprise only parts of the subject, while some of the details necessary to its proper elucidation are either accidentally or purposely omitted. It will frequently be found, too, that these omissions vary both in their nature and amount in different years, so that the statements are robbed of all their usefulness, if indeed they be not rendered positively mischievous, by misleading the inquirer. The volume of tables now before us appears to be free from this fault, the whole of the statements being prepared upon one uniform system, and so arranged as to convey to the eye at one glance all the information required for the understanding of each particular subject; so that the comparison between one year and another presents itself immediately, and without the inconvenience of referring from one part of the work to another.

The contents of this volume are necessarily of a miscellaneous nature, comprehending abstracts of the Public Revenue and Expenditure—of the National Debt and the Annual Charge which it occasions—of the Amount of Bank Notes in circulation at different periods—of the Number of Savings' Banks and the Depositors, stated in classes according to the amount of their deposits—and of the Net Produce of the Public Revenue in each of its different branches of Customs, Excise, Stamps, &c. Under this head we have some very curious details of the progress of the Assessed Taxes; specifying the number of persons and articles charged under each head of duty in every year; thus contributing towards the means of ascertaining the progress of the country in wealth; by marking the continually increasing use of conveniences and luxuries. Further means to this end are afforded by statements of the quantities of exciseable commodities, and of foreign and colonial productions, which have in each year been retained for consumption in the United Kingdom. The progressive condition of our foreign commerce may also be ascertained by the quantities here registered of every kind of goods imported and exported, while the continually augmenting quantities of the raw materials of manufacture imported and of finished goods exported, show the astonishing degree in which that most important branch of national industry is increasing. In 1820, the total quantity of cotton entered for consumption was 152,829,633 lbs.; in 1831, through the extension of the manufacture, this quantity was augmented to 273,249,653 lbs. being an increase of 78 per cent. The quantity of foreign sheep's wool imported, which in 1820 was short of ten millions of pounds, amounted in 1831 to more than three times that quantity. The number of yards of plain and printed cotton goods exported in 1820 was 127,141,603, which quantity was augmented to 421,385,303 yards in 1831, being an increase of 231 per cent. The export of woollen goods in 1820, amounted to 1,293,372 pieces, besides 4,791,354 yards; the quantities exported in 1831 were 1,997,348 pieces, and 5,797,546 yards.

Our limits will not allow us to enter into further details on this head, and we should content ourselves with stating, in general terms; that the volume before us abounds with proofs the most gratifying of the successful exertion of British skill and industry, did we not here perceive the means of correcting some important errors which appear to have taken hold upon the public mind. In regard to the shipping interest of the country, which year after year has been represented as in a declining state, we see in the table

(pp. 50 and 51), that the number of ships built and registered in 1820 was 885, of the aggregate burthen of 84,582 tons, while the number built and registered in 1830 (the returns for 1831 were not completed when this statement was prepared) was 1117 ships, of the aggregate burthen of 110,130 tons. The number of vessels which entered inwards from foreign parts, in all the ports of the kingdom, was 14,757, of 2,115,671 tons burthen, in 1820; while the number of arrivals in 1831 was 20,573 ships, of the burthen of 3,241,927 tons, showing an increase of more than 50 per cent. in the foreign trade of the country. This increase must not be wholly attributed to the peculiar advantages possessed in this respect by England in the extent of her colonial possessions and dependencies, for we see (page 52) that of the ships of all nations which passed the Sound in 1831, if the estimate is made according to the aggregate burthen of the vessels, those under the British flag amounted to 450-1000ths, or within a very minute fraction of one half.

These tables contain further very complete abstracts of the number of criminal offenders, and the nature of their crimes, for a series of years in each part of the United Kingdom, opening an interesting field for examination, into which it is not possible for us to enter at present, but which we may hereafter use to illustrate the opinions we have expressed in our previous Numbers on the subject of the moral condition of the people.

Among the particulars given under the head of population, is a statement, showing, in conjunction with the numerical and per centage increase found at each enumeration in 1801, 1811, 1821, and 1831, the amount raised by taxation, and the sums expended for the relief of the poor at each of those periods. Upon these data calculations have been made showing the average proportional sums paid on those accounts by each individual in the kingdom, taking into the estimate the price of gold at the time of each enumeration; the result may be seen in the following abstract:

Year.	Average Proportion of Taxes.	Average Proportion of Poor Rates.	Total.
1801 . . .	1 18 0	8 4	2 6 4
1811 . . .	2 17 1	10 8	3 7 9
1821 . . .	2 12 8	10 7	3 3 3
1831 . . .	1 18 3	9 9	2 8 0

Showing that, although the burthen upon each individual on these accounts is now $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. greater than in 1801, it is $31\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less than in 1821, and 41 per cent. less than in 1811.

Writers upon statistical subjects have often found themselves at a loss for some extensive and authentic record of prices, which, taken in conjunction with the rate of wages, would be of great assistance in showing the extent to which the bulk of the community are enabled to command the necessities and conveniences of life. This branch of statistics is not forgotten in the compilation before us, which presents a few authentic tables of prices, extending over a considerable period of time. We trust that this subject will be continually kept in view, and that the future volumes compiled by Government, will contribute more largely to the stock of our knowledge upon this important point.

It is probably owing to the great interest at present excited in the public mind, concerning our relations with Ireland and with India, that so many pages of the volume are devoted to the registration of facts bearing upon the intercourse with those countries. The tables constructed for this purpose may be examined with advantage, and will serve to establish a conviction that the commercial enterprise which has been directed to those quarters has been productive, at least in the usual degree, of its accustomed advantages. It is to be regretted that since the year 1825, when the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland was put upon the footing of a coasting trade, no means have been afforded for registering the nature and amount of the intercourse between the two islands, except as relates to the importation of grain and meal from Ireland. This was a great oversight which we shall be glad to see remedied.

In the year 1801, the first year of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, the number of ships that entered the ports of Ireland from Great Britain was 6816, and their aggregate burthen was 582,033 tons. In 1831 the trade had so increased that the number of ships amounted to 13,584, and their burthen to 1,262,221 tons, being an increase since the union of 116 per cent.

The number and quantities of agricultural stock and provisions exported from Ireland to Great Britain, have increased within the same period, as under:—

	1801	1825
Cows and oxen . . .	No. 31,543	63,519
Swine	1968	65,919
Horses	669	3130
Sheep	2879	72,161
Butter	Cwt. 250,620	425,670
Beef	Barls. 58,911	63,507
Pork	73,495	83,783
Bacon and Ham . . .	Cwt. 21,100	361,139

That these exports must have materially increased since 1825, is proved by the fact, that in 1831, Liverpool alone imported from Ireland 91,911 head of cattle; 160,487 sheep and lambs; and 156,001 pigs.

The importations of grain and meal from Ireland into Great Britain, stated in quarters, which in 1815, amounted to 821,192 qrs.; have since been augmented three-fold, and in 1831 amounted to 2,419,643 qrs. It has been absurdly imagined by some writers that these continued exportations have acted as so many drains to the life-blood of Ireland, and are to be taken as proofs of the wretchedness, rather than the prosperity of the people. The means of refuting this fallacy are also furnished in these tables. In page 177, we find a statement of the annual average quantities of certain articles retained for home consumption in Ireland, and are enabled to contrast the average consumption of 1790 with that of 1831, in some of the more important articles of convenience and luxury.

	1790.		1831.
Home made	Gals.		
Spirits.	2,599,576 duty 1s. 14d. p. Im. gal.	8,557,605 duty 3s. 4d. p. Im. gal.	
Tobacco	2,557,639 11d. per lb.	4,153,302 3s. per lb.	
Coffee	44,370 54d. "	898,363 6d. "	
Raw Sugar, cts.	199,255 12s. 4d. p. cwt.	342,701 24s. "	
Coals	tons 338,934	651,424	

The latest period from which the account can be furnished.
Tea lbs. 1,732,374 4d. per lb. 3,837,955 96 per cwt. and 100 per cent.

Our space will not allow us to enter further into detail on this occasion. The object we have had in abstracting the few particulars we have given, is to point out the various ways, in which publications of this nature may be made to exercise a beneficial influence upon public opinion, by exhibiting the truth in a form which approves itself at once to the mind of every one.

Valuable as these tables are in themselves, and we think enough has been said to prove in how high a degree they are so, they are chiefly to be prized as being the first step made by government towards the establishment of a system for presenting statistical facts in an authentic form to the public. Many branches of the subject are left untouched by them, which we hope will find a place in the volumes of future years. We are greatly at a loss for accurate information upon almost every point connected with the internal or domestic employment and condition of the people, and are at all times completely ignorant concerning the productiveness of our harvests. We are aware of the great difficulties which stand in the way of collecting any precise information upon these points; the intentions of government in obtaining it, are very liable to misconception, and we can imagine that the ill-understood interests of individuals may sometimes lead them to wish rather to deceive than to inform upon matters connected with their personal concerns. This will render great caution necessary in regard to the quarters whence information is accepted, but should by no means deter from the endeavour to attain an approximation towards the truth. Partial knowledge will at least be preferable to our present state of ignorance, and may exercise a beneficial influence upon government, leading to a juster appreciation than is at present entertained of the complicated interests of the Empire.

PORTUGAL—DON PEDRO AND DON MIGUEL.

The rival claims, and the unnatural contest of these princes of the House of Braganza, which have plunged, and still retain Portugal in infinite wretchedness, have been now for many months a theme of declamation all over Europe. We say declamation, because, generally speaking, that particular part of oratory, "discourse addressed to the passions," has characterised the discussion of this subject much more than cool argument or impartial exposition. To say nothing of other parts of the world, in this country the Portuguese question, involving the well being of an ancient and interesting people, has been made a downright party matter, and converted into a *champs clos*, where men of opposite

politics might tilt about the gold and silver sides of the shield, like the knights in the apologue.

On the one side Don Pedro has been held up as a model to princes, and the right of his Daughter Donna Maria to the throne of Portugal has been insisted upon with vehemence, though this particular party is not generally disposed to give much weight to legitimacy, or regular succession, or the divine right of princes. On the other side, where such sort of arguments are more in their place, it is maintained with equal warmth, that the right to the throne is legitimately vested in Don Miguel—that he is king *de jure* as well as *de facto*, and—in spite of the representations of the opposite party (which of course are exaggerated), the strong suspicions of more than one secret assassination, and the evidence of his public executions and proscriptions—a prince of kind and gentle manners, and of great magnanimity and singleness of heart! Before proceeding to unravel the matter, we will merely express a wish here, that the advocates for absolutism may always be equally unfortunate in the choice of the idol they would incense—for whatever be Miguel's rights as a prince, as a man the stamp of moral deformity is strongly impressed upon him.

The popular mind has been wildly agitated by the views presented by the one or the other of these two parties, and his Majesty's government has been alternately attacked by those who would even plunge them into a war for the chastisement of the usurper Miguel, and by those who accuse them of wanton breaches of neutrality and undue partiality for Pedro. In the heat and anger of prolonged discussion, the public has lost sight of the original points of the matter in dispute, and our present object is to state these in a clear, concise manner, without leaning to Miguelite or Pedroite, and abstaining from declamatory exaggeration.

King John VI., when driven from Portugal by the arms of Napoleon, retired with the whole of his family to his extensive colonies in the Brazils. This family then consisted of his queen, a violent and bigoted woman, sister to his present Majesty of Spain, of two sons, Pedro and Miguel, and two or three daughters. John VI. was a true king of the old continental school—of that school, whose radical defects alone can account for the facility with which Buonaparte disposed of the sovereigns that had been nurtured in it; he was indolent, short-sighted, and though timid, had a high notion of the royal prerogative. In other times, he, like several of his cotemporaries, might have peaceably slumbered through a long reign, and have left his country neither much better nor much worse for his government; but he was not fitted to steer through the unprecedented difficulties of the nineteenth century, or to adopt and guide those new systems in politics which have penetrated into all parts of the world.

When the Portuguese, aided by the British, had boldly expelled the French invaders, and when Napoleon, the dethroner of many kings, was himself dethroned, and peace restored to Europe, John VI. remained in America, and there, probably, he would have ended his days, had not the spirit of revolution crossed the Atlantic, and the phantom of a constitution frightened him away. Yet, in his European states, he had to face the same object of his terror and dislike, and habited, be it said, in its least attractive garb.

Under an imbecile regency, which allowed the army to lose all its organization and discipline, imitating the conduct of the Spaniards, on the 23rd of August, 1820, a Portuguese colonel, and a few other military men at Oporto, revolted, declaring that the nation must have a constitution, and within three weeks, a lieutenant, with a handful of men, marched into Lisbon, and without any show of opposition, proclaimed a constitution in that Capital.

We must not let our reverence for a word blind us to the nature of a thing. This constitution, thus suddenly imposed, was anything rather than suitable to the Portuguese nation, and the conduct of the Cortes was characterized by folly, illiberality, and weakness, which soon alienated all parties. These men, to whom all the miseries that have ensued, are mainly attributable, bullied the priesthood while they dreaded its power, and treated with indecent, and most impolitic, disrespect the old king, who, whatever might have been his degree of sincerity, testified respect, and even zeal for the constitution they had established. In short, they rendered the words Cortes and Constitution odious to the Portuguese people; and time, and the measures of wiser men, will be still required to remove this deeply-rooted popular antipathy.

Meanwhile, beset by insolent subjects, who totally misunderstood the spirit of constitutional government, which, like every other science, is not to be learned in a day, the repose of John VI. was further disturbed by a letter from his elder son, Don Pedro, whom he had left in Brazil as regent of those countries.

This letter, dated 4th October, 1821, informed the king that the Brazilians were anxious to detach themselves entirely from Portugal, and to proclaim him (Don Pedro) their emperor. But it contained besides protestations, whose very extravagance induces a doubt of their sincerity, that he, as a faithful subject and son, would never consent to their mad scheme, but oppose it, till he and all the Portuguese with him, were "cut to pieces." Another paragraph of this curious letter—supposing the writer of it to be sincere—would render his judgment and taste contemptible; for he says that he writes with *his own blood* the following words:—"I swear to be ever faithful to your Majesty, to the Portuguese nation and Constitution."

Seven months after this declaration, however, Don Pedro, when Brazil was *de facto* dissevered from Portugal, and to all intents and purposes an independent state, accepted in behalf of himself and children, the office of "Constitutional Emperor of Brazil." This was in May, 1822. The following year, when France chose to interfere with the internal government of Spain, and overthrow the Spanish constitution by force of arms, the constitution of Portugal, its sickly progeny fell to the ground, with no more efforts on the part of the nation for its support, than had been made against its establishment; and the only praise that can possibly be given to it is, that it rose and fell without bloodshed. It appears, however, from two royal decrees, published at the time, that John VI. contemplated giving some sort of representative government to Portugal, and it would have been a work of no great difficulty to have devised a better system than the one that had been adopted by the despised Cortes. To oppose this, the queen and Don Miguel, with the Marquisses Chaves and Abrantes, and the whole of the apostolic or Spanish faction, who had hastened the crisis of the late Cortes, employed all their energies. The queen, whom the members of that Cortes had declared mad by a majority of votes, and had placed in confinement, entertained abhorrence for every thing that approached a representative government, and this feeling was common to Don Miguel, and a numerous and powerful portion of the Portuguese nation. A crime of the blackest die rests on this party, and is supposed to have been their first step towards defeating the king's project of another constitution. That unlucky sovereign went to hunt at Salva-terra, and among other courtiers took with him the Marquis of Loulé, who was well known to be a powerful advocate of reform. Don Miguel, the Marquis of Abrantes, and two men of bad reputation, Cordeiro and Verissimo, since employed by Miguel in his police, were also of the party. Two days after their arrival at Salva-terra, the lifeless body of the Marquis of Loulé was found upon a heap of rubbish! The young prince—and Miguel was then only in his twenty-second year—shewed a strange alacrity in asserting that the Marquis had fallen from a window, but on examining the body it was found that a dagger or some other instrument had been thrust through the mouth into the brain of the noble victim! The old king fled in dismay to Lisbon, and Don Miguel put himself at the head of the demoralized army—that army that had made and unmade a constitution—and that now declared itself for the prince, the queen, and absolutism! The undutiful son had a war-ery which found an echo in the superstitious priest-ridden people. The revolutionary proceedings in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, had all been prepared by secret societies bearing different names and constitutions, but pretending for the most part to some sort of connection with free-masonry. Now these, all and severally, had just been anathematized by the pope, and the members composing them subjected to one general sentence of excommunication. At the same time, throughout the south of Europe, monks and priests, acting as missionaries, were going from place to place preaching against this free-masonry, as a sin more damnable than atheism, which was represented as being only one of its component vices, and all revolutionists or constitutionalists were declared to be free-masons, carbonari, &c. &c. Only an eye-witness can form a correct opinion of the effect produced by these missions on the minds of a fanatic, passionate people. At one of these preachings

in the streets of Naples, an unfortunate man whom the malice or mad zeal of a monk denounced as having been a capo-carbonaro, was nearly torn to pieces by the infuriated populace. Now the Portuguese mob is every whit as fanatical, and as easily excited as the Neapolitan, and consequently when Miguel and his partizans shouted in their ears, "Death to the thunderbolts of masonic impiety," he found a ready echo, and spell-bound them to his party.

While asserting that all he did was to secure the absolute power of his virtuous and revered father, he took possession of the palace with the soldiery and the mob, and made that father a prisoner. He issued orders that all his father's servants, ministers, and personal friends should be arrested, and drew up a list of proscriptions of fearful length. From this affectionate son, the old king contrived to escape—among his subjects he knew not whom to trust, he was by constitution and habit a timid man, and he fled to a British man-of-war, the "Windsor Castle," then at anchor in the Tagus. Here he not only enjoyed safety, but he contrived to entrap the author of all his recent misfortunes. How so astutious a person as Miguel allowed himself to be so duped, is not clearly explained; but he was entrapped on board the "Windsor Castle," and thence sent into exile. The place appointed for his residence was Vienna, whose atmosphere should not seem to be the best for inspiring a love of constitutional government. The facts which we have simply stated without comment—a murder, a revolt, a son in arms against his father, and his father's gaoler—a proscription,—are styled by the *Quarterly Review**, with an obtuseness to moral feeling, which astonishes us even in an ultra-party writer, "a series of family squabbles and political intrigues," of which it is implied Miguel was the victim and not the author.

After the dismissal of his troublesome son, John VI. publicly removed his wife from court; granted a general amnesty, excluding, however, from its benefits the Marquis of Abrantes, Verissimo, and Cordeiro, the associates of Miguel, and the murderers of Loulé. He established moreover two liberal ministries, the first under Palmella and Pamplona, the second under Barrados and Lacerda; but these were odious to Spain, and not much to the taste of the Holy Alliance. They therefore soon fell to the ground, and the absolutists again flattered themselves with a prospect of ascendancy. That distinguished diplomatist, Sir W. A. Court (now Lord Heytesbury) can, of course, give satisfactory explanations of the line of conduct he pursued while ambassador, at this time, at Lisbon, and probably it was only his curious destiny, that he should be "in at the death" of three constitutions in succession, viz., those of Naples, Spain, and Portugal. However this may be, no more talk was heard of charters and of cortes.

In March 1826, John VI. died, and now we are come to the points at issue between Don Miguel and his elder brother.

In the treaty of separation between Brazil and Portugal, which was finally completed by Sir Charles Stuart, the existence of Brazil as an independent empire was fully recognized and established. The empty title of "Emperor of Brazil" was to be borne by John VI. as long as he lived, but the office and full power of emperor were to rest with Don Pedro, his eldest son, to whom also was preserved the right of succession to the throne of Portugal.

We shall treat the brothers in the order of seniority, and first make out Don Pedro's case as he and his advocates represent it. According to this shewing, on the death of his father, Don Pedro, as elder son, did lawfully and actually succeed to the European dominions of the House of Braganza, and was recognized as King of Portugal and the Algarves, as well as Emperor of Brazil, by the members of his family, and the different states of Europe and America. Soon finding, however, that the dismemberment of Brazil and Portugal was of such a nature as not to admit of the rule of one and the same sovereign, he resolved to make a choice of one of the two states for himself, and to transfer his hereditary right in the other to a child of his own. He chose Brazil, and made a formal renunciation of Portugal in favour of his eldest daughter Donna Maria, whose heirs were to succeed her in her independent rights to that throne. At this time the Emperor of Brazil had one son, younger than his daughter Donna Maria; and this prince, Don Sebastiano, was to inherit the rights of his father Don Pedro in the American empire.

* No. xcvi. July, 1833.

Pedro's abdication of Portugal carried two conditions along with it; 1st. That a constitutional charter should be granted to the Portuguese nation; 2nd. That the young Queen of Portugal, Donna Maria, should espouse her uncle Don Miguel. Well known as all the conduct of that prince must have been to Don Pedro, it was a bold step in him, as a father, to entrust the happiness of a daughter to such keeping; but he was a brother as well as a father, and Miguel by this time figured as a sobered and repentant young man. Besides, it seemed the best mode of uniting parties and reconciling enmities which had so distracted the unhappy Portuguese kingdom. Don Miguel was at once to return from his exile at Vienna to Lisbon, and to have the title of Lord-Lieutenant in Portugal.

Pedro's constitution was promulgated in Portugal, and was joyfully accepted by a majority of the more enlightened portion of that nation; but (we still state his case on his own, or his friends' showing) the temperate provisions of the charter disappointed the ultra-masonic-liberal party, composed of the fanatics of a theoretical and impracticable freedom; and the very name of constitution was as hateful as ever to the other extreme party, or the fanatics of catholicism and absolutism. Thus two violent extremes were hostile to the new system. It would not have been difficult to deal with the enthusiasts of one of these parties, who had no hold on the popular mind or the sympathies of the Portuguese people; but it was far different with the other party, which included the queen-mother, the church, and consequently the mob, and could count on the support of Spain and the complacency of most of the great continental powers. The priests and monks proceeded again in their anti-constitutional functions, and the absolutists confounded, with great art and treachery, the present charter of Don Pedro with that of the late Cortes, the object of popular detestation. They falsified many of the clauses of the new constitution, and industriously circulated their forgery as the provisions and words of Pedro.

All this time Don Miguel remained at Vienna, affecting a reluctance to embark on the troubled sea of politics, or to return as Lord-Lieutenant to his native country; and he persevered in a semblance of truly exemplary submission and affection. In April, 1826, about a month after his father's death, he wrote a letter to his sister, Donna Maria Isabella, then Regent of Portugal, in which he expressed his desires that Portugal would be tranquil, and his dear brother, the Emperor of Brazil, as lawful heir and successor to the thrones, see all his wishes accomplished. He was also fearful that some evil-disposed persons might make use of his name to excite troubles, to counteract which, he entreated his sister, the regent, to give publicity to this his letter. In May of the same year he wrote a similar dutiful and most affectionate epistle to his brother Don Pedro; and again, in the month of June, another letter to his sister in the same tone as his last to her; on the 4th of October, he solemnly and publicly swore to observe and maintain the constitution of Portugal as granted by Don Pedro; and finally, on the 29th of October, he contracted, in the presence of the whole Austrian court, a solemn alliance with Donna Maria II., Queen of Portugal!

Contemporary with these proceedings at Vienna, in Portugal Miguel's friends, the Marquesses of Chaves and Abrantes, raised the standard of revolt, and established a regency at Tarifa, to act in behalf of King Miguel. This movement was encouraged by Spain, who permitted the Portuguese refugees of the Apostolic party to gather on her own frontiers, and thence attack their country. It is said, moreover, that Spain furnished arms and money, and that the troops that poured into Portugal for this horrid warfare were not all Portuguese. It was at this crisis that our ministry, then directed by the lamented Mr. Canning, sent over an English army which soon restored tranquillity to the unhappy kingdom, though it could not, and did not, eradicate the hatred of Don Pedro's charter in the two extreme violent parties already mentioned.

The death of Mr. Canning, in August 1827, seems to have had the immediate effect of reviving the confidence of the anti-constitutionalists. Don Miguel, convinced, it is said, by the representations of the Austrian minister, Prince Metternich, saw, all at once, the propriety of returning to Portugal, passing through England in his way. Accordingly, he set out from Vienna with the title of "Regent," which had been substituted by Metternich, some time before, for that of "Lord-Lieutenant." On what law-

ful authority this was done, and why the English ambassador at the Austrian court acquiesced, as he did, in this change, does not appear.

Before he left Vienna, however, Don Miguel wrote to the King of Spain, requesting that monarch to restrain the rebellious proceedings of the Marquess of Chaves—his bosom friend, who had proclaimed him king!

On his arrival in England, Miguel pledged himself to George IV. to execute in all points the dispositions of his brother Pedro regarding Portugal, to maintain the constitution, &c. &c. He induced the late Lord Dudley, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to hasten the final acts connected with the resignation of the Portuguese throne by his brother, and to delay the withdrawing of the British forces from Lisbon. He contrived to raise the sum of 200,000*l.* in London, and then set sail for Lisbon, where he landed on the 22nd of February, 1828, with fresh protestations of loyalty and constitutionalism on his lips. Yet, within a very few days after his landing, Sir F. Lamb, our ambassador, saw such grounds for doubting the intentions of the prince, that he boldly withheld from him the sum of money that had been raised for him in England.

We hasten over the hurried events that followed—they have nothing to do with the question of right. Miguel was received with raptures by what was decidedly the strongest party in the Portuguese nation, and he recalled the Marquess of Chaves, and his adherents, who had found a friendly asylum in Spain. In the conclaves of the devotees his affairs were soon settled, and this under the very nose of the English army that had been sent by Mr. Canning for the support of constitutional freedom. In a very short time the press of Lisbon teemed with eulogiums of Miguel, who was likened to the archangel Michael; and his right to the throne of Portugal, to the exclusion of his niece and affianced bride, Donna Maria, was openly asserted. At the same time the pulpit, infinitely more influential than the press in Portugal, resounded with his praises, and with denunciations of the whole Masonic, *i. e.*, the Constitutional party. So early as the 26th April, Miguel received addresses from sundry assemblies of absolutists, inviting him to assume the crown; and the prince, in a reply in which he used the royal style for the first time, called these "*faithful addresses*." He then convoked, by a royal circular, the ancient Cortes of the country, ordering the different electoral presidents to refuse the votes of all those suspected of being inimical to the true principles of legitimacy, or admirers of new institutions, and to permit the election of those only "who had in view the service of God and of the Throne." Such a Cortes did all that was expected from it, and Don Miguel ascended the throne not merely as king, but as **ABSOLUTE** king, in less than two months after his landing at Lisbon.

We now take up the cause of Don Miguel as represented by his advocates. According to their showing, Don Pedro had no right to the throne himself, and consequently no faculty of remitting it to his daughter Donna Maria. To prove this they quote the laws of the Cortes of Lamego—the fundamental act of the Portuguese monarchy—which expressly provide that none but a Portuguese can inherit the crown of Portugal. To shape their facts to meet this ancient law, they assert that Don Pedro, by accepting the separate sovereignty of Brazil, and by declaring and waging war against Portugal, as he has done in America, has lost his nationality, and ceased to be a Portuguese. Further, they appeal to a more modern, but not less fundamental law of Portugal. This last law was promulgated by the King and the three estates of the realm, at the establishment of the kingdom under the house of Braganza in 1640, when (which they do not state) the motives which induced the limiting of the succession arose from fears that the crown of Portugal might again revert to Spain, the country which is now most urgent in support of a law which was meant for the perpetual exclusion of its princes from the Portuguese throne. The instrument referred to confirms the resolutions of the Cortes of Lamego generally, and the question of succession is explicitly determined in these words—"The succession of this kingdom shall not, at any time, come to a foreign prince, nor to his children, notwithstanding they may be the next of kin to the last king in possession." These words, say Don Miguel's advocates, seem to have been devised on purpose to meet the exact case. They insist that Don Pedro, though next of kin to John VI., has made himself a foreign prince, and thereby excluded him-

self and his children for ever. They again quote from the same law,—

"And further, when it happens that the sovereign of these realms of Portugal shall succeed to any larger kingdom or lordship, he shall always be bound to reside in this; and having two or more male children, the eldest shall succeed to the foreign kingdom, and the second, to this one of Portugal."

And again, continuing to draw from the same source, they say, that the instrument provides that in case the king has but one son, then Portugal shall be separated, and go to that son's children on the conditions before-mentioned; and in case the king leaves only daughters, then the eldest daughter shall succeed to Portugal, on condition of marrying a native Portuguese selected by the Cortes. And if such daughter do not fulfil this condition, then the Cortes shall elect a native Portuguese for their king.

Having summed up all these arguments, Don Miguel's supporters maintain, that both the letter and spirit of these fundamental laws are decidedly in favour of that prince—that the dominions of Portugal having been, during the lifetime of John VI., split into two distinct and independent realms, Don Pedro, as elder son, and his descendants, inherited Brazil, or the foreign kingdom; and that Don Miguel, as younger son, was legitimate successor to the throne of Portugal.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Six Reports on Public Petitions have been issued since our last publication, numbered from 29 to 34. In the following abstract the number of petitions and signatures is the total amount during the session, unless the contrary is specified.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Sigs.
<i>Parliamentary.</i>		
For vote by ballot	44	25421
Against the septennial act	19	9889
Complaining of proceedings at the Preston election	1	6491
Relating to the borough of Warwick	2	743
Against the operation of the Scotch reform act	1	168
<i>Ecclesiastical.</i>		
For the better observance of the sabbath	1159	276082
Against the sabbath observance bill	22	2915
For better regulating the established church in		
Wales	7	2997
Against Irish church temporalities bill	119	11206
For removal of religious disabilities	120	23851
Against lay patronage in Scotland	154	67161
For appointing in Ireland clergymen who speak		
Irish	5	54
For abolition of tithes in Ireland	70	22812
For abolition of tithes in England	46	17796
Against tithes commutation bill	20	6469
Against church establishments	10	21712
For reform in church of England	8	5235
Against removal of disabilities from the Jews	5	282
Against tithe composition act (Ireland)	3	302
<i>Taxes.</i>		
For repeal of the corn laws	22	26322
Against alteration in corn laws	3	783
For repeal of the malt tax	124	41223
Against the house and window tax	124	69255
Against taxes on knowledge	19	13392
Against tax on soap	39	5478
Against alteration in timber duties	2	128
Against the assessed taxes	47	19924
Against stamps on receipts	24	8397
Against the tax on carts	22	3360
Against various other taxes—none of these are included in any former enumeration	14	6542
<i>Ireland.</i>		
Against the new system of education	16	1548
In favour of ditto	1	2
In favour of grand juries bill	4	468
For introduction of poor laws	20	3422
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>		
For the abolition of slavery	4986	1302110
Against renewal of East India Company's charter	5	2516
Against the retail beer act	215	30084
In favour of ditto	17	14246
For alteration of criminal laws	25	7638
Against general register bill	31	3668

Against highways bill	20	2627
Relating to the Scots burgh bill	67	7848
For alteration of law respecting sugar-refining	12	1927
Complaining of abuses in corporations	128	72240
Complaining of distress	22	8137
Against naval and military flogging	3	1113
For a legislative regulation of wages for hand-loom weaving	55	50044
For the release of Carlile, Taylor, and others confined for libels, &c.	41	11317
In favour of factories regulation bill	129	191767
Against ditto	21	2670
Against the Bank of England charter	8	1243
Against the bankrupt (Scotland) bill *	7	256
Against rating of tenements bill	8	2389
In favour of ditto	2	65
Against imprisonment for debt	2	113
Praying for a charter to London University	8	1213
In favour of notaries public bill	5	260
Against ditto	13	85

Other miscellaneous petitions reported since the publication of the last Companion to the Newspaper 135 14701

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

TRADE.—Wool.—The quantity of foreign wool imported into the United Kingdom in the year 1832 was 28,142,489 lbs.; of which 555,014 lbs. was re-exported. Of the above quantity imported 19,832,225 lbs. was from Germany, and 2,377,057 lbs. from New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Swan River.

During the same period the British wool exported was 4,199,825 lbs.; and the woollen yarn 2,204,464 lbs. The total declared value of British woollen manufactures was 5,244,478*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* This amount was distributed as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Russia	144,997	0	0
Sweden	4,966	2	0
Norway	7,694	18	9
Denmark	1,380	0	0
Prussia	626	10	0
Germany	816,718	12	0
United Netherlands	389,910	2	6
France	43,186	12	0
Portugal, Azores, and Madeira	96,625	6	0
Spain and the Canaries	62,472	14	0
Gibraltar	25,681	0	0
Italy	194,081	11	0
Malta	8,077	10	0
Ionian Islands	2,322	0	0
Turkey and Continental Greece	27,829	3	8
Morea and Greek Islands	140	0	0
Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Man	40,954	10	0
East Indies and China	696,073	8	4
New Holland	35,657	5	0
Cape of Good Hope	41,766	10	0
Other parts of Africa	12,890	19	0
British Colonies in North America	362,436	9	5
— West Indies	92,902	15	6
United States of America	1,420,642	18	8
Foreign West Indies	66,519	5	0
Brazil	210,163	8	0
Mexico, and South American States	437,762	0	0

Refined Sugar.—The quantity of British refined sugar exported from the port of London during the quarter ended April 5, 1833, was 53,783 cwt*s.* 21 lbs.; and during the quarter ended July 5, 1833, 35,862 cwt*s.* 2 qrs. 27 lbs.

Newspaper Stamps.—The number of stamps issued for all the London Newspapers, from the commencement of 1832, to March 31, 1833, was 26,588,050. The number issued in Ireland during the same period was, 5,718,600.

Clocks and Watches.—Foreign clocks and watches are rated *ad valorem*, and therefore their number cannot be ascertained, nor is any distinction made between wooden and metal clocks in the Custom-house entries. During the

* These are all the petitions and signatures which are enumerated. In the thirty-second report, the numbers are made to be of petitions brought from preceding report 193, signatures 23360; but these numbers appear to have been taken by mistake from the twenty-ninth report, where the same figures appear to the petitions and signatures against the beer bill, being the entry immediately below the only petition mentioned against the bankrupt bill. This error is carried on in the succeeding report.

following years the imports of foreign clocks and watches, have been valued as follows; we also give the value of the re-exports during the same periods:

	Clocks.			Watches.		
	Imported.	Re-exported.		Imported.	Re-exported.	
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
1825	16,074	6 2	660 0 0	833 18 4	442 10 0	
1826	15,351	19 4	368 10 0	795 10 0	576 5 0	
1827	15,509	10 3	270 0 0	594 3 0	249 10 0	
1828	23,502	14 0	620 13 6	2346 17 0	1750 15 0	
1829	24,820	13 11	720 2 0	3043 5 0	2838 15 0	
1830	27,091	8 0	1370 14 0	2399 1 0	2278 0 0	
1831	25,536	9 6	830 10 0	2688 2 0	2509 0 0	
1832	25,332	6 0	1053 10 0	2298 4 0	2088 5 0	

In the same years, the declared value of British clocks exported has been 4994*l.*, 5264*l.*, 5124*l.*, 6963*l.*, 8031*l.*, 5409*l.*, 3168*l.*, 3484*l.*; and the number of British watches exported has been 7098*l.*, 6697*l.*, 9258, 8603*l.*, 8633*l.*, 10,943*l.*, and 18,678.

Debtors.—In 1831 the number of warrants for debt against the person was, in Middlesex, 14,909; in Surrey, not stated; in 1832, in Middlesex, 13,555; in Surrey, not stated. The number of warrants on mesne process was, in 1831, in Middlesex, 11,859; in Surrey, 2461; in 1832, in Middlesex, 10,534; in Surrey, 2263. The number of warrants on writs of execution was, in 1831, in Middlesex, 3050; in Surrey, 628; in 1832, in Middlesex, 3021; in Surrey, 515. The number of bailable processes executed was, in 1831, in Middlesex, 5373; in Surrey, 1176; in 1832, in Middlesex, 5327; in Surrey, 1115.

The numbers of prisoners committed for debt to the different metropolitan prisons on mesne process, judgments recovered, or costs of suits, excluding crown debtors and prisoners for contempt of court, during the years 1831 and 1832, were as follows: the account is made up to the end of December, 1832, the number in custody is that of January 1, 1833.

To the King's Bench, in 1831, 1054; in 1832, 842; remaining in custody, 393.

To the Fleet, in 1831, 503; in 1832, 681; remaining in custody, 255.

To the Marshalsea, in 1831, 585; in 1832, 635; remaining in custody, 133.

To Whitecross Street, in 1831, 1901; in 1832, 1940; remaining in custody, 493.

To Whitecross Street, on processes issuing out of the Courts of Requests, in 1831, 1370, the amount of whose debts was 1374*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; and the amount of costs 548*l.*; in 1832, 1443, the amount of whose debts was 1282*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*; and the amount of costs 541*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The estimated annual expenditure for the maintenance of the Court of Request prisoners is 390*l.*

To Horsemonger Lane, in 1831, 339; in 1832, 332; remaining in custody, 69.

To Horsemonger Lane, on process out of the Courts of Request, in 1831, 1120, whose debts were 2417*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*, and the amount of costs 696*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*; in 1832, 945, whose debts were 2039*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*, and the amount of costs 566*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* The amount paid for the maintenance of these prisoners was, in 1831, 208*l.*, and in 1832, 226*l.*

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THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

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SEPTEMBER 1, 1833.

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CONTENTS.

PAOK	PAGE
The Session of Parliament . . . 129	Reforms in the Court of Chan- cery 137
Reduction of Taxation . . . 131	New Municipal Corporations . . 138
Repeal and Reduction of As- sessed Taxes 132	Public Petitions 138
Places of Recreation for the In- habitants of Great Towns . . 133	Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers 139
Duties on Tea 136	Stamped and Unstamped Pub- lications 143
Apothecaries' Act and Royal College of Surgeons . . . 137	

THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

IN the preceding pages of the Companion to the Newspaper will be found ample accounts of nearly all the leading subjects that have engaged the attention of Parliament since it commenced its deliberations; but now that the long and laborious session whose progress we have accompanied is about to close, it will be desirable that we look back upon the ground over which we have passed, and endeavour to place before ourselves and our readers, in one distinct and comprehensive view, the whole amount of what has been done by the legislature in the period of nearly seven months to which its labours have extended. Such a retrospect on the present occasion claims no common importance. The session, whose course we are about to review, is the first produce of the Reform Act; it is the only experimental test we yet have of the character of that measure. It is also the first in which the present ministry have had an opportunity of carrying into practical exemplification any of the other professions, except that of parliamentary reform, upon which they accepted office. It may be regarded, therefore, as affording us the means of judging, both of their sincerity in these professions, and of their capacity for the government of this great nation. It is extremely interesting, considered in either of these two points of view.

But before proceeding to our summary of the work of the session, we would submit one or two general observations.

It has happened in the course of the present sessions, as it has usually done heretofore, that a good many measures have been brought under the notice of Parliament, and have met with more or less of acceptance, which yet, owing to various causes, have not been carried through the two Houses. In some cases the bill has been withdrawn, that it might be introduced in another session, with modifications, or in circumstances giving it a better chance of success. In other cases, after having been allowed to pass through some of its stages, it has been thrown out on a subsequent one by a vote of the House. Now what we would remark is, that these efforts, though they do not terminate in actual legislation, are by no means to be reckoned as going for nothing in the business of reforming the laws and institutions of the state. In working a great effect, it is not the last blow only that tells. A bill which after making its way through one of the two houses is rejected in the other, is lost indeed for the present; but for the present only. Its success eventually may be counted upon as certain. Who doubted, for example, that Catholic Emancipation would be carried after the lapse of a few years through both houses, from the day when the bill was first read a third time in the House of Commons? Who supposed that the Reform Bill could be effectually resisted by the Lords, after the other house had given it their sanction? And so it will be, for example, with the bill for the removal of the disabilities of the Jews, which was this year lost in the Lords after having passed the Commons. In the next, or in some early session, the measure will force its way through both houses. Nay, the same ultimate success, though perhaps later in arriving, may be confidently predicted even for some of the other reforms attempted in the course of the present session, which did not make quite so much progress as the one we have just

instanced. Let but a bill involving a new principle reach a second reading in either house, and its speedy passage into a law is sure. Indeed, by the usage of Parliament, the principle of the measure when it has got this length is considered as having been acquiesced in by the House, and after that the only pretence of opposition lying in objections to the details is soon overcome. Such will be the case, we may anticipate, with the Local Courts Bill, which the Lords threw out this session on the third reading. They will probably pass it the next. And, generally, if any proposed innovation really deserving of adoption shall only have commanded so much attention as to have been once formally debated, that is a point, and a great point, gained for it. The vote, even on this first hearing, may be against it; but the argument may possibly for all that be in its favour; and at any rate it is no longer something new and strange, to be regarded with indifference or contempt by most,—by some, perhaps, with the exaggerated aversion or dread inspired by the distant and unknown:—it has been, as it were, introduced—it has acquired what may be called a standing—custom has made it familiar to those who most shrunk from it—it may, in one word, have divers other obstacles to encounter, but the first and most formidable are overcome.

Secondly, we would say, in reference to the cry that has been raised on the subject of the moderation of this first reformed Parliament, that this is the very last complaint which any considerate friend of the Reform Bill will make. An opponent of that measure might be conceived to lament that it has not been yet followed by any symptoms of the precipitation and recklessness in the remodelled legislature which he had expected, and perhaps confidently predicted, would be its immediate consequences. To him it might have been gratifying to see changes in every department of the state urged by our new representatives with so impetuous a hand, as to threaten, by the rapidity with which it was made to revolve, to set the whole machine in a blaze. There was, no doubt, reason to apprehend that some tendency of this kind might show itself. The Parliament might have been animated by a spirit similar to that which rages in some of our newspapers for constant movement and indiscriminate destruction. The awakened popular strength that had accomplished the great pull, might have been unable to restrain itself when it got to the top of the ascent, and might have dashed furiously on, breaking every thing to pieces, till it had been arrested by mere exhaustion, or the universal ruin it had made had stopped its further progress. If the first session of the reformed Parliament had exhibited any thing like the commencement of such a course as this, whose alone would have been the triumph?—Their's, undoubtedly, who in speeches, in pamphlets, in newspapers, in caricatures, prophesied incessantly that this very thing would happen. And whose would have been the gain?—Their's only whose plans of private advantage are formed upon the prospect of public confusion—that is, of the greatest, because involving the greatest number of sufferers, of all national calamities. For those who indulge in no such profligate speculations, it is far better that improvement for a time should even move with somewhat of a tardy pace, than that such a risk should be incurred. It is but the loss of a little time. If the direction in which things are proceeding is the right one, it is but a little matter, however it be viewed, that a certain change, or number of changes, which might apparently have been effected this year, should be deferred till another; whereas, on the other hand, the rate of the progress being comparatively of no importance, its certainty and its safety are everything.

If the reform that has been effected in the representation be good for anything, it will inevitably carry us forward in time through all other reforms, provided it shall not itself break down or be overturned. This is the only danger. Of

great political changes it may almost be said, that none which come suddenly are good, and none which come gradually are bad. The degree of preparation by which they have been preceded is the most important of the elements that determine their character. Let the best constitution that human wisdom can devise be given to a people not ripe for it, and it will be a curse instead of a blessing. No constitution indeed can be called good or bad abstractedly, and without reference to the condition of those among whom it is to be established. To set this in a strong light, let any one think what would be the result of the experiment of introducing such a constitution as that of Great Britain into New Zealand. Indeed, from the nature of the thing, a representative government can only be advantageous when the public to be represented is intelligent and virtuous. In other circumstances a despotism is better than a free constitution. The one form of government is as natural and as beneficial in an early, as the other is in a later stage of civilization. And the same thing is true of the different degrees of freedom. One degree may be the best now; a higher fifty or a hundred years hence. Such changes may be unwisely forced on, as well as unwisely kept back. Desirable as they might be on other accounts, they may be rendered pernicious by being premature.

Besides, there is this peculiarity attending all changes in national arrangements, that while the benefits by which they are compensated are for the most part removed to some distance, or only to be fully gathered in a long course of time, the inconvenience which they produce (and they always produce some inconvenience, often a great deal) is immediate. It is a heavy outlay to be undergone, long before there can be any returns. Hence the evident impossibility of a country standing a multitude of changes operated all at once. The remote advantages may be ever so great, but the present pressure of the cost at which they are to be obtained cannot be borne. It is the case of an individual who, in order to give himself a chance of some prospective good, should involve himself in a present expenditure which brings upon him utter ruin, and thereby puts it out of his power ever to pursue the speculation upon which he had entered. In the same manner, by the attempt to change too many things at the same time, a nation might occasion such extensive derangement in the relations of society, that total anarchy would overtake it before it could reap any of the advantages which it had promised itself from its various reforms. These things must therefore be proceeded with as the country can bear the cost. Order and gradual progress, which are so indispensable to the success of all other great operations, must not be disregarded here, or a fearful rush of mischiefs will soon avenge the rash and presumptuous experiment.

We hold, then, that in the sobriety which has distinguished the first reformed House of Commons, a point has been gained of the very first importance, both for the country, and for the character of the measure of Reform itself. The country has been carried in safety through a crisis of no little difficulty and danger; and the Reform Bill has been in so far vindicated from the heaviest charge which its opponents brought against it. Although, however, none of the precipitancy that might have been apprehended has been displayed by the new Parliament, the operations of the session have neither been few nor of slight importance, as we shall now proceed to show.

In the first place, four of the greatest questions that ever came before the legislature have been all settled in this one session. If nothing more had been done, the session would have been one of the most remarkable on record. An extensive reform effected in the Irish Church—a new government given to India—the terms of a new charter arranged for the Bank of England—and a termination assigned to West Indian Slavery, these are the measures that will make the first session of the first reformed Parliament for ever memorable. The questions that have been thus set at rest, are all questions that had been long and warmly agitated—that were encompassed with difficulties—in regard to which, powerful private interests were opposed to the changes demanded by the public voice. The plans for their settlement, brought forward in Parliament by Ministers, and supported in all their leading provisions by the majority of both Houses, were debated, at every stage through which they had to pass, with unusual keenness and pertinacity; and, except that for the reform of the Irish Church, were also each of them the subject of much corre-

spondence, and negotiation in other forms, with public bodies out of doors. But what is the character of the new arrangements that have been made in the case of each? That is the important point. Are these arrangements of a liberal or of an illiberal complexion? Do they carry us forward, or send us a stage back, or only leave us where we were, in the career of improvement and civilization? It is not to be denied, that they one and all at least advance us in the right direction, as far as they go. Some might wish that they had gone farther; but even these who object most to the small quantity of the change will not object to its quality. The Irish establishment has been reduced so as to be considerably more in proportion to the numbers of the population connected with it; one of the most irritating of the imposts, too, by which it was supported, the vestry cess, has been abolished. In the new East India Charter, the monopoly of the China trade has been taken from the Company, the right has been secured to every British subject of visiting and residing at any of the presidencies, and the native and the European have for the first time been declared equal before the law. In the terms upon which the Charter of the Bank is to be renewed, the rate at which it is paid for the management of the national debt is to be reduced; provision is to be made for securing the regular publication of its accounts; and that part of its former monopoly, or supposed monopoly, which gave it the power of preventing the establishment of banks of deposit having more than six partners within sixty-five miles of London, is to be taken from it. The West Indian negro is not to be immediately made absolutely free; but he is to be immediately released from some of the hardest and most degrading distinctions of his present condition, and a period is fixed, which a few years will bring round, when he is to be as free as we are in England. All children of slaves now under six years of age, and all who shall hereafter be born, are declared already free.

What then is the spirit in which all these measures are conceived? Is it not that of reform and a liberal policy? When before, indeed, was so much gained for the cause of humanity and right government, in any single session since England had a legislature?

But many matters of great public importance, in addition to these chief ones, have received the attention of Parliament during the present session. First of all are to be mentioned the measures that have achieved the pacification of Ireland. For we do not use language too strong, when we say that, strenuously and obstinately as these measures were resisted in their passage through Parliament, they have effectually accomplished their purpose, and are at this moment regarded as having been the salvation of the unhappy country to which they have been applied, by all men there whose party passions do not make them blind and insensible to the most obvious considerations of common sense, as well as to everything that is passing before their eyes. The Act for the Suppression of Disturbances has indeed taken from the people of Ireland for a time some political rights of which they were nominally in the possession; but they were rights, the free exercise of which had been long before completely prevented by a tyranny far worse than that of the most despotic law. That tyranny is now put down, and the country has been brought to a state in which it is possible to live in it—in which families may retire to rest at night without the apprehension of being called up before day-break by the light of their burning roofs, and the yells of a crew of savages come to batter out their brains, or to cut their throats, in the midst of the flames. But coercive measures are not the only ones that have been applied to Ireland. In addition to the reform of the church already mentioned, both her grand and her petty jury systems have been amended and liberalized, and both tribunals brought in their functions, as well as in their mode of election, more under the control of the public voice.

Passing now from Ireland to England, we here find a crowd of salutary changes in the law, either effected in the course of this session, or so far advanced towards accomplishment, that their speedy completion may be looked upon as certain. Besides the bill already noticed for the emancipation of the Jews, which, after the discussion it has undergone, and the large majorities by which it was carried through the House of Commons, cannot be long prevented from passing into a law, we have to add to the victories of religious liberty, which the last few years have witnessed, the admission of the first member of the Society of Friends

into Parliament, his affirmation at the table being accepted instead of the usual oaths; and the two bills for giving the force of an oath in all cases whatever to the affirmation of Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists. A bill for the permission of the marriages of Roman Catholics by their own clergymen in England, and another for the repeal of certain old penalties affecting clergymen of that church in Ireland, which, after having passed the Commons, are now in the House of Lords, are also to be reckoned as coming under the same head.

Among the general improvements again that have been effected in the law, may be enumerated the bill for securing to the author of a dramatic piece a share in the profits of his own performance; the bill by which a power is given to the judges to regulate and reform the rules of pleading in the common law courts; that for diminishing the expense of commissions of lunacy, and the better care of lunatics; the Solicitor General's five bills for the amendment of the law of real property; those for the amendment and consolidation of the highway laws, and the sewer laws; that for the better regulation of the police magistracy of the metropolis; and that for the diminution of the expense of the metropolitan police, by throwing a part of it upon the consolidated fund, or the general income of the country. All these either have passed into laws, or are certain to receive the sanction of the legislature before the session breaks up. Other measures of the same description, that have been lost or withdrawn for the present, but which have been so supported this session that their success in another may be reckoned upon as almost certain, are the bill for the repeal of the Foreign Enlistment Act, that for the regulation of dramatic performances, that for the admission of evidence to the truth of the statement complained against in defences against prosecutions for libel, that for the remodelling of the patent law, that for the establishment of a general registry of deeds, that for the repeal of the Apothecaries' Act, that for the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and that for giving to prisoners charged with felonies the aid of counsel in making their defence. To these add the very important bill already mentioned, for the establishment of local courts, which it is to be hoped another session will not elapse without seeing passed into a law. Several most valuable improvements of the laws and institutions of the northern part of the island have also been the work of this session, or will be completed before its close. We may mention in particular the acts for the reform of the royal burghs, and for the election of magistrates and councils in the parliamentary burghs; that for the establishment of a police in the towns of Scotland, and that for the establishment of small debt courts. Reforms of the Court of Session, of the Bankruptcy laws, of the Sheriff courts, and of the system of entails, have also more or less engaged the attention of the legislature, and have formed the subject of bills, which, after having been advanced some stages, have only been withdrawn for the present to be introduced again in another session.

The principal legislative measures of a commercial character, which have been passed during the present session, are ten bills introduced by Mr. Rice, being chiefly additions to and completions of as many consolidation acts, passed in 1825. Their titles are,—1. To regulate the trade of the British possessions abroad; 2. For the registering of British vessels; 3. For granting duties of Customs; 4. For the management of the Customs; 5. To grant certain bounties and allowances of Customs; 6. For the general regulation of the Customs; 7. For regulating the trade of the Isle of Man; 8. For the warehousing of goods; 9. For the prevention of smuggling; and 10. For the encouragement of British shipping and navigation. These bills, although they introduce no important innovations into our commercial law, are extremely valuable as codifications of several large branches of it. The measure of the session, of course, by which the commerce of the country will be most affected, is the bill for opening the trade to China. We may also, however, mention under this head the bill for permitting sugar to be imported into this country duty free and warehoused, in order to be refined for exportation, which has passed both Houses. The reductions of taxation that have been effected during the session we have noticed in another place.

This rapid statement, in which of course many minor matters are omitted, is enough, we think, to vindicate the legislature from the charge frequently brought against it, of having, during the long period it has sat, done little real

business. There certainly has been a good deal of oratory, and some perhaps that could have been spared; but there has been a great deal of hard working too, and much actual legislation of a most useful and important kind. Indeed, if the character as well as the amount of what has been done be taken into consideration, we believe the present session may be favourably compared with any of its predecessors.

REDUCTION OF TAXATION.

THE reduction of the government expenditure to the lowest amount consistent with the public interests, is important in various other ways, as well as in an economical point of view. It operates to diminish government patronage, and, as much as any thing else perhaps that can be done, to satisfy popular feeling. A very interesting and valuable statement upon this subject has lately been laid before the public, in the corrected report of a speech delivered in the House of Commons on the 16th of July, by Mr. Spring Rice, one of the secretaries to the Treasury, in which the right honourable gentleman took a comprehensive, and, at the same time, a very minute review of all the reductions, both in expenditure and in taxation, that had been made since the peace. The account comprehends, of course, not only what has been done in the present session, but all that has been effected by the present ministers since they came into office, compared with what had been effected by their predecessors.

The Finance Committee, which sat in 1817, estimated the lowest amount to which the votes in supply for the army, navy, and miscellaneous expenditure could then be reduced, at 17,350,000*l.* It was some time, however, before the amount actually voted was brought down to this limit; and, indeed, from having, for 1818, been 18,970,959*l.*, it rose to be, for 1820, 19,673,717*l.* For 1822, it was for the first time below the estimate, being only 16,679,633*l.*; and for 1823, it was only 15,878,313*l.* But by 1827, it had risen again to 18,745,360*l.*; nor was it again so low as the estimate till 1830, for which year it was 16,648,762*l.* For 1831, it was 17,782,487*l.*; but for 1832, it was only 15,411,571*l.*; and the amount voted this year has been still lower, being only 14,622,219*l.* This is a reduction below the estimate of the Finance Committee of no less than 2,727,981*l.*, and below the amount voted for 1820, of more than five millions. Even upon the last two years it is a reduction of above three millions.

The whole actual government expenditure of last year was 44,922,000*l.*; but of this amount 32,949,000*l.* went to pay the interest on the national debt, and what is called the dead weight, being the annuity paid to the Bank in return for which it undertakes to defray the half-pay of the army and navy, and the retired and superannuation charges for civil officers. The whole sum, therefore, upon which reductions could be made, amounted to somewhat less than twelve millions of net revenue: or, adding the expense of collection, to about 12,800,000*l.* This is the whole sum upon which must be saved the difference between the votes in supply for the last and for the present year, which is very nearly eight hundred thousand pounds. That is to say, the reduction which has been made in one year upon the whole reducible expenditure of the country, is at the rate of nearly six per cent., or about a sixteenth part of the whole.

From another of the tables given in Mr. Rice's speech, it appears that the whole net amount of taxes repealed, expired, or reduced, from 1814 to 1832, was 39,931,856*l.*; and that the amount of the additional imposts proposed to be repealed in 1833, is 1,545,000*l.*; making a total of 41,476,856*l.* Meanwhile the taxes imposed have amounted only to 5,813,118*l.*; so that the actual amount of relief given has been not less than 35,663,738*l.* This is the difference between the annual pressure on the public at the close of the war and at present.

Of this diminution of taxation, a portion amounting to about 3,335,000*l.* has been effected since the present ministry came into office, or within the last three years. This sum has been remitted in the shape of a repeal of the duties on printed cottons, coals, and slates; candles, tiles, fire-insurances of farming stock, small receipt stamps, land-tax on personal estates, pamphlets, travellers or riders, clerks, bookkeepers, officers, overseers, managers, shopmen, warehousemen, cellarmen, tax-carts, and horses of market-gardeners; and by a reduction of those on hemp, drugs, marine-insurances, advertisements, soap, cotton, wool, and

the houses of shopkeepers, licensed victuallers, and those rented from 10*l*. to 18*l*. The only tax imposed by the present ministry has been one on cotton wool, yielding a revenue of 300,000*l*. We give Mr. Rice's separate statement of the reductions that have been proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the present session:—

Tiles	£37,000
Marine-insurances	100,000
Advertisements	75,000
Assessed-taxes and farming stock	440,000
Cotton wool	300,000
Soap	593,000

Total £1,545,000

The reductions which thus appear to have been made by the present government are to be considered, he it remembered, in connexion with the circumstance that they have been made in the comparatively narrow field for economy left to them by the reductions of preceding administrations. Upon this point Mr. Rice remarks—"The late government (that of the Duke of Wellington), in its disposition towards economy, carried reductions in many departments as far as, under the circumstances, and at that time, it might be considered prudent or proper to go. I have never undervalued the reductions of the late government; but the bolder were their economical measures, the greater, of course, the difficulty of effecting further reductions; and, therefore, when the merit of the late government in this particular is fully admitted, I trust that, without presumption, I am entitled to take credit, on behalf of those with whom I serve, for the additional merit of carrying these economical principles into fuller effect."

But the most interesting part of Mr. Rice's statement is that which relates to the extensive reductions in the establishments of the several public offices, which have been made within the last few years. As the details which he submitted as to this matter were derived from accounts which have since been printed by order of the House of Commons, we have given the official document referred to among our Abstracts of Parliamentary Papers.

It appears that since 1821, the number of persons employed in the public offices has been reduced by no fewer than 5689, occasioning an annual diminution of expense to the amount of 1,206,189*l*. In this work the present ministry are shown by Mr. Rice to have at least equalled their predecessors in zeal and activity. The reductions made in 1828, 1829, and 1830 comprehended 909 persons, with salaries amounting to 106,177*l*.; but those made in 1831 and 1832, comprehended 1265 persons, and salaries to the amount of 219,968*l*. per annum. While the average salary of the persons dismissed by the late Government, therefore, was only 116*l*. 16*s*. 1*d*., that of those whose places have been abolished by the present Government has been 226*l*. 7*s*. 8*d*.—showing that the present Government is that, by which appointments of high or considerable value have been most liberally sacrificed. This is further proved by another paper to which Mr. Rice refers—a separate return of the reductions that have been made within the last three years on salaries amounting to 1000*l*. and upwards. This return comprehends the Treasury, the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State, the President of the Council, the Board of Trade, the Board of Control, the Privy Seal, the Admiralty, and officers in the Customs, Excise, Post Office, Stamps, and Taxes, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and various other great offices. When the present ministry entered office, the annual salaries derived from these offices amounted to 315,649*l*.; of this sum 148,906*l*. has since been reduced, being not far from one-half of the whole. To this is to be added a saving of 50,000*l*. per annum on the diplomatic expenditure of the country, which has within the same period been reduced from 178,000*l*. to 127,000*l*. Altogether, therefore, these higher salaries have been diminished full 40 per cent., or by an annual sum of little less than 200,000*l*.

Again, in the collection of the revenue, according to Mr. Rice, between the years 1820 and 1833, a saving has been effected to the amount of half a million annually; and, by further reductions, which are at present under consideration, it is expected that 76,490*l*. more will be saved.

These facts sufficiently prove, that the pledges of economy with which the present ministers came into office have not been so entirely forgotten by them as some of our public censors, speaking from vague general impressions, or in utter ignorance of what has been done, have been in the

habit of asserting. It is true that the Government and the Parliament have not carried their zeal for the diminution of expenditure so far as either to violate national engagements, to destroy the efficiency of the public service, or in any other way to injure the interests and the honour, which is one of the first interests, of the country. If this be what any person means by economy, he may possibly not be satisfied either with what has been done, or with the disposition that has been shown. Those, for instance, who, acknowledging the claims of the national creditor, are fond of recommending what they call an equitable adjustment,—that is, in plain language, the substitution for the actual terms of the bargain between the two parties, of some other terms dictated merely by the will of one of them,—and those who, proceeding upon a simpler principle, would at once sponge out the debt altogether, will doubtless look upon the retrenchments of the present ministry as very superficial work. But with others it will be their recommendation, that they have not cut into the vitals of the state. The operation of getting rid of what is either morbid or superfluous has, evidently, at any rate, been conducted without any wish to spare that of which governments are usually most tender, their own emoluments and patronage. After the sweeping reductions that have been made in the public offices, it is hardly to be expected that much more can be accomplished in this department. The number of persons employed is probably already as low as the necessities of the duties to be performed will permit. But other sources remain, from which we may look for a gradual reduction of the national burdens. As the holders of such sinecures as still exist drop off, their places will not be filled up; and in all other cases, in which the legal or equitable claims of the present possessors have prevented any interference with emoluments that might otherwise have been withdrawn or reduced, the principle of retrenchment will eventually be as fully applied as it has already been in other cases, not sheltered by any such claim of exemption. But the chief process to which we must look for any considerable lightening of the load of taxation, is the reduction of the expenses of the army and navy. The domestic circumstances of the country, and especially the state of Ireland, have hitherto made it necessary to keep up a military establishment of certainly large amount for a time of peace; but we may hope that the permanent restoration of tranquillity, and the supremacy of the law, will ere long allow a large part of the existing apparatus of coercion to be dispensed with. This would be economy too; but it would be also something still better than economy.

REPEAL AND REDUCTION OF ASSESSED TAXES.

Most of our readers are, no doubt, aware that a bill was some time ago brought into the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the reduction of certain of the duties on dwelling-houses, and the entire repeal of certain other of the Assessed Taxes. It has since been intimated by Lord Althorp that, in compliance with the strongly expressed desire of the public, the government will next year, if the state of the revenue shall permit, consent to the total repeal of the house and window taxes; but it is, nevertheless, important in the mean time, that the nature and amount of the reduction which it is at present proposed to make should be accurately understood. By an act passed in 1823, persons in trade were already partially relieved from the window-tax, no charge being made upon them for any number of windows not exceeding three in any shop or warehouse, in the front, and on the ground story of any dwelling-house occupied by them, provided that any goods, wares, or merchandise were exposed to sale in such shop or warehouse. It is now proposed to be enacted by way of additional relief, that from the 5th of April, 1833, where persons in trade occupy part of any tenement as a place of residence, and carry on their trade in another part of it, the latter being a shop or warehouse, such as is referred to in the act of 1823, they shall be exempted from half the entire duty chargeable by the present law on the rent, or annual value of the tenement, provided that their names be conspicuously and legibly painted, on, or affixed to the front. It is also proposed that, after the same date, the duties on all other descriptions of houses, if the rent be 10*l*., shall be reduced from their present amount of 15*s*. to 10*s*.; if the rent be 11*l*., from 16*s*. 6*d*. to 12*s*.; if

the rent be 12*l.*, from 13*s.* to 14*s.*; if the rent be 13*l.*, from 19*s.* 6*d.* to 16*s.*; if the rent be 14*l.*, from 21*s.* to 18*s.*; if the rent be 15*l.*, from 22*s.* 6*d.* to 20*s.*; if the rent be 16*l.*, from 24*s.* to 22*s.*; if the rent be 17*l.*, from 25*s.* 6*d.* to 24*s.*; and if the rent be 18*l.*, from 27*s.* to 26*s.* The reduction is not to extend to higher-rented houses. The relief, however, inconsiderable as it is in each case, will be somewhat extensively diffused—the number of houses rented at 20*l.* and under, and paying the duty, being, in 1830, 208,794.

By this bill, likewise, it is proposed to repeal entirely the duties now payable for male persons employed as travellers, clerks, book-keepers, stewards, bailiffs, overseers, managers, shopmen, warehousemen, porters, and cellar-men. An account of these duties will be found in any almanac under the head of Assessed Taxes. Their total amount in 1831 was 295,111*l.*, having risen to that sum from 264,755*l.*, which it was in 1825, after the duty on occasional waiters had been repealed. In 1824, it was 268,844*l.*, after the rates of duty had been reduced one-half. In 1822, before this reduction, the amount was 596,001*l.*, which was reduced in 1823, to 459,451*l.*, by the repeal of the duty on occasional gardeners and husbandry servants.

The next reduction proposed in the bill is that of the entire duty on certain descriptions of carriages with less than four wheels, the duties on which were last year reduced from 3*l.* 5*s.* to 1*l.* 10*s.* The carriages in question are those kept by any person for his own use, and not for hire or profit, drawn by one horse, and built in certain respects in a manner which is particularly described in the bill. The original price of the carriage must not have exceeded 21*l.*, and it must have the christian and surname of the owner marked upon it in white letters on a black, or in black letters on a white ground, each letter being at least one inch high. If such carriages have springs wholly or in part of metal, they must be used truly and without fraud in the affairs of husbandry, or in the carriage of goods, or in the course of trade, though employed occasionally for riding in.

Finally, it is proposed that the duty on dogs solely employed by shepherds in the care of flocks in which they have a direct interest shall be taken off.

PLACES OF RECREATION FOR THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT TOWNS.

MANY persons hold that the single legitimate object of a government, besides the defence of the country from foreign aggression, is to prevent people from picking one another's pockets, and cutting one another's throats. In other words, their notion is that, with the exception of the arrangements made for the maintenance of the national independence, all public institutions ought to be merely institutions of police; and that the accomplishment of whatever else is desirable, beyond simply the protection of life and property, should be left to the exertions of individuals.

"We deem this to be a short-sighted and wretched misconception." Without any other government than a system of police to restrain offenders, a people may indeed perhaps continue to exist, and, in favourable circumstances, may even go on increasing in wealth and numbers, and exhibit a considerable show of such prosperity as may grow up without any moral progress. But, thus associated, they can hardly be called a nation. The congregated multitude undertakes none of the grander functions and duties by which a national existence is constituted. For that character is not to be acquired and sustained by either twenty men, or twenty millions of men, entering into an agreement that none of them shall be suffered to do certain things which the majority decide to be improper or inconvenient; but that, as for all other things, any one may do them or refrain from doing them as he pleases. This is for each individual to be merely in a state of neutrality towards the rest. But to exist as a nation implies the being bound together in an association or league for the promotion of some positive ends. The exaltation of the national name, honour, power, and greatness; the generation and sustenance of patriotic sentiment; the diffusion of intelligence, of virtue, and of whatever else contributes to the formation of manliness of character; the production of a style of each of the fine arts, and especially of a literature, which shall as it were taste of the soil, or be impregnated with the peculiar genius of the people; the maintenance and advancement, in one word, of the civilization of the country—these are among the prime functions and purposes which belong to a proper political

constitution. It is not perhaps absolutely necessary for the existence of the society that any of these objects should be contemplated in the frame of laws and institutions by which it is held together; as some thousands of convicts are kept in order in the hulks simply by a system of coercion, so possibly may a confluence of some millions of individuals be restrained, at least for some time, without anything better, from utter disorganization. But although not the necessities of a political existence, they are its graces and its decencies, and all which render it really worth possessing. To those who object to any provision being made for these things, on the ground that they are not essential, and ask what need of them, it may be answered with as much truth in reference to a whole people as to an individual—

"O reason not the need; our basest beggars
Are in the poorest thing superfluous:
Allow not nature more than nature needs,
Man's life is cheap as beast's."

To tell a people, having in their power the means of national aggrandizement and glory, that they ought nevertheless not to attempt the acquisition, because it is merely ornamental and not essential, is quite as shallow and stupid as it would be to advise a man in rags not to trouble himself to procure a better coat, inasmuch as it was probable that his soul and body might hang together quite as long in his present as in any other habitation. The true answer which goes to the root of all this weak and puerile sophistry is, that power, wherever it exists, is given to be exercised, and that all moral energies tend upwards by a law of nature as indestructible as that of the gravitation of material substances itself. Attempt to restrain the tendency, and the energy itself is impaired or extinguished. Persuade either an individual or a community to cease from all efforts to rise towards greatness, and the very capacity of rising is lost.

But take even a much lower view of the matter; consider it on the narrow principle laid down by the advocates of the opinion we are controverting. We say that even the protection of life and property (allowing, for a moment, that to be the only proper end of a national government) may be most materially promoted by other institutions than those coming under the head of what is commonly called police. The better the people are educated, for example, the more conversant they are made with humanizing and elevating sources of enjoyment, the higher the tone of their moral feelings is raised, the less disposed will they be to idleness, vice, and crime. Carry these other methods to perfection, and let them be applied with sufficient universality, and you may almost expect to supersede altogether the necessity for a police. Lead the popular mind by these various opposite attractions away from the love and the pursuit of crime, and you need no apparatus for the detection and punishment of crime. It is better than punished; it is prevented. Not only are offences checked and put down, offenders themselves are extirpated. And this, which is the most perfect, is also the cheapest process by which disorders can be repressed.

But it is only for a moment that we can admit the protection of life and property to be the sole end worthy of being contemplated in the establishment of a political constitution. We hold the other objects which we have mentioned to be abundantly deserving of being specially provided for, not merely as means or helps towards the attainment of this, but for their own sakes. The ultimate result, which is to be always kept in view, is the exaltation of the national happiness and virtue. The prevention of aggressions against life and property is only one element contributory to this result. It may be powerfully promoted in many other ways. Whatever these are, there is not one of them which a wisely constituted government will neglect. It is only when a people are united upon this comprehensive scheme that they can be rightly said to form a state. With institutions which look no farther than to the mere security of life and property, they have no more right to this name than an individual has to that of a good citizen, on the score simply of being neither a murderer nor a thief. The obligations resting upon a state are extensive and multifarious as are the powers inherent in that assemblage of numbers to which it owes its origin; and the functions with which it is endowed ought to be of the same high order with the duties it is called upon to perform. It ought to be invested with the means of concentrating and calling up into exercise all the public virtue that exists in the community. Its institutions should make provision both for the most effective training and application

of all the better tendencies of society, and for the escape or harmless display of those that are of an opposite character. Where the good and the evil naturally contend together, the institutions of the state should interfere with their influence to give the victory to the former. If there be any principles at work, which let alone would lead to evil, the fabric of the national polity ought to be so constructed as if possible to correct them and turn them to good. In this way alone can a great nation be built up. These views, indeed, would make political science a much larger and more complicated study than it is as exhibited by many of its expositors; but they make also all the difference that there is in this department of speculation between a profound and real comprehension of the subject, and an ignorant and superficial charlatanism. Reduced to practice, the two schemes—that which attends to such considerations, and that which altogether neglects them—are calculated to produce effects as opposite as would probably be produced on the human frame by a nice and difficult surgical operation, according as the knife were applied by a person learned in all the minutiae of anatomy, or by a half-taught tyro or presuming quack. If nations ever again fall into barbarism, or greatly retrograde in civilization, it will be through their submission to the treatment of the incompetent political doctors, who would thus narrow and lower the whole science of government into a mere affair of police.

We have been led to these remarks by the appearance of what we deem a very gratifying document, namely, the Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which was appointed soon after the commencement of the present Session, “to consider the best means of securing open spaces in the vicinity of populous towns, as public walks and places of exercise, calculated to promote the health and comfort of the inhabitants.” We hold the object here announced to offer a perfectly legitimate case for the interference of the state. It is one which goes directly to promote, not the comfort merely, but the general improvement and civilization of the people. It admits also of being advocated on the ground of its tendency to aid powerfully in the diminution of crime, and the better observance of the law.

In the debate (on the 21st of February) on Mr. Slaney's motion for the appointment of this committee, the honourable mover addressed to the House the following striking comparative statement of the increase, during the present century, of the different descriptions of our population. “I hold in my hand,” he said, “an abstract from the Population Returns, which shows that, in the first ten years of the present century—from 1800 to 1811—the increase in the population of England and Wales was $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in the second ten years—from 1810 to 1821—it was 17 per cent.; and during the third ten years—from 1820 to 1831—it was $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. During the same interval, the increase of population in London was, in the first ten years, 17 per cent.; in the second, 21 per cent.; and in the third, 20 per cent. In Manchester the increase was, in the first ten years, 22 per cent.; in the second, 40 per cent.; and, in the third, 47 per cent. I find that a proportionate increase of population took place in all the great communities of the kingdom, so that, in the course of the thirty years to which I have referred, it appears the increase of population in four rural districts was 30 per cent.; in London it was 58 per cent.; in ten of the large manufacturing towns it was 80 per cent.; and in three of the largest manufacturing towns it was no less than 100 per cent., or exactly double.” “At the beginning of the present century,” Mr. Slaney afterwards remarked, “about one-third of the working population was engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, whilst two-thirds were occupied in agricultural labour. Now, the proportion is exactly reversed, two-thirds being engaged in manufacturing and mechanical employments, and only one-third in rural occupations.”

It appears that, owing to various causes—to the improvement in the habits and accommodations of the people, as well as to the advance of medical and surgical science, the health of the general population has greatly increased since the commencement of the last century. From the year 1700 to 1780, the annual amount of deaths was one in thirty-seven of the whole population; from 1780 to 1790 it was one in forty-five; from 1790 to 1810, it was one in fifty-four; and from 1810 to 1820 it was only one in sixty. Notwithstanding the decided rise, however, that has thus taken place in the value of life upon the whole, it would seem

that a great difference still exists between the healthiness of our town or manufacturing, and that of our country population. “I hold in my hand,” he said, “a statement showing the mortality in different places of persons under twenty years of age. In a healthy country I find the number of deaths to be 3700 out of every 10,000; in a marshy country 4200; in the metropolis 4500, being about four and a half out of ten. In the city of Carlisle, which is partially a manufacturing town, 5600, or rather more than five and a half in ten; in Preston, Stockport, Wigan, Bury, and other places in Lancashire engaged in the cotton trade, the number of deaths is 6000 out of 10,000, that is, six out of ten; whilst in Leeds, where woollen and flax manufactures are carried on, the mortality is rather more than six out of ten; so that six out of ten of the population of the manufacturing towns die before they reach twenty years of age.” From these facts the honourable member inferred the necessity of something being done to procure for the inhabitants of our crowded towns some greater means than they now possess of occasionally breathing the fresh air, and enjoying recreation in the open fields during their hours of leisure.

The committee which was appointed in consequence of this motion, sat on eight days between the 9th of March and the 3rd of May inclusive, in the course of which they examined twenty-five witnesses, who gave evidence in reference to thirteen towns, comprising some of the largest in England; namely, London, Bristol, Birmingham, Walsall, Hull, Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford, Blackburn, Bolton, Bury in Lancashire, Manchester, and Sheffield. The committee commence their report, dated the 27th of June, by expressing their opinion that, from the evidence which had been adduced before them, the following points may be considered as established, “1st, That during the last half century a very great increase has taken place in the population of large towns, more especially as regards those classes who are, with many of their children, almost continually engaged in manufacturing and mechanical employments. 2nd, That during the same period, from the increased value of property and extension of buildings, many inclosures of open spaces in the vicinity of towns have taken place, and little or no provision has been made for public walks, or open spaces, fitted to afford means of exercise or amusement to the middle or humbler classes. 3rd, That any such provision of public walks and open places would much conduce to the comfort, health, and content of the classes in question.”

Upon several of the points to which the committee directed their inquiries, considerable diversity of opinion is expressed by the witnesses; but, among all those examined, only one person seems to be *wholly* opposed to the notion that any good would be done by affording the manufacturing population additional opportunities of recreation in the open air. In answer to the question, “Is there any open space, any public walk in a park or public gardens, open to the middle and humble classes of the neighbourhood of Blackburn?” his answer is, “None whatever.” He states also that there is no water or stream near the town in which bathing can be had, and no place to which the children may resort for any game or exercise. But when asked if it is his opinion that additional facilities for exercise and walks are required for the humble and middle classes, he replies, “I do not think they would avail themselves of it if there were more facilities afforded;” and when the question is again pressed upon him, “Do not you think that the more decent among them, if they had places in which they could walk dry, and with some shelter from the sun, in which they could walk in company with their wives and children, or neighbours, would be more likely to take exercise than if they were obliged to walk through wet footpaths and undrained fields?” he still rejoins, “I do not know whether they would take advantage of that; I do not think they are likely, because we have good walks in the neighbourhood, by the road side and path roads.” He also says, when asked if he thought there were any persons in the town or neighbourhood who were likely to subscribe or make donations towards the formation of a public walk for the inhabitants, “No—I do not think it would be received with any degree of favour there.—I do not think it would.”

We have noticed the evidence of this witness thus particularly, because, while we dissent from his general conclusions, we perceive, in what he says, an impression which we hold to be to a considerable extent correct, as to certain of the views entertained by the committee, and by some of the other

witnesses. Several of the latter, we think, are too sanguine as to the immediate effects which they expect to result from the new accommodations and means of enjoyment which they propose should be given to the inhabitants of our great towns. Unquestionably, it is not to be hoped for that the benefit will for some time be either fully taken advantage of or appreciated. We fear that it will go but a very little way to elevate the habits or the condition of the existing generation of our operatives. The fresh air and the fields, to those who have been accustomed from infancy to their enjoyment, are almost necessities of existence. If they are not the indispensable breath and sustenance of life, they are its light and inspiration—that without which neither body nor mind has its proper spring. But it is altogether otherwise with him who from his birth, “in populous city pent,” has been inured to the deprivation of the fair face and free expanse of nature. His tastes and habits have all been formed and fashioned in accommodation to his prison-house; he has become attached to those amusements and relaxations exclusively with which alone he has ever been familiar. Public walks, however inviting, can hardly be expected to lure many who have been so trained from the public house, nor the sports of the green from the social board within doors. To the labourer living in the heart of an immense town, indeed, the house must always have many advantages, in the way of attraction, over the fields. The one is close at hand; the other must be often at such a distance as to demand the greater part of his short leisure to get to it. The comforts of the one are the same in all weathers and in all seasons; the other, during half the year, cannot be resorted to at all either in the morning or the evening; and a rainy day may at any time divest them of all their pleasantness. Either a walk or a game out of doors requires an exertion which is given with some reluctance after the toils of a laborious day. The enjoyments of the beer-shop are all of an easy, indolent kind, which, even when they most excite the mind, leave the body in repose. Here, too, are various enjoyments which the fields never can have to offer, at least in the same perfection, and all of a sort congenial to the tastes which are formed by a town life—the exhilarating beverage—the social talk or game—the newspaper, with its weekly or daily freight of fresh excitement. To the man habituated to spend his evening leisure among these things, the purer pleasures to be gathered under the eye of nature in the fields, are comparatively insipid and without allurements.

The case being so, we would deprecate as altogether unwise and unadvisable certain recommendations which we find to have been laid before the committee. In the first place, we do not think that public walks are exactly the thing that is wanted; and we hold it to be rather unfortunate that the title of the Report should be such as to convey the notion that this is what is principally contemplated. Walks will be almost useless without large open spaces, like our parks in London, which the people may traverse in all directions, and in which there may be room for the games of childhood, and the manly sports of maturer age. The walks might be frequented on Sundays, but they would never be resorted to at any other time. To appear on a public promenade is an affair of display—a thing which the working man would only do when he had dressed himself in his best.

Some of the witnesses, and especially the honourable mover and chairman of the committee, reckon much upon the pleasure and pride the poor man may be expected to have, when these walks are formed, in exhibiting himself and his family there in better attire than he would otherwise have been tempted to purchase. “There is one point of view,” said Mr. Slaney in his speech, “—(and to this part of my subject I beg the attention of my right honourable friend, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade)—in which I think that the opening public walks would be very advantageous. I mean, that it would be a stimulus to industry, and would lead to an increased consumption of finer articles of clothing than are generally worn by our artizans. What I mean by public walks being a stimulus to industry is this:—and he is little acquainted with the workings of the human mind, who supposes that clothes are worn merely as articles of covering. A plain man, like myself, or like my noble friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might, to be sure, wear coats and waistcoats for no other purpose than covering, or to keep him warm. But this is not the case with nine-tenths of the members of this House, or of mankind gene-

rally; and, without offence be it stated, of the other sex also, who wear clothes chiefly as the means of gratifying that ruling passion, the love of distinction. This principle pervades all ranks of the community; and the servant girl, or daughter of the artizan, is as proud of her new riband, as the lady of her fine equipage, or the duchess of her diamonds. The artizan feels a degree of pride in the decent appearance of his family, and he is stimulated to increased exertion that their appearance may be becoming. If, however, there are no public walks for the artizans, and their wives and families to exhibit themselves in, is it not evident that there is a drawback on that wholesome stimulus to industry, which operates so powerfully with so little encouragement? I happen to be a plain person myself, caring nothing as to the peculiar cut of my coat, or the neat fit of my boot; but I know that a feeling of much sensitiveness, as to matters of this sort, operates on mankind generally, and in all countries. I will not insist further on this part of my subject, but I am satisfied that it is not a matter of little importance. I recollect that late able and eloquent statesman, Sir James Mackintosh, said:—“You begin with necessities; you proceed to what are called artificial necessities, and then to luxuries; and those things which are necessities to one class are luxuries to another.” For instance, a watch-riband, which would be considered a luxury by the workman, is an article of necessity to the gentleman.

But whatever of truth there may be mixed up with this sanguine speculation, we fear the good effects anticipated are not likely to be realized by the mere formation of public walks, nor until a good many years shall have passed away, and other causes shall have produced a material change in the condition of our labouring population. It ought never to be forgotten, while we are considering this subject, that at present at least, and in the beginning of the plan, the people will require to be wooed to the appropriation of its advantages. The difficulty will be to get them to relinquish the other enjoyments to which they have been accustomed, for this new enjoyment. Until they have acquired tastes which they have not at present, everything must be done which is possible to throw the utmost attraction around the rural pleasures in which they are to be invited to indulge, and no feature, whatever may be its other recommendations, ought to be introduced into the scheme, which may have the chance of augmenting an indifference, which in too many cases is likely to be considerable enough at any rate. On this account, we would set ourselves altogether against the notion urged, or suggested by some of the witnesses, of making the people pay for admission to the places of recreation which it is proposed to open. Let the sum demanded be ever so trifling, we are confident that its exaction would be utterly fatal to the success of the measure. Do not let the semblance of anything private and exclusive be given to a place which is intended to be the general resort of the whole public. It ought to be as free as a common. In this way only will it ever draw to it the great body of the labouring population—those for whose use and benefit it is especially instituted. The demand of money for liberty to enter it, perverts it at once from this its proper character, into a place of formality and restraint, which the people will never learn to visit habitually. While there, and going thither, every man should feel as if he stood on, or were proceeding to his own grounds. And in the same spirit we object to the institution of any particular apparatus of police for preserving order in these places of amusement. We do not believe that anything of this kind will be at all necessary. On the contrary, we think that a system of rigid surveillance, offensively obtruded upon the notice of the persons present, would be the likeliest thing in the world to beget a tendency to disturbance and other sorts of misconduct. The ordinary means which exist, or ought to exist, in every large town for securing the public tranquillity, would be found, we are certain, quite sufficient for the preservation of order here, as well as elsewhere.

The witness whose evidence we have quoted above appears to consider it unlikely that many wealthy persons would be disposed to come forward with their assistance in providing the funds necessary for the formation of these public walks, and other places of recreation; and several of the remaining witnesses concur with him in this opinion. Others, however, express a very confident belief that large sums of money would be forthcoming in this way, if Parliament would grant the requisite facilities, and remove the obstacles which under the present state of the law, and of the

municipal institutions of many towns, exist to prevent such improvements being properly effected. Speaking of the town of Manchester, Mr. Potter, the member for Wigan, says, "I think a large subscription would be raised. I have heard several gentlemen say that they would subscribe." "I think," he afterwards adds, "that those who have become rich in that place of trade, and having been so long in business, ought in a very great extent to contribute; and I might mention that Mr. Heywood, the late member for the county, did propose to make a public bath in the neighbourhood of Manchester; but there were some difficulties which afterwards prevented him." We agree with Mr. Potter, in regarding this as a case in which the wealthier classes ought to come forward liberally with their contributions. It is an opportunity which, for their own sakes, they should be eager to seize. The benefit to be conferred is one which the mass of the population are to enjoy; and never can the upper orders have a fairer occasion of showing their interest in the welfare and happiness of those around them, and earning the goodwill of their countrymen by a munificent gift graciously bestowed. These are the acts by which those who are in the enjoyment of opulence and a superior station may, notwithstanding the elevation that separates them in place from the bulk of the community, preserve themselves in secure union with the basis and real strength of the political fabric to which they belong, and most effectually cement all its parts together. They have the deepest interest both in gaining the attachment, and advancing the intelligence and morality of the humbler orders; and here is an opportunity presented to them of doing much to secure both these objects. "I have no hesitation in saying," one of the witnesses examined by the Committee observes, "that no gentleman who has been on the Continent, but finds the poor labouring classes more content and healthy than the labouring classes are here; and it arises in a great measure from their having those places for recreation." This same witness, (George Offor, Esq., one of the magistrates for the town limits), whose evidence presents a curious detail of the successive encroachments that have been made in the metropolis within the last half century upon the places of recreation that were wont to be enjoyed by the public, does not hesitate to describe the present state of the labouring classes, thus driven from all their former haunts of innocent amusement and healthy exercise, as "a very fearful one." And the following is the description given of the condition of the working classes in Manchester, by Dr. Kay, an eminent physician of that town: "The operative population of Manchester enjoys little or no leisure during the week, the whole available time being absorbed by their occupations. The few hours which intervene between labour and sleep are generally spent either at the tavern, or in making some necessary family arrangements. On Sunday the entire working population sinks into a state of abject sloth or listless apathy, or even into the more degrading condition of reckless sensuality. It is impossible to produce, by any process whatsoever, a sudden change in the manners of the people, and therefore it is vain to hope that the artisans will speedily be induced to frequent the places of worship. It would be very grateful to see them preferring healthful exercise in the open air to their present gross and degrading pursuits, and through this process they must pass ere they will listen to the instructions of their public teachers. At present the entire labouring population of Manchester is without any season of recreation, and is ignorant of all amusements, excepting that very small portion which frequents the theatre. Healthful exercise in the open air is seldom or never taken by the artisans of this town, and their health certainly suffers considerable depression from this deprivation. One reason of this state of the people is, that all scenes of interest are remote from the town, and that the walks which can be enjoyed by the poor are chiefly the turnpike-roads, alternately dusty or muddy. Were parks provided, recreation would be taken with avidity, and one of the first results would be a better use of the Sunday, and a substitution of innocent amusement at all other times, for the debasing pleasures now in vogue. I need not inform you how sad is our labouring population here. The health of the lower classes is much depressed by the combined influence of municipal evils, and their own corrupted manners and constant toil; but the total absence of all honest sources of amusement, and the neglect even of healthful exercise, are features in which I would fain hope we are singular."

In this state of things, no question, we think, can be entertained as to the desirableness of establishing such means of recreation for the inhabitants of our large towns as the present Report recommends. Our chief apprehension is, as we have stated above, that the long-established habits of this part of our population will make it not a little difficult, for a considerable time, to induce them in any great degree to avail themselves of the proposed facilities, were they to be put in their way. But the design ought not on this account to be given up. What it may not be possible to do for the existing generation, ought to be done for their children and their grandchildren. The obstacle that has been created to the immediate operation of the benefit has arisen from its having been too long withheld. This ought not to be made an argument for still further delay in providing it.

We must refer to the Report itself, or to an article in the last Supplement (No. 90) of the "Penny Magazine," for a particular account of the recommendations of the Committee. In specifying the additional places of public resort and recreation which they would propose to form or to throw open, they have confined themselves to the metropolis and its vicinity, in regard to which alone the evidence collected was sufficiently precise. The walks and fields open to the public, which they enumerate as already existing in and near London, are St. James's Park, the Green Park, Hyde Park, and Kensington Gardens, in the west; the Regent's Park and Primrose Hill, in the north; and, on the south side of the river, Kennington Common, and the Terrace Walk near Lambeth Palace. There is also another short walk on the north bank of the river, near the Penitentiary.

It is evident that, except for those residing in the west end of the town, there is no sufficient provision here of the means of healthy exercise. The inhabitants of the eastern, and of the north-eastern districts in particular, are without any open fields which they can get at, except by travelling for some miles along the high road. They may be therefore considered as, in point of fact, cooped up in the midst of the noise, and dust, and smoke of the city, except for a rare occasional holiday, from the beginning of the year to the end of it.

If there are still a few fields in different directions; the property of individuals, which the public are allowed to enter, they enjoy this advantage only on sufferance, and they are losing it every day. The progress of building is fast shutting them out from all their old haunts of this description. Some of the witnesses examined by the committee state a number of curious particulars as to spots which were open to everybody some years ago, and are now covered with houses, or on other accounts shut up.

To meet the evil as far as possible, the committee propose that the space, consisting of about fifty acres, called Copenhagen Fields, should be purchased and secured to the public; that public walks should be formed on Hackney Downs, otherwise called Bonner's Fields; and that the embankment along the river-side, from Limehouse to Blackwall, called the Mill Wall, should be improved and extended. They also strongly recommend for consideration the advantages which might be derived to all parts of the metropolis from the formation of public walks along the banks of the river. There are some reasons for believing that a considerable space on both sides of the river belonged originally of right to the public, and that the private erections by which both banks are now almost everywhere covered are illegal encroachments.

DUTIES ON TEA.

THE proposed opening of the China trade renders it necessary that some new arrangements should be made for the sale of tea, and the collection of the duties upon that article. Hitherto the trade in tea has been exclusively in the hands of the East India Company; and the importation has been confined to the Port of London. No duty has been received upon the article at the Custom-House; but that which has been payable, being an *ad valorem* rate, or rate proportional to the price, has been collected by the excise upon the sales made by the Company. The subsequent removal of packages from one place to another has also been regulated by permits granted by the Excise.

It being now, however, proposed to allow the importation of tea into all the principal ports of the kingdom, it becomes necessary to transfer the collection of the duties upon it from the Excise to the Customs, and also to change the

duty from one *ad valorem* to one of fixed amount. These are the objects of a bill which is at present on its way through the House of Commons. It provides, in the first place, that tea may, after the 22d of April, 1834, being the day on which the present charter of the East India Company expires, be imported into the United Kingdom "from the Cape of Good Hope, and from places eastward of the same to the Straits of Magellan, and not from any other place." This enactment, it will be observed, goes to prohibit the importation of tea into this country either from the United States of America or from the continent of Europe. It may be considered as introduced by way of protection to the contemplated free trade with China, which, at least in its commencement, may be thought to require such absence of competition. By a subsequent enactment the duties are proposed to be fixed, according to the different descriptions of tea, at one shilling and sixpence the pound on bohea, two shillings and sixpence on congou, twankay, hysonskin, and orange pekoe, and at three shillings on souhong, flowery pekoe, hyson, young hyson, gunpowder, imperial, and other sorts not enumerated. These duties, the collection of which is to be under the management of the Commissioners of Customs, are somewhat under those which have usually been received on the East India Company's sales; and therefore if the private traders shall be able to import their tea at the same cost at which the article has hitherto been imported by the Company, its price to the consumer may be expected to be lowered under the new state of the trade. The remainder of the bill consists of regulations for carrying the proposed changes into effect, and for the management of certain matters during the intermediate period. The last provision is, that the Lords of the Treasury may discontinue the practice of requiring permits for the removal of tea, and establish in their stead any other regulations, either of Customs or Excise, which shall appear to be necessary for the security of the revenue.

APOTHECARIES' ACT AND ROYAL COLLEGES OF SURGEONS.

WHEN we sent to the press the article in our last Number on the bill for the repeal of the Apothecaries' Act, it had escaped our notice that the bill had been for the present withdrawn; and we are obliged to the kindness of an anonymous correspondent for calling our attention to the circumstance. On the 9th of July a resolution was reported from the committee on the bill to the following effect: "That before any bill to amend the laws for regulating the practice of apothecaries throughout England and Wales shall be passed into a law, it is desirable to inquire more fully into the subject than can effectually be done during the present session of parliament." This resolution, in consequence of which the bill has been for the present session withdrawn, was come to in consequence of the opposition of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons to the clause by which it was proposed that their graduates should still be subject to an examination by the Company of Apothecaries before being allowed to practise in England. The graduates of the universities, it may be recollected, were to be released even from the necessity of undergoing this examination, as well as from that of serving the five years' apprenticeship. Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the claims of the graduates in surgery to a like exemption with those in medicine, we think the bill, even although it did not concede this point, would have formed a great improvement on the present law; and therefore we regret that it has been withdrawn. But there can be no doubt that it will be again brought forward either in the same, or in an amended form next session; and it is in the meanwhile a great point gained that the most objectionable of the existing regulations, that requiring the five years' apprenticeship, appears to be given up on all hands. We believe the Company of Apothecaries themselves will not attempt to resist the abolition of this absurd and oppressive part of their present monopoly.

We take this opportunity of subjoining an abstract of a paper which has been lately printed by order of the House of Commons, containing accounts of the sums received during the last ten years for diplomas by the several Royal Colleges of Surgeons of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh. By this paper it appears that from 1823 to 1832 inclusive, the London college received for diplomas the sum of 77,459*l.* 9*s.*, being at the rate of about 7,745*l.* per annum. Of this sum the court of examiners, consisting of ten mem-

bers, has received 19,776*l.* 5*s.*, being at the rate of five guineas for each diploma. The remainder, amounting to 57,683*l.* 4*s.*, has been applied for the general purposes of the college. The number of diplomas granted during the ten years therefore must have been about 3746, or about 374 per annum; and the whole sum paid upon each diploma about 20*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* The largest sums received in a year, were 9601*l.* in 1827, 9644*l.* in 1829, and 9929*l.* in 1830; and the smallest, 6088*l.* in 1823, 6023*l.* in 1824, and 6065*l.* in 1831. The amount received in 1832 was 7625*l.*

The total amount received in the same ten years by the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin, has been 20,050*l.*; being for diplomas, 7500*l.*; fees for registry of pupils on being bound apprentices to members or licentiates of the college, to qualify them to obtain diplomas, 11,400*l.*; and from licentiates on being elected members, 1150*l.*, each paying a fee of thirty guineas. The average yearly amount received for diplomas, therefore, by this college, is 750*l.*; but the account supplies no means of arriving at the annual number of diplomas granted. The number of pupils annually registered, however, would appear to be about 108. In this college the members perform the various duties of president, examiners, &c. without fee or reward; and even the late secretary had only received an occasional remuneration to the amount of about 600*l.* in all for his services during the period of fifty years. The above-mentioned sum of 20,050*l.* has been exclusively applied to the erection, preservation, and repairs of the buildings of the college; the formation, augmentation, and preservation of the museum; the purchase of books for the library; and the payment of wages to servants, and salaries and gratuities to the house-keeper, registrar, and curator of the museum. No statement is given of yearly income and expenditure.

The account of the funds, income, and expenditure of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh is made out from Lammas, (the 1st of August,) 1822, to the same day in the year 1832. The whole number of diplomas granted during that period of ten years has been 1632; the annual numbers in their order being 114, 138, 147, 156, 199, 169, 201, 162, 195, 151. The total amount of the fees received upon these diplomas has been 8772*l.* 13*s.*; of which sum 1719*l.* 18*s.* has been paid to the examiners, and the remaining 7052*l.* 15*s.* has gone to the general funds of the college. The whole fee on each diploma, therefore, appears to be about 4*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*, of which one guinea is paid to the examiners. The total regular income of the institution for the ten years in question appears to have been 18,489*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.*, (in these accounts the diversities of national character are curiously illustrated by the reckoning even of farthings by the Scotch, the omission of pence by the English, and the disregard of every denomination save pounds by the Irish,) of which sum the principal items are, from diplomas, as above, 7052*l.* 15*s.*, entry money of fellows 5767*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*, fees of indentures 1604*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*, and dividends on property 3295*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* At Lammas, 1822, there was an accumulated fund of above 10,000*l.*, to which 2100*l.* was afterwards added by the sale of the Society's old hall. The regular annual expenditure for the whole ten years has been 9596*l.* 18*s.* 0*d.*; besides which, 7497*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* has been laid out on the collection and preservation of a museum, and 19,060*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* on the erection and fitting-up of a new hall. The accumulated money had in this way been reduced to 7631*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.* on the 1st of August, 1832.

REFORMS IN THE COURT OF CHANCERY.

WE have noticed, in another place, the large reductions which have been made in the several Government offices by the present Administration, in addition to similar reforms, also of considerable extent, effected by their predecessors. In order, however, to have a complete view of the length to which the application of the principle of economy in the abolition of useless places has been carried, we subjoin a statement of the reductions that have been made in the Court of Chancery, from a speech which has just been delivered in the House of Commons by the Solicitor-General. From the newspaper report, it might seem that the offices alluded to by the learned gentleman were only about to be abolished by the bill, the third reading of which he was then moving; but the fact is, that they are already abolished by another act which was passed last year—the 2 and 3 Will. IV. c. 111. That statute provided that the several offices in

question should "utterly cease and determine from and after the 28th day of August, 1833." The object of the bill, at present on its passage through Parliament, and in moving the third reading of which the Solicitor-General's speech was made, is to provide for the performance of the duties of the offices thus abolished.

The following is a list of these offices, as enumerated in the act of last year, with the present incomes, as stated by the Solicitor-General, of the persons by whom they are held, and of those by whom the duties are performed :—

	Present Income of Principal. £.	Do. of Deputy and expenses. £.
Keeper or Clerk of the Hanaper	2800	550
Patentee of the Subpoena Office	352	682
Registrar of Affidavits	1800	1000
Clerk of the Crown in Chancery	1100	1000
Clerk of the Patents	810	395
Clerk of the Custodies of Lunatics and Idiots	1347	375
Prothonotary of the Court of Chancery	100	—
Chafe-Wax	1300	400
Sealer	800	200
Clerk of the Presentations	43	100
Clerk of Dispensations and Facul- ties	316	—
Patentee of Bankrupts	7500	1500

With regard to these several offices, it is provided in the new bill that, in future, the duties of the Clerk of Custodies of Idiots and Lunatics shall be performed by the Lord Chancellor's Secretary of Lunatics, who shall receive on that account a salary of 200*l.*; those of the Chafe-wax and Sealer by the Purse-bearer to the Lord Chancellor, for a salary of 50*l.*, in addition to his salary of the same amount as Purse-bearer; those of the Clerk of the Presentations, and of the Clerk of Dispensations and Faculties, for a salary of 100*l.*, by the Lord Chancellor's Secretary of Presentations; and those of the Clerk of the Hanaper by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, for a salary of 200*l.*, his income as Clerk of the Crown being also reduced to 800*l.* In another bill, which was also read a third time, and passed on the 22nd August, "for the regulation of the proceedings and practice of certain offices of the High Court of Chancery," it is enacted that the duties of the Registrar of Affidavits, and of the Patentee of the Subpoena Office, shall in future be performed by an officer to be called the Clerk of the Affidavits, with a salary of 500*l.* And from the Solicitor-General's speech it appears that the income of the Clerk of the Patents is in future to be only 400*l.*, and that the office of the Prothonotary is to be abolished.

By these changes it will be found, that the duties of offices which have hitherto cost the country 22,220*l.* per annum, will henceforth be discharged at an annual expense of only 2,250*l.* The public, however, will of course only derive the benefit of this reform on the death of the present holders of the abolished places; who will continue to enjoy their present incomes so long as they shall survive, all except the brother of the Lord Chancellor, Mr. James Brougham, whose two places of Clerk of the Patents, and Registrar of Affidavits, are to be given up by him immediately. The saving of 22,220*l.*, which will thus eventually be effected, will be disposed of according to the calculation of the Solicitor General in the following manner; about 9000*l.* will go to the relief of the suitors by the reduction and abolition of fees; about 2,800*l.* will be paid into the Suitors' Fund; and about 9700*l.* will be paid to the account of the Consolidated Fund, to assist in the general expenses of the government.

Another important change will also be effected by the second of the two new bills we have mentioned, by which it is enacted, that the ten Masters in Chancery whose incomes at present average 3900*l.* a-year each, mostly derived from fees, shall, after the deaths of the present masters, be paid by salaries of only 2500*l.* each. The incomes of their chief clerks, it is also enacted, shall be reduced from the present amount of 1300*l.* a-year, to 1000*l.* a-year each. And various reductions are to be made in addition to these, which it is unnecessary at present to detail, bringing down the whole expense of the Masters' Office, from 86,500*l.* to 51,450*l.* annually. The Masters, also, who are at present appointed by the Lord Chancellor, and whose places are the most valuable he has to give away, are to be in future appointed by the crown.

NEW MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.

A MEASURE of very great importance has been brought forward in the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor, in a bill for giving municipal constitutions to those towns upon which the Reform Act has, for the first time, bestowed the power of sending representatives to Parliament. The whole population of these towns is stated to amount to upwards of 1,200,000. The bill has only been read a first time, and will not be carried farther during the present session; but it is desirable that its leading provisions should be immediately made known and understood.

The general principles of the bill are nearly the same with those upon which are founded the two bills of which we gave an account in our last Number for the reform of the existing corporations, and the establishment of others in the new burghs, in Scotland. The persons in each burgh having the right of electing the member of Parliament are to elect the common council; and the latter body is to elect the aldermen or acting magistrates. The members of the common council are to be elected every three years; the magistrates are to be elected for life. The boundaries of each burgh are to be the same as those established for the parliamentary election. The common council, however, in the new English burghs, we presume, is to be a considerably more numerous body than what is called the town council in the Scotch burgh. It will probably more nearly resemble the common council of the City of London. In London, however, the Alderman, and also the Lord Mayor, instead of being nominated by this body, are chosen by the suffrages of the citizens themselves—those of each ward voting for their own alderman, and the whole for the Lord Mayor.

Each of the new burghs, in addition to its ordinary magistrates, is to have its own recorder, or criminal judge, who is to preside at the sessions, held once every quarter as at present, or more frequently, should it be found expedient, and composed of both the county and the burgh magistrates. As the bill stands at present, the appointment of the recorder is vested in the crown; but the Lord Chancellor intimated that the matter would be further considered before the bill was again brought forward, and that a right of concurring with the crown might possibly be given to the corporations in the appointment of the officer in question. To secure the proper discharge of the duties of the office, it is to be enacted, that the recorder shall reside for a certain part of the year in the place, and further that he shall not practise in his profession of a barrister, either at the sessions or the assizes. At present, as is well known, it frequently happens, that except when he comes to preside in his court, the recorder is never seen in the burgh whose officer he is.

Whatever modifications may be afterwards introduced into the details of the measure, it is probable that this outline will be finally adhered to in all its more important parts.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

THE Committee for reporting on Public Petitions have issued five Reports since our last publication, numbered from 35 to 39. The following is an abstract, upon a similar plan to our former ones :—

<i>Parliamentary.</i>		No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
For vote by ballot		50	26597
For triennial parliaments		5	3264
Against nocturnal legislation		10	3156
For repeal of septennial act		20	10489
<i>Ecclesiastical.</i>			
For the better observance of the sabbath		1171	277167
Against the sabbath observance bill		23	2930
Against Irish church temporalities' bill		120	11268
For better regulating the established church in Wales		8	3509
Against church establishments		11	22300
For removal of religious disabilities		132	25610
For abolition of tithes in England		51	18080
Against tithes' commutation bill		36	9746
Against church patronage in Scotland		156	67529
For abolition of tithes in Ireland		73	38302
Against the composition act (Ireland)		5	450
For legalizing Catholic marriages		9	5255

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.	Quantities Imported.	Retained for Home Consumption.	Quantities Exported.
For removal of disabilities from the Jews . . .	50	45465			
For reform in Church of England . . .	9	6551			
Against the administering of oaths . . .	21	1404			
<i>Taxes.</i>					
Against the house and window tax . . .	127	69605			
Against the tax on merchant seamen . . .	10	3930			
For reduction of taxation . . .	39	45515			
For repeal of the malt tax . . .	126	42866			
Against the assessed taxes . . .	48	20683			
For the repeal of the corn laws . . .	26	27612			
In favour of Edinburgh annuity tax bill . . .	1	9096			
Against ditto . . .	5	244			
Against various other taxes, none of which have been included in any former enumeration . . .	18	945			
<i>Ireland.</i>					
For repeal of the union . . .	42	12920			
Against the disturbances' bill . . .	668	422280			
In favour of Dublin and Kingstown ship canal . . .	9	475			
Against ditto . . .	2	91			
In favour of the new system of education . . .	2	87			
Against ditto . . .	18	2071			
In favour of grand jury bill . . .	16	5324			
For introduction of poor-laws . . .	22	3916			
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>					
For the abolition of slavery . . .	5018	1309696			
Against the slavery abolition bill . . .	26	15956			
Ditto, from the Cape of Good Hope . . .	1	3540			
Against compensation to slave-holders . . .	7	1181			
Against abolition without compensation . . .	25	5946			
For alteration of laws respecting sugar refining . . .	22	13831			
In favour of factories regulation bill . . .	141	195959			
Against ditto . . .	23	2740			
Against the retail beer act . . .	227	31537			
Against alteration in ditto . . .	18	14298			
Against apothecaries' act . . .	16	823			
Ditto ditto bill . . .	30	559			
In favour of ditto . . .	3	75			
Against Bank of England charter . . .	11	1687			
Ditto ditto ditto bill . . .	10	2780			
Against the bankrupts' (Scotland) bill . . .	19	636			
In favour of Clackmannan and Kinross parishes bill . . .	8	2886			
Against ditto . . .	10	2074			
Against notaries-public bill . . .	21	99			
In favour of ditto . . .	8	501			
In favour of Poland . . .	5	14225			
Against rating of tenements' bill . . .	16	3219			
In favour of ditto . . .	5	437			
Relating to the Scots burgh bill . . .	73	8717			
For regulations respecting cut hose . . .	1	5600			
From frame-work knitters for ditto . . .	5	8979			
For regulations respecting linen weaving . . .	5	5982			
In favour of local courts . . .	4	1289			
For inquiry respecting Coldbath-fields meeting . . .	3	1280			
Complaining of abuses in corporations . . .	131	76116			
In favour of Edinburgh annuity tax bill . . .	1	9096			
Against ditto . . .	4	191			
Against imprisonment for debt . . .	4	115			
Against the metropolis police . . .	8	5566			
Against the vestry acts . . .	5	21945			
Against general register bill . . .	32	3818			
Against highways' bill . . .	21	2637			
Other miscellaneous petitions, re- ported since the publication of the Companion to the Newspa- per, No. VIII.	132	8624			

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Trade.—Imports and Exports.—Quantities of the principal articles of foreign and colonial merchandise imported, retained for home consumption, and exported, in the year ending January 5, 1832—(all fractional quantities omitted).

	Quantities Imported.	Retained for Home Consumption.	Quantities Exported.
Ashes, pearland pot . cwt.	228,756	192,046	23,469
Barilla . . . do.	184,649	252,483	—
Bark, oak and cork tree . do.	931,075	926,050	—
Brimstone, rough . do.	289,421	296,072	—
Bristles . . . lbs.	2,070,306	1,819,798	—

	Quantities Imported.	Retained for Home Consumption.	Quantities Exported.
Butter cwt.	123,169	121,193	—
Cassia, Lignia . . . lbs.	398,420	61,162	718,772
Cheese cwt.	134,459	130,039	—
Cinnamon lbs.	225,869	23,172	504,643
Cloves do.	128,223	83,885	81,912
Cochineal do.	224,371	134,222	168,329
Cocoa-Nuts do.	3,483,118	502,806	1,531,131
Coffee do.	43,007,828	22,715,807	22,485,474
Copper, unwrought . cwt.	661	6	1,550
Cork, unmanufactured do.	46,962	43,274	—
CORN:—			
Wheat qrs.	1,838,696	1,201,585	43,455
Barley do.	376,538	522,695	642
Oats do.	619,913	354,484	5,571
Rye do.	91,565	56,867	36,735
Pease and Beans . do.	83,904	77,226	597
Wheatmeal and Flour cwt.	1,636,059	1,015,142	68,664
Cortex Peruvianus, or Jesuits' Bark . . lbs.	225,678	112,773	137,578
Cotton, piece goods of India not printed . . . pieces	1,064,416	Value. £ 12,889	784,317
Cottons, printed . sq. yds.	149,806	19,636	133,068
Currants cwt.	212,899	149,018	—
DYE AND HARD WOODS:			
Fustic tons.	6,334	5,776	—
Logwood do.	14,852	10,405	6,011
Mahogany do.	11,541	12,174	—
Elephants' teeth . cwt.	5,267	3,368	—
Figs do.	28,722	20,578	—
Flax and Tow, or Codilla of hemp and flax . cwt.	936,411	918,883	—
FURS:—			
Bear Number	17,602	1,614	6,969
Beaver do.	100,944	65,699	—
Fitch do.	243,705	238,127	—
Martin do.	214,107	145,859	7,269
Mink do.	103,561	56,066	—
Musquash . . . do.	772,693	274,214	602,662
Nutria do.	494,067	426,012	—
Otter do.	23,198	3,434	6,668
Ginger cwt.	5,315	4,827	6,092
GUM:—			
Arabic d.	7,285	9,470	280
Lac-dye lbs.	782,399	454,779	143,611
Shellac do.	1,183,058	552,389	687,281
Hats or Bonnets of			
Straw Number	84,066	93,947	—
Hemp, undressed . cwt.	530,820	504,307	—
Hides, untanned . do.	271,469	236,099	—
Indigo lbs.	7,299,605	2,490,134	4,374,241
Iron in bars . . . tons.	17,872	13,656	4,255
Lead, pig do.	1,232	14	1,234
Leather Gloves . pairs	1,196,465	1,181,838	—
LEMONS AND ORANGES:			
Packages not exceeding 5000 cubic inches .	71,120	59,517	—
Ditto above 5000, and not exceeding 7300 .	177,308	168,073	—
Ditto above 7300, and not exceeding 14,000 .	74,526	71,649	—
LINENS, CAMBRICS, &c.—			
Piece	55,092	53,971	—
Ditto, plain and diaper.— Entered by the ell . ells	425,824	—	454,431
Ditto by the piece . pieces	17,102	—	18,956
Ditto by the square yard . sq. yds.	28,190	140	78,760
Ditto at value . . .	£11,039	£12,823	£915
Liquorice juice . . cwt.	8,873	6,002	—
Mace lbs.	41,287	18,894	63,795
Madder cwt.	43,935	48,756	—
Madder-root . . . do.	52,449	53,862	—
Molasses do.	332,875	348,626	—
Nutmegs lbs.	210,363	152,369	88,352
OIL:—			
Castor lbs.	393,191	327,940	—
Olive gallons	4,158,917	1,928,892	—
Palm cwt.	164,760	175,452	—

	Quantities Imported.	Retained for Home Consumption.	Quantities Exported.
Blubber tuns	1,969	1,969	—
Spermaceti do.	6,816	6,774	—
Not blubber or Spermaceti do.	15,834	14,233	—
Opium lbs.	9,967	25,937	25,045
Pepper do.	6,273,430	2,050,082	6,844,416
Pimento do.	1,810,616	304,400	1,815,537
Prunes cwt.	9,370	8,044	—
Quicksilver lbs.	314,286	192,310	848,108
Raisins cwt.	216,282	162,204	—
Rhubarb lbs.	140,395	104,124	104,849
Rice cwt.	168,744	140,100	88,886
Rice in the husks bushels	225,556	189,388	—
Safflower cwt.	2,772	2,300	—
Sago do.	2,549	3,423	—
Saltpetre do.	175,938	155,499	20,168
Sarsaparilla lbs.	176,854	107,410	—

SEEDS:—

Clover cwt.	110,255	114,663	—
Flax and Linseed bushels	2,759,103	2,476,990	—
Rape seed do.	407,275	396,502	—
Tares do.	88,939	81,480	—
Senna lbs.	250,296	130,222	—
Slumac cwt.	133,799	127,821	—

SILK:—

Raw and waste lbs.	3,992,593	3,778,791	29,975
Thrown do.	629,281	514,240	25,311
Manufactures of Europe do.	158,831	148,478	9,202
Ditto, India, viz. Bandanas, Romals, &c. pieces	185,117	101,023	100,337
Crape in pieces do.	1,307	Value. £10,485	818
Crape scarfs, shawls, &c. number	27,233		27,819
Taffeties, damasks, &c. pieces	10,631	£5,516	6,383

SKINS:—

Calf and Kid, untanned, cwt.	42,637	40,194	—
Deer, undressed number	125,357	31,079	112,948
Goat, ditto do.	354,584	212,422	97,469
Kid, ditto do.	595,573	486,527	—
Kid, dressed do.	621,780	621,780	—
Lamb, undressed do.	2,820,092	2,819,706	—
Seal, ditto do.	541,692	528,206	—
Smalts lbs.	391,523	348,115	—
Spelter cwt.	76,412	20,526	62,684

SPIRITS:—

Rum proof gallons	7,892,722	3,624,597	2,375,527
Brandy do.	1,461,897	1,235,101	504,172
Geneva do.	213,926	23,898	207,072
Sugar, unrefined cwt.	5,366,262	3,781,011	420,721
Tallow do.	1,040,691	918,733	—
Tar lasts	10,572	10,075	—
Tea lbs.	31,648,926	29,997,055	236,359

TIMBER:—

Battens and batten ends gt. hunds.	14,596	11,637	—
Deal and deal ends do.	54,915	49,489	—
Lathwood do.	11,373	11,269	—
Masts, yards, &c., under 12 inches in diameter number	13,438	12,027	—
Ditto, 12 inches and above loads	4,703	4,125	—
Oak plank, 2 inches thick or upwards do.	2,525	2,279	—
Staves gt. hunds.	76,431	70,307	—
Teak loads	23,839	24,981	—
Timber, 8 inches square or upwards do.	562,199	546,078	—
Wainscot logs, do. do.	2,571	2,701	—
Tin cwt.	8,099	—	12,226
Tobacco, unmanufact. lbs.	33,107,679	19,418,940	9,358,356
Ditto, manufactured, and Snuff do.	220,106	114,900	80,061
Turpentine, not worth more than 12s. per cwt. cwt.	317,895	301,199	—
Valonia do.	134,307	137,193	—
Wax, bees do.	7,203	10,095	—

	Quantities Imported.	Retained for Home Consumption.	Quantities Exported.
Whale fins do.	7,191	6,723	—
Wool, cotton lbs.	238,674,853	273,249,653	22,308,555
Wool, sheep's do.	31,652,029	29,669,908	1,025,962

WINE:—

Cape gallons	428,154	539,584	30,942
French do.	351,102	254,366	76,152
Portugal do.	2,763,211	2,707,734	235,129
Spanish do.	2,605,328	2,089,532	377,138
Madeira do.	356,514	209,127	128,828
Canary do.	191,916	94,117	104,302
Rhenish do.	71,352	57,888	8,152
Other sorts do.	349,293	259,916	54,262
Of all sorts do.	7,116,870	6,212,264	1,014,925
Yarn, linen, raw cwt.	17,352	17,352	—
Zaffre lbs.	227,512	227,982	—

*Shipping (Port of London).—*The following is a statement of the number of Ships and their register tonnage, which have entered the port of London during each half year of the years 1829, 1830, 1831, and 1832, and the half year ending Midsummer 1833, distinguishing British and and foreign. For the last half year, we have also distinguished the Countries from whence they arrived.

	British.		Foreign.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
Midsummer 1829	1366	200,144	683	111,112
Christmas 1829	1592	261,070	601	103,303
Midsummer 1830	924	120,757	427	70,024
Christmas 1830	1676	281,479	829	136,251
Midsummer 1831	1321	201,910	810	134,826
Christmas 1831	1551	252,623	714	130,532
Midsummer 1832	788	130,979	421	69,491
Christmas 1832	1236	194,320	430	81,034
Midsummer 1833	899	144,233	523	77,484

*Wool.—*In No. VIII. we gave a detailed abstract of the Exports and Imports of Wool and Woollen Manufactures for the year 1832. The following is a statement of the Exports of the quantities of Sheep and Lambs' Wool, and Woollen, and Worsted Yarn, and the declared value of Woollen Manufactures, from the year 1820 to the above year, both inclusive.

	Wool.	Yarn.	Woollen Manufactures.
	lbs.	lbs.	£
1820	35,242	3,924	5,386,138
1821	34,226	9,121	6,462,586
1822	33,203	12,515	6,488,167
1823	28,563	6,423	5,636,586
1824	53,743	12,640	6,043,051
1825	112,424	76,961	6,185,648
1826	143,130	131,032	4,966,879
1827	278,552	255,708	5,245,649
1828	1,669,389	436,722	5,069,741
1829	1,332,097	589,558	4,587,603
1830	2,951,100	1,108,023	4,728,666
1831	3,494,275	1,592,455	5,232,013
1832	4,199,825	2,204,464	5,244,479

*Coals.—*The export duty on coals, culm, and cinders, has undergone considerable reductions within the last three years. It is now in no case higher than 6s. 8d. per ton, which is on being exported to foreign countries in foreign ships, not belonging to States with which we have treaties of reciprocity; and is only half that amount in other ships. The duty on small coals, culm, and cinders, is now 2s. per ton, in British ships or ships of States acting under treaties of reciprocity, and 4s. per ton in other ships. When exported to any British possessions, the whole are duty free. Under the previous scale, during part of 1831, small coals and cinders were subject to the same duty as coals. The following are the exports for the last three years, with the amount of duty thereon.

	Quantities Exported.				Total duty.
	Coals and Cinders.	Small Coals.	Culm.	Total.	
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	£
1830	255,169	248,717	535	504,419	63,890
1831	328,123	182,123	585	510,831	55,237
1832	370,282	217,836	328	588,446	56,706

RETURN of the ESTABLISHMENTS of the PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS and OFFICES in 1821 and 1832 respectively.

DEPARTMENTS.	ESTABLISHMENT.				REDUCTIONS.				ADDITIONS.	
	1821.		1832.		Already effected.		To be made as vacancies occur		Number of Persons.	Amount of Salaries.
	Number of Persons.	Amount of Salaries. £.	Number of Persons.	Amount of Salaries. £.	Number of Persons.	Amount of Salaries. £.	Number of Persons.	Amount of Salaries. £.		
Treasury, including Commissariat	147	82,159	115	67,812	32	14,347	3	4,031	—	—
Secretary of State, Home Department	30	22,055	30	20,335	—	1,720	1	1,972	—	—
Ditto Foreign ditto	33	25,525	39	23,527	—	1,998	2	1,888	6	—
Ditto Colonial ditto	20	17,468	33	21,527	—	—	2	1,867	13	4,059
Privy Council Office	20	9,780	17	8,086	3	1,694	—	980	—	—
Ditto for Trade	20	7,862	25	9,880	—	—	—	—	5	2,018
{ Admiralty, including the Naval, Victualling, and Royal Marine Departments, at Home and Abroad.	1,678	465,496	723	214,581	955	250,915	—	—	—	—
Audit Office, including late Colonial Audit Office	183	54,190	95	31,152	88	23,038	2	566	—	—
Ordnance Department	1,221	238,763	824	146,991	397	91,772	20	4,550	—	—
Customs ditto	10,819	1,166,448	9,459	975,059	1,360	191,389	37	22,324	—	—
Excise ditto	8,578	925,087	6,377	744,450	2,201	180,637	36	23,516	—	—
Stamps ditto	624	174,760	458	121,788	166	52,972	—	1,065	—	—
Tax ditto	385	90,180	276	46,545	109	43,635	3	3,392	—	—
Post Office ditto	1,687	115,240	1,815	113,127	—	2,113	1	690	128	—
Mint Office	27	10,631	30	10,175	—	456	—	—	3	—
War Office, including the Office for Military Boards	164	48,041	87	31,095	77	16,946	3	1,100	—	—
Army Pay Office	68	23,222	54	18,015	14	5,207	—	—	—	—
Commander-in-Chief's Office	25	13,524	26	11,311	—	2,213	—	—	1	—
Quartermaster-General's Office	22	5,272	24	5,712	—	—	—	—	2	440
Adjutant-General's Office	24	6,712	28	7,327	—	—	2	183	4	615
Judge-Advocate-General's Office	8	4,630	7	3,570	1	1,060	—	—	—	—
Army Medical Board Office	11	4,998	13	5,140	—	—	—	—	2	142
Chaplain-General's Department	2	900	1	216	1	684	—	—	—	—
{ Chelsea Hospital, including the Secretary's, Agent's, and Treasurer's Offices	168	20,637	162	19,887	6	750	—	—	—	—
Alien Office	9	1,451	8	1,166	1	285	—	—	—	—
Stationary Office	40	5,687	36	4,971	4	716	—	—	—	—
Registrar of Colonial Slaves Office	4	1,210	4	1,210	—	—	—	—	—	—
State Paper Office	6	1,272	6	1,549	—	—	—	—	—	277
Comptrollers of Army Accounts Office	29	11,785	28	10,489	1	1,296	—	—	—	—
National Debt Office	16	4,527	32	8,756	—	—	—	—	16	4,229
Lottery Office	38	9,622	—	—	38	9,622	—	—	—	—
Auditor's Office, Exchequer	24	15,750	20	12,832	4	2,918	—	100	—	—
Teller of the Exchequer's Office	6	5,800	6	5,768	—	32	—	—	—	—
Ditto ditto ditto	6	5,350	5	4,994	1	386	—	294	—	—
Ditto ditto ditto	6	5,800	5	5,000	1	800	—	—	—	—
Ditto ditto ditto	6	6,212	6	6,603	—	209	—	—	—	—
Clerk of the Pells Office, Exchequer	16	9,945	13	6,110	3	3,835	—	150	—	—
Exchequer Bill Office	11	3,870	11	3,720	—	150	—	—	—	—
Auditor's Land Revenue Office	11	1,610	11	1,255	—	355	—	—	—	—
Baron's Exchequer, Scotland	38	17,472	34	10,581	4	6,791	2	3,900	—	—
Woods, Forests, and Land Revenue Office	106	33,058	91	24,679	15	8,379	—	—	—	—
IRELAND.										
Chief Secretary's Office	54	17,419	38	14,536	16	2,883	—	—	—	—
Ditto in London	12	4,178	8	1,940	4	2,238	—	—	—	—
Privy Council Office	6	2,577	6	2,577	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vice-Treasurer's Office	27	16,544	14	6,315	13	10,229	—	—	—	—
Privy Seal Office	2	1,385	2	100	—	1,285	—	—	—	—
Office of Public Works	131	12,516	39	5,677	92	6,839	—	—	—	—
Office for Auditing Civil Accounts	28	7,175	25	5,440	3	1,735	—	—	—	—
Board of First Fruits	5	493	8	775	—	—	—	—	3	277
Hibernian School	27	1,979	24	1,698	3	281	—	—	—	—
Office of Lieutenant-General Commanding	8	1,849	6	1,103	2	746	—	—	—	—
Army Medical Office	20	6,666	16	4,605	4	2,061	—	—	—	—
Quartermaster-General's Office	9	1,114	5	664	4	450	—	—	—	—
Deputy-Judge-Advocate-General's Office	1	506	1	506	—	—	—	—	—	—
Provost-Marshal-General's Office	3	223	1	168	2	55	—	—	—	—
Adjutant-General's Office	9	1,018	9	1,018	—	—	—	—	—	—
Commissariat Department	92	8,146	13	2,420	79	5,726	—	—	—	—
Royal Hospital, Kilmainham	62	4,543	54	3,396	8	1,147	—	238	—	—
Board of Charitable Donations and Bequests	2	216	2	193	—	23	—	—	—	—
Military Account Office	46	10,222	—	—	46	10,222	—	—	—	—
	26,880	3,772,305	21,305	2,819,622	5,758	965,240	114	73,006	183	12,057
Abate Additions					183	12,057				
Total Reductions effected since 1821					5,575	953,183				
Add Reductions directed to be made on Vacancies					114	73,006				
Total made and to be made				Persons.	5,689	1,026,189		Per Annum.		

Bankers.—A return was ordered by the House of Commons, of all joint-stock banks, and all private banks in England that have suspended payment, or become bankrupts since 1824, distinguishing those within sixty-five miles from London, from those beyond that distance. The return presented states that "there is no return or information in my office, whereby I am enabled to state the nature of any bank, whether it be one of joint stock or not; nor can I tell when any banker has stopped payment, except as it is evidenced by the lodgment in this office of documents for the issuing of a commission or fiat in bankruptcy." By this return it appears, that from Jan. 1824, to June, 1833, there were 39 dockets struck against banking firms in London, and within 65 miles thereof, and 120 beyond that distance; and commissions or fiats were issued in every case except three. It should, however, be added, that separate dockets appear to have been struck in several cases against the same firm, and against the different members of the same firm. Another return gives the amount of the dividend hitherto paid by the London bankers who have been declared bankrupt in the period above-mentioned. By this, it appears that there has been paid by Fautleroy and Co., 8s. 4d. in the pound; Chambers no dividend; Sikes and Wilkinson, 18s. 8d.; Pike, Howell, and Pike, 4d.; Gordon, Army Agent and Banker, 6½d.; Marsh, Navy Agent and Banker, 13s. 6d.; Fry and Chapman, 3s.; Remington and Stephenson, 10s. 10d.; Gray, formerly of Hartsheath, near Mold, Flint, Wine-merchant and Banker, no dividend; Macdonald and Campbell, Army Agents and Bankers, no dividend; Bond and Pattisall, 11s. 8d.; Maberley, 2s.; Duckett and Morland, 6s.

Joint Stock Banks.—The following is a list of the joint-stock banks established under the act 7th Geo. IV. c. 46, with the number of partners in each bank and the places in which their business is transacted.

Bank of Birmingham, 203 partners; Birmingham.
Bank of Liverpool, 427; Liverpool.
Bank of Manchester, 578; Manchester and Bolton, in Lancashire, and Stockport in Cheshire.
Bank of Westmoreland, 129; Kendal.
Barnsley Banking Company, 119; Barnsley.
Birmingham Banking Company, 295; Birmingham.
Bradford Banking Company, 173; Bradford, Yorkshire.
Bradford Commercial Joint Stock Banking Company, 131; Bradford, Yorkshire.
Bristol Old Bank, 8; Bristol.
Cumberland Union Banking Company, 158; Workington, Cockermouth, Maryport, Wigton, Carlisle and Penrith.
Darlington District Joint Stock Banking Company, 274; Darlington, Stockton, and Barnard Castle, in Durham; Northallerton and Stokesley in Yorkshire.
Gloucestershire Banking Company, 130; Gloucester.
Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company, 172; Halifax.
Huddersfield Banking Company, 285; Huddersfield.
Knaresborough and Claro Banking Company, 160; Knaresborough, Wetherby, Ripon, Easingwold, Helmsley, Thirsk, Boroughbridge, Masham, Pately Bridge, Otley and Harrogate.
Lancaster Banking Company, 81; Lancaster, Ulverston and Preston.
Leeds Banking Company, 496; Leeds.
Leicestershire Banking Company, 53; Leicester and Hinckley.
Leith Banking Company, 14; Carlisle.
Liverpool Commercial Banking Company, 104; Liverpool.
Manchester and Liverpool District Banking Company, 857; Manchester, Liverpool, Oldham, Ashton, Warrington, Bury, Preston, Blackburn and Wigan, in Lancashire; Stockport and Nantwich in Cheshire; Hanley, Stafford, Cheadle, Lane End and Rugeley, in Staffordshire; Market Drayton in Shropshire, and Glossop in Derbyshire.
Mirfield and Huddersfield District Banking Company, 213; Mirfield, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Dewsbury and Dobcross.
Norfolk and Norwich Joint Stock Banking Company, 131; Norwich, Swaffham, Foulsham, East Dereham, Fakenham, Lynn, Harleston and Watton, in Norfolk; and Bungay in Suffolk.
North of England Joint Stock Banking Company, 505; Newcastle-upon-Tyne in Northumberland, and Sunderland in Durham.
Plymouth and Devonport Banking Company, 132; Plymouth, Devonport and Kingsbridge.
Saddleshworth Banking Company, 113; Saddleshworth, Ashton, and Oldham.
Sheffield Banking Company, 154; Sheffield.
Stamford and Spalding Joint Stock Banking Company, 74; Stamford, Spalding, Market Deeping, Boston, Bourn and Grantham, in Lincolnshire; Oundle, Kettering, Thrapstone

and Peterborough, in Northamptonshire; Oakham and Uppingham, in Rutlandshire; Melton Mowbray and Market Harborough, in Leicestershire; Huntingdon in Hunts, and Wisbeach in Cambridgeshire.

Stuckey's Banking Company, 12; Bristol, Bridgewater, Taunton, Chard, Crewkerne, Ilminster, Langport, Wells, Bruton, and Shepton Mallet.

Wakefield Banking Company, 217; Wakefield.

Whitehaven Joint Stock Banking Company, 225; Whitehaven and Penrith.

Wolverhampton and Staffordshire Banking Company, 239; Wolverhampton.

York City and County Banking Company, 286; York, Malton, Selby, Howden, Scarborough, and Goole.

York Union Banking Company, 200; York, Bridlington and Great Driffield.

Excise Licenses.—The number of licenses issued in England and Wales, under the provisions of the act 1 Will. IV., c. 64, was, in the half-year ending March 31, 1831, 29,358; in the year ending March 31, 1832, 31,300; and in the year ending March 31, 1833, 33,733. The number of public houses licensed for the sale of beer, ale, and spirits, was, in the half-year ending March 31, 1831, 45,886; in the year ending March 31, 1832, 46,359; and in the year ending March 31, 1833, 47,286. The number of public houses licensed for the sale of beer and ale only was, in the half-year ending March 31, 1831, 5120; in the year ending March 31, 1832, 5254; and in the year ending March 31, 1833, 4821.

Revenue of India.—General Abstract of the Revenues and Charges of India for three years, according to the latest advices, showing the Net Revenue, the Amount paid for Interest on Debts, and the remaining surplus Revenue.

	1828-9.	
	Revenues.	Charges.
	£.	£.
Bengal	14,823,840	10,329,331
Madras	5,575,049	5,256,646
Bombay	2,331,802	3,600,841
Expenses of St. Helena		113,054
	£22,740,691	19,597,306
Net surplus Revenue	£1,022,130.	

1829-30.		
Bengal	13,858,177	9,598,785
Madras	5,415,587	5,256,646
Bombay	2,421,443	3,600,841
Expense of St. Helena		93,004
	21,695,207	18,549,276
Net surplus Revenue	£1,138,238	

1830-31.		
Bengal	14,119,914	9,224,937
Madras	5,358,260	5,107,020
Bombay	2,541,136	3,594,472
Expense of St. Helena		86,044
	22,019,310	18,013,473
Net surplus Revenue	£1,799,633	

Writers and Cadets.—Number of writers and cadets appointed in the East India service each year, from 1813 to 1833.

	Writers.	Cadets.	Writers.	Cadets.
1813	31	59	1824	35
1814	7	47	1825	39
1815	53½		1826	55
1816	39½	65	1827	58
1817	20	85	1828	69
1818	37	336	1829	62
1819	27	527	1830	58
1820	32	499	1831	63
1821	40	403	1832	36
1822	37	314	1833	11
1823	22	211		49

Tithe Composition, Ireland.—From the year 1824 to 1832, both inclusive, there has been advanced from the consolidated fund in Ireland, for the payment of commissioners appointed on behalf of the incumbents and

parishes for establishing a composition of tithes, the sum of 149,392*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; of this sum there has been repaid, by incumbents, 14,925*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*, by parishes 28,606*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*; leaving a balance due to the public of 105,860*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*

Metropolitan Police Assessment.—Returns of the annual value of the property in each of the several parishes and extra-parochial places within the Metropolitan Police District, upon which the last Rate for the Relief of the Poor to the 5th of April, 1833, was assessed.

	£.		£.
Acton	8852	St. Clement Danes	68,043
Artillery Ground, Old	3663	St. George in the East	125,131
Barnes	7228	St. Geo., Hanover Sq.	537,604
Battersea	26,160	St. George, Southwark	98,280
Bermondsey	72,438	St. Giles and St. Geo.	227,532
Bethnal Green	76,424	St. James, Westminster	232,568
Brentford, New	745	St. John, Hampstead	31,372
Bromley	21,898	St. John, Southwark	34,710
Camberwell	122,967	St. John, Wapping	20,014
Charter-house	65	St. John, Westminster	47,718
Chelsea	119,144	St. Katharine	9513
Chiswick	12,739	St. Luke, Middlesex	129,387
Christ Church (Midd.)	28,395	St. Margaret, Westm.	96,968
Christ Church (Surrey)	36,106	St. Martin in the Fields	147,900
Clapham	30,070	St. Mary, Islington	153,775
Clerkenwell	160,140	St. Marylebone	727,033
Ealing	25,935	St. Mary, Newington	109,533
Fulham	26,208	St. Mary-le-Strand	11,119
Furnival's Inn	3185	St. Mary, Stratford, Bow	15,009
Gray's Inn	15,832	St. Mary, Whitechapel	113,319
Greenwich	53,692	St. Nicholas, Deptford	7968
Hackney	95,071	St. Olave, Southwark	28,843
Hammersmith	26,162	St. Pancras, Middlesex	441,244
Kensington	93,400	St. Paul, Covent Garden	39,536
Lambeth	282,380	St. Paul, Deptford	27,193
Lincoln's Inn	10,799	St. Paul, Shadwell	17,860
Mile End New Town	9309	St. Saviour, Southwark	69,635
Mile End Old Town	72,240	St. Sepulchre	12,580
Paddington	74,447	St. Thomas, Southwark	3645
Penge	793	Saffron Hill, &c.	32,045
Poplar	97,401	Savoy	3685
Putney	20,152	Shoreditch	no Return
Ratcliff	23,933	Stoke Newington	13,520
Rotherhithe	49,300	Streatham	20,682
Rolls Liberty	12,775	Tooting	5907
St. Andrew & St. George	109,343	Tower, Without	1855
St. Anne, Limehouse	30,729	Tower, Within	no Return
St. Anne, Westminster	58,122	Trinity, Minories	5168
St. Botolph, Bishopsgate	33,780	Wandsworth	16,748

The above amounts are, for the most part, those of the rack rents, but in some cases, in different proportions below it. It also includes the rental of premises which are excused in the poor rate assessment, in consequence of being empty, or for other causes.

Registration of Slaves.—Number of Slaves in each of the West India Colonies as they stood at the original and at the last registration, with the dates of such registrations.

		Males.	Females.	Total.
Antigua	1817	15,053	17,216	32,269
"	1827	14,066	15,773	29,839
Barbadoes	1817	33,354	42,139	77,493
"	1829	37,691	44,211	81,902
Bahamas	1822	5529	5279	10,808
"	1828	4608	4660	9268
Berbice	1817	13,802	10,747	24,549
"	1831	11,020	9625	23,768
Bermuda	1820	2505	2671	5176
"	1830	2107	2264	4371
Demerara	1817	44,137	33,730	77,867
"	1832	34,368	31,188	65,556
Dominica	1817	8624	9335	17,959
"	1826	732	8030	15,392
Grenada	1817	13,737	14,292	28,029
"	1831	11,432	12,172	23,604
Jamaica	1817	173,319	172,831	346,150
"	1829	158,254	164,167	322,421
Montserrat	1817	3047	3563	6610
"	1827	2867	3395	6262
Nevis	1817	4685	4917	9602
"	1831	4526	4616	9142
St. Christopher	1817	9685	10,483	20,168
"	1831	9141	9944	19,085

		Males.	Females.	Total.
St. Lucia	1816	7394	8891	16,285
"	1831	6119	7229	13,348
St. Vincent	1817	12,743	12,475	25,218
"	1831	11,216	11,781	22,997
Tobago	1819	7633	7837	15,470
"	1832	5603	6488	12,091
Trinidad	1816	14,133	11,411	25,544
"	1823	12,591	11,185	23,776
Virgin Islands	1818	3231	3668	6899
"	1828	2510	2889	5399

STAMPED AND UNSTAMPED PUBLICATIONS.

A MR. JOSHUA HOBSON, it appears, has been lately convicted at Huddersfield for publishing an unstamped newspaper, entitled *The Voice of the West Riding*, and not being able, or not choosing, to pay the consequent penalties, has been committed to the Wakefield House of Correction for six months. Upon this event a great outcry has been raised by a part of the newspaper press, which is in the habit of boasting loudest both of its honesty and its logic, but which, on the present occasion, has not shown much of either.

Mr. Hobson and his associates, according to the *True Sun*, (see that paper for August 13th,) were led to think that they might publish their unstamped newspaper with impunity by the example of the *Penny Magazine*. It is possible that this assertion may not be a mere rhetorical flourish, or a falsehood. These persons being constantly told by the *True Sun*, and other oracles professing an equal zeal for the diffusion of truth, that the *Penny Magazine* was allowed to be published without a stamp merely through the favour of the Government, may have believed that such was really the case. But when the editor of the *True Sun* goes on to say, "they saw that work established in defiance of the Stamp Office," we take leave to tell him that, enlightener of the popular ignorance as he would be thought, he asserts that which is false, and which he well knows to be false—aye, as false (though certainly not quite so indecent) as any of the quack doctors' advertisements, which he also daily serves up for the edification of his readers.

The *Penny Magazine* is published "in defiance of the Stamp Office," only in the same sense in which it may be said to be published in defiance of the office of the *True Sun* itself; the Stamp Office has nothing to do with it. It is not a publication coming under any of the statutes which give the Stamp Office a right of interference. It might as well be asserted, that Johnson's *Dictionary* is published in defiance of the Stamp Office.

The law on this subject is contained in the statute 60th Geo. III. chap. 9. That act imposes a stamp duty only upon periodical publications, the successive parts or numbers of which appear at intervals not exceeding twenty-six days, and which treat of matters belonging to church or state. The words of the statute are these: "All pamphlets and papers containing any public news, intelligence, or occurrences, or any remarks or observations thereon, or upon any matters in Church and State, printed in any part of the United Kingdom for sale, and published periodically, or in parts and numbers, at intervals not exceeding twenty-six days between the publication of any two such pamphlets or papers, parts or numbers, where any of the said pamphlets or papers, parts or numbers respectively, shall not exceed two sheets, or shall be published for sale for a less sum than sixpence, exclusive of the duty by this act imposed thereon, shall be deemed and taken to be newspapers, within the true intent and meaning of several other acts of Parliament now in force relating to newspapers, and be subject to such and the same duties of stamps," &c. The *Penny Magazine* does not treat of matters in church or state; it does not give public news, intelligence, or occurrences. The law demands a stamp only in the case of newspapers; the *Penny Magazine* is not a newspaper. It is not the description of publication for which a stamp is necessary; and therefore, and for no other reason, it is published without one.

This appears so simple a matter that, having been stated, it is difficult to conceive that any person should not be able to understand it. Yet, strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless undeniable, that not only the *True Sun*, but sundry other newspapers have persisted for a very long time in at least pretending not to see the distinction which we

have just stated. The *Examiner* and *Spectator* in particular, in a manner very unworthy of the talent with which they are both conducted, have repeatedly descended to retail to their readers what they must have known to be the absurd imputation, of the *Penny Magazine* being allowed to be published without a stamp, because it was patronised by certain members of the Government. No refutation of this wretched nonsense ought to have been needed; but it so happens that the matter was some months ago very well and clearly explained in a reply which appeared in Chambers's *Edinburgh Journal* to a very extraordinary attack by the editor of the *Literary Gazette*, on the illegality and unfairness of the very thing which that publication had itself been practising for many years. For if the *Literary Gazette* was allowed to be published without a stamp, as it is, it would certainly puzzle most people to assign a reason why the *Penny Magazine* should not. But the worthy editor, while penning that strange effusion, seemed to have forgotten his own case altogether. It was not a person rebuking his neighbour for a particular sin, being himself notorious for his addiction to another as bad, or worse; but the very perpetrator of the alleged offence coming forward with apparent unconsciousness, to address the public through an attack on his neighbour, in vehement denouncement of his own conduct. It might be hard to say, indeed, whether the oblivion was real or pretended; but take it either way, the exhibition was an exceedingly rich one. Mr. Chambers will excuse us, if we insert a passage from his remarks on this subject:

"For our own part, we most emphatically remonstrate against this system which the *London Literary Gazette*, and other papers above sixpence in price, have adopted, of denouncing to the stamp laws all literary sheets published below that standard of money. The stamp laws say, as plainly as words can speak, that all sheets which publish news and occurrences, and comment upon matters of church and state, shall pay duty. But the papers above sixpence give another reading to the law, and say, that all sheets published at a cheaper price than theirs shall be liable to impost. We had thought the law severe enough, since it prevented the people from getting news and politics without duty; but the severity of the law is liberality itself to the pseudo-liberal newspapers, which would urge the Government, against its own will, to tax the dissemination of general knowledge also. The case is exactly the same ludicrous one, as if the muslin mercer were to denounce war against the clothier for attracting customers to purchase his more substantial articles, to the neglect of gauzes and crapes. It is a mere commercial war, in which a regard to self has completely blinded the assailing party to those very principles of justice and truth which they affect to advocate zealously in general questions."

Unstamped periodicals, however, are no new thing among us. We have had many others, besides the *Literary Gazette*, for years past. This being considered, it does seem extraordinary that the outcry should have been raised on the subject which we have recently heard. Why, whatever the above-mentioned newspapers may pretend, they, and all the world, must have known perfectly well long ago, that periodical works, not giving news, nor discussing matters in church or state, might be published by any body without a stamp. Has not the well-known little work called *The Mirror*, for instance, been so published for many years? Had we not *The Olio*, *The Casket*, and dozens of other similar unstamped publications, long before the *Penny Magazine* was ever heard of? Were these all specially protected by their connexion with his Majesty's Ministers; or would not any body in those days have been laughed at for asserting that such either was or possibly could be the case? Yet, now we have our public instructors gravely pretending not to be able to account on any other except such a monstrous and perfectly ridiculous supposition, for the impunity of the unstamped *Penny Magazine*. They never before heard of such a thing, forsooth, as a publication of that cost issued without a stamp—and they cannot conceive how it can be done in the present case, except in the way that has been mentioned.

When the case of Hobson was mentioned in the House of Commons, the Solicitor General explained the law just as we have stated it. He said, "that if the man had been imprisoned merely for selling an unstamped penny publication, then undoubtedly the punishment was illegal, but if the offence was the selling of an unstamped newspaper, he had incurred

the penalty of the law, and must suffer it." Having quoted these words, "Here," exclaims the editor of the *True Sun*, "is a *salvo* for the tender conscience of the Lord Chancellor! To sell an unstamped penny publication—the *Penny Magazine*, to wit, or any other periodical to which the society of Useful Knowledge may lend its countenance—is quite legal; but to sell an unstamped *Newspaper* (mark the distinction, reader) is a palpable violation of Whig law! A '*publication*,' in short, according to the Whigs, is not a '*Newspaper*'—and, conversely, a '*Newspaper*,' is not a '*publication*.' Now all this, though eminently in accordance with the genius of Whig logic, does not happen to satisfy us." This, we suppose, is intended for something very severe. If the readers of the *True Sun* take it for either good sense or honest absurdity, they must be very easily gulled.

These attacks upon the penny publications, and demands that the arm of the law should be stretched out to put them down, seem to come with no very good grace from the quarters where they have been most eagerly urged—from the newspapers that are most in the habit of obtruding upon the public their anxiety for the diffusion of knowledge of all kinds among the people. We should rather expect to find such newspapers expressing their satisfaction, that the law permitted so much information to be dispensed at a rate at which the people could afford to purchase it. What should we think of those who objected to the prohibition against the importation of foreign corn free from duty, on the ground that it diminished the supply of bread, were they to clamour incessantly for a tax upon the importation of foreign beef, if that also were an article of large consumption among the people? Would not their conduct appear to be rather inconsistent, and hardly to be explained upon any other supposition, except that they had some private interests of their own to serve, for the sake of which they were willing enough that a blow, no matter how heavy, should be given to those of the public? The newspapers which profess to wish for the diffusion of knowledge, and yet desire a law to put down the cheap non-political publications, are equally inconsistent. The people at present are not allowed to have political information without a tax, unless they receive it in the way in which our own work supplies it—at an interval of a month. If this be an evil, it is surely some mitigation rather than an aggravation of it, that they may have all other knowledge duty-free. This is something, for patriots and philanthropists to rejoice in, not to rail against. But both philanthropy and patriotism are sometimes apt strangely to forget themselves.

It appears that the greater number of informations against the dealers in unstamped newspapers have been laid by common informers for the penalties. This, we should apprehend, would be decisive upon the question of liability to prosecution to any but the most prejudiced. The unstamped newspapers are clandestinely sold to very humble shopkeepers. The *Penny Magazine*, and similar publications, such as the *Saturday Magazine*, and Chambers's *Journal*, are sold not only by hawkers and small dealers, but by the most respectable booksellers in the metropolis and every provincial town. If their sale were any violation of the law, why are the persons who can pay the penalties not informed against? Informers are in general a sharp-sighted race. But we have a word to add upon this matter. We complain not that the Government has been too severe with the dealers in unstamped newspapers, but that they have not been severe enough. We complain that they have left the matter too much in the hands of informers. As long as the law exists imposing a stamp of fourpence upon "pamphlets and papers containing any public news," that law should be rigidly enforced. Our own opinions have been already expressed as to the impolicy of that law. Its evasion, however, by the publishers of unstamped newspapers lets loose upon us a great many of the evils that some persons dread from the licentiousness of the press, without any of the advantages of the cheaper, and therefore more extended, diffusion of political knowledge.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Last Year's Emigration to the		The New Beer-Houses	152
Canadas	145	Abolition of the Monopoly of the	
Public General Acts	148	East India Company	156
Private Bills of the Session of		General Education	159
Parliament, 1833	150		

LAST YEAR'S EMIGRATION TO THE CANADAS.

IN the course of the late Session of Parliament a paper was printed by order of the House of Commons, consisting of Copies or Extracts of the Correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, and the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of the British Colonies in North America and Australia, since the last returns, in as far as relates to the question of Emigration. We propose, in the present article, to lay before our readers some of the most interesting facts communicated in this document, with a few such remarks as the subject suggests, or seems to call for.

Emigration, conducted properly and in the most advantageous circumstances, dispenses its benefits at once in three directions. It improves the condition of the emigrant himself, of the country from which he is removed, and of the other country in which he settles. It is a process, therefore, which each of these three parties is interested in promoting, and it may be often worth while that it should be carried on by the co-operation of them all.

A case of this description, in all respects, seems to present itself in the relative circumstances of two countries so situated as Great Britain on the one part and Canada on the other. In the former, at present, we have a superabundant labouring population, with the natural consequences of that state of things—a general depression of the wages of labour, and a wide-spread and most burthensome pauperism. In the latter there is a scarcity of labourers, with a consequent high price of labour, and plenty of employment for all who want it. The transference of a portion of our population to Canada would at once, to a certain extent, adjust and rectify all these inconveniences. The persons so transferred would exchange a scanty and precarious subsistence, or a degrading dependence upon public charity, for bread enough and to spare, made sweet by the reflection that they had worked for whatever they consumed, and been liberally rewarded for their work. Instead of pining and withering away in an overstocked or exhausted soil, they would go to strike root and flourish in one full of nourishment, and where there was ample room for all. The market of labour in England would be relieved from part of the pressure that now keeps it down, the situation of the body of labourers who remained at home would be made more comfortable, and the weight of the poor-rates upon the rest of the community would be lightened. In Canada the woods would be cut down; the ground would be tilled and sown; towns and villages would be enlarged and multiplied; civilization would be carried out over many parts that are now uninhabited wastes; arts and manufactures would be gradually introduced; the wealth of the colony, and of all classes in it, would be increased; and along with that both its value to the mother country, and its power of maintaining its rights against attacks, whether from thence or from any other quarter. In short, what is a load upon us would be a support to it, and it would derive its best strength from what is a source of weakness to us.

Two incidental advantages which Canada holds out as a receptacle for the surplus population of Great Britain, are the identity of the language generally spoken there with our own, and the comparative shortness of the voyage which takes an emigrant to its shores from ours. It is the latter of these circumstances which must, for a long time to come,

make it the most attractive of all our colonial dependencies for the great mass of emigrants. If it be compared, for instance, with New Holland or Van Diemen's Land, the demand for labourers may be as great in the two latter settlements; but, being so much more distant than the Canadas, they must, on that account alone, fail to draw anything like an equal share of the general emigration from the mother country. If the Canadas did not exist, the Australian colonies would be much sooner peopled. The former may be regarded as a station placed half way on the road to the latter, which intercepts nearly all that might otherwise have passed on.

For this reason, in fact, until the Canadas shall have received nearly all of our surplus population which they can absorb, there can be no voluntary and unaided emigration to Australia on an extensive scale. Our colonies in that quarter can only be supplied with labourers by the employment of some extraordinary stimulus to force emigration; such as the banishment thither of certain descriptions of criminals, or the bribing of persons to go out, by the colony or the government undertaking to defray the expenses of the voyage, or to make them grants of land, or to secure them some other similar advantage. Now such encouragements, it is sufficiently obvious, never can be applied except to a very limited extent. It is not to be imagined that we ever shall be able to draft off in this way such considerable numbers of our surplus labourers as shall sensibly ease the pressure occasioned by their excess. The subject of Australian emigration, therefore, is one of quite a different description from that of emigration to the Canadas. It is one in which we in this country are comparatively but little interested, except only in so far as the prosperity of our Australian colonies may be interesting to us. It is in the main their concern, not ours. New Holland and Van Diemen's Land may be benefited by the few hundreds of British labourers that may by any means be annually induced to resort to them; but neither will the condition of the great body of British labourers be at all bettered by this slight diminution of their numbers, nor can any relief be thence looked for to the general community of this country.

For the present, therefore, we propose to confine our attention to that portion of the returns before us which relates to the emigration that has recently taken place to the British colonies in North America. The information which is presented upon this subject is chiefly contained in a report addressed to Lord Aylmer, the governor of Canada, by Mr. Buchanan, chief agent for the superintendence of emigrants in that colony, and in various documents forming an appendix to that communication. We shall endeavour to comprise, under a few distinct heads, the principal facts to be collected from these statements.

It appears that the number of the emigrants who arrived in Canada from all parts (except the United States) in the course of the last year, was 51,746. The arrivals take place during the seven months from about the beginning of May to the end of November, being the season during which the navigation of the St. Lawrence is open; but they are very few in number after the middle of October. Last year, in the week ending the 19th of May, there were 6072 arrivals, and in that ending the 9th of June there were 10,599. Of the whole number, 46,246, or more than eight-ninths, had taken place by the 11th of August, or in the first fourteen of the twenty-eight weeks of which the season consists. The advantage to the emigrant of arriving in the country with a considerable part of the summer before him, instead of at the commencement of the inclement winter of that climate, is sufficiently obvious. Mr. Buchanan remarks, in one of the weekly notices appended to his general report, that the emigrants who come out even so late as towards the end of July and August, generally belong to a poorer class than those who make their appearance earlier. All who have

sufficient command of resources to enable them to make the voyage when they please, instead of being obliged to wait till they can, will of course time their movements so as to secure the greatest advantages.

It had, it seems, been the general opinion in the colony that the arrivals of 1832 would very greatly exceed in number those of the preceding year. It was thought they might probably amount to 80,000. Mr. Buchanan, however, states that he always expressed his opinion that this would be found a fallacious calculation; his conclusion being "principally," as he says, "drawn from the fact, that great pains were taken by some persons opposed to the introduction of British emigrants into the Canadas, to circulate unfounded reports respecting the extent of distress endured by them on arrival, and of a general want of employment in every part of the country." It turned out that the increase upon the number of the preceding year was very insignificant. In 1829 the arrivals were 15,945; in 1830, 28,000; and, in 1831, 50,254; but here the progressive increase stopped, or at least was reduced to little more than one-thirtieth of its former rate, the actual increase on the year, as already stated, being not quite 1500. In the arrivals from Ireland there was a great falling off, the number for 1831 having been 34,133, while that for 1832 was only 28,204. Of this difference, however, by far the smallest portion was occasioned by the declension of emigration from the most civilized parts of the island. The ports of Dublin, Belfast, Londonderry, and Newry, which sent out 19,579 emigrants in 1831, still sent out 17,402 in 1832, exhibiting a decrease of only about eleven per cent.; while the decrease from the ports of Waterford, Ross, Cork, Limerick, and Sligo, was from 11,948 to 8440, or very nearly thirty per cent. From the whole of Scotland there was a small increase of 144; the number for 1831 having been 5356, while that for 1832 was 5500. The sources of the emigration, however, from that part of the island, had shifted considerably. From Greenock, for instance, there only arrived 1716 persons in 1832, instead of 2988, which was the number the preceding year; and from the ports of Dumfries, Ayr, Inverness, and Grangemouth, which in 1831 sent out 644, there were no arrivals at all in 1832. On the other hand, those from Leith had increased from 664 to 1145; those from Dundee from 249 to 439; those from Aberdeen from 158 to 478; and there were 906 persons from Campbellton, Stranraer (that, we suppose, is what is meant by *Strancour*), Isla, Annan (if that be the *Aunon* of the list), Alloa, Leven, and Irvine, from none of which places were there any arrivals the preceding year. But although the emigrants sailed from new ports, it does not follow that there was a change to the same extent in the districts from which they came. From England the number of arrivals in 1831 was 10,343, and 17,481 in 1832. Hull is the only port from which the numbers for the two successive years exhibit any considerable decrease on the second, the arrivals thence in 1831 having been 2750, and only 1288 in 1832. From Liverpool there was 2261 the former year, and 2217 the latter; the only other ports, the successive numbers from which exhibit a decrease, are Southampton, Gloucester and Frome, Carmarthen, Worthington, and Whitby, the aggregate amount of arrivals from these places having been 925 in 1831, and the following year only 482. From London, in 1831, there were 1135, and in 1832, 4150; from Plymouth, 474 the former year, and 1398 the latter; from Bristol the numbers were successively 764 and 1836; from Whitehaven, 138 and 795; from Maryport, 421 and 884; from Sunderland, 86 and 206; from Yarmouth, 514 and 793; and from Shoreham, Portsmouth, Newport, Dartmouth, Torquay, Exeter, Padstow, Milford, Swansea, Aberystwith, Llanelly, Scarborough, Stockton, Colchester, and Lynn, from all of which together only 30 persons came in 1831, there came no fewer than 2396 in 1832. In the latter year there were 9 arrivals from Hamburg and Gibraltar, 6 from Demerara, and 546 from Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and New Brunswick, from none of which places had there been any in 1831. Mr. Buchanan, however, states "that although the recorded number of persons arrived this year (1832) exceeds that of last by 1492, yet owing to the abuses in violation of the Passenger Act last year, by some shipmasters, in making short reports of the number on board, the total number of emigrants by the St. Lawrence, arrived in the Canadas in 1831, have exceeded that of the present season by about 5000." But "the excess," he adds, "will be more than counterbalanced by the influx of British and German emi-

grants into Upper Canada, who come by way of New York and Philadelphia;" so that "it will be found that the number of emigrants arrived this year, and actually settled in the Canadas, will vary little from 55,000." Of the 51,746 who came from other places than the United States, 19,830 were grown up males, 17,052 were grown up females, and 14,864 were children under fourteen years of age.

The next important point of inquiry is, to what description of persons the emigrants generally belong, and whether those of last year appear to have been of a class inferior or superior to those of preceding years. In the first place, of the whole number, 4988 were persons who had obtained the means of emigrating from their landlords or their parishes. These pauper emigrants, as they may be designated, were chiefly from the counties of York, Norfolk, Suffolk, Bedford, Northampton, Kent, Sussex, Hants, Somerset, and Gloucester. Mr. Buchanan intimates, that those of them who receive their allowances of money previous to their embarkation, occasionally squander it on board the ship, or avail themselves of it after they have landed, to enable them to live for a short time at Quebec or Montreal, in idleness, instead of immediately exerting themselves to procure employment. He suggests therefore that, instead of its being, as at present, left optional with the parish authorities, it should be made compulsory upon them to adopt the plan of transmitting funds for the use of their emigrants recommended by the Commissioners for Emigration in London, according to which, while the paupers have their necessary expenses paid, up to their arrival at the place of their ultimate destination, they are not allowed to have the disbursement of any money themselves until they are fairly located. The late Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Goderich (now Earl of Ripon), however, we observe, expresses himself as opposed to this suggestion, chiefly on the ground that its adoption "would create a responsibility and multiplication of duties, which no establishment that the government could conveniently support would be adequate to meet." It would appear, therefore, that this which the Commissioners have recommended as the best plan, is, after all, one which it is wished should be followed in as few instances as possible. It seems to us that government either ought not to undertake the business of managing this matter at all, or ought to be prepared to perform to its full extent the task it has imposed on itself. But we do not imagine that there would be required for this purpose any such considerable extension of existing establishments as Lord Goderich appears to have apprehended. The funds required for the use of all these pauper emigrants, while proceeding to their new settlements, might probably be transmitted through the government offices without giving much more trouble than is occasioned by the partial transmission which takes place at present.

Another division of the emigrants are those who pass under the denomination of Commuted Pensioners, being old soldiers who have been induced to resign their pensions for a grant of land in the colony. From their previous habits, and also from their time of life, this class of persons are in general, it may be apprehended, by no means the best suited for making their way in a new country, or engaging in an enterprize in which industry, sobriety, and prudence, together with health and vigour of body, are indispensable to success. They are not likely, in general, to benefit either the colony or themselves. The experiment of sending out these pensioners, accordingly, may, we believe, be considered as having failed, both in Canada and elsewhere. The number sent to Canada in 1832 was 1700; and Lord Goderich, in his letter to the governor, states, that probably no more will be sent out.

The great body of the emigrants of last year, according to Mr. Buchanan, were of a description above the average of preceding years. "Many respectable and wealthy families," he says, "came from all parts of the United Kingdom; and the extent of property and actual specie brought into the country by them has been exceedingly great, fully amounting to from 600,000*l.* to 700,000*l.* sterling." He afterwards speaks of one gentleman who had brought with him 4000*l.*; and of another who had a credit at the Quebec bank from a London banking house to the extent of 16,000*l.* Of those who had no such wealth as this the majority seem to have been in easy circumstances.

We will now proceed to state the manner in which the emigrants were disposed of after their arrival. A circumstance which last year occasioned extraordinary difficulties both to the emigrants themselves, and to the authorities

appointed to superintend their distribution and settlement, was the appearance in the colony of the cholera, early in June. The first cases having occurred among the emigrants, the inhabitants not unnaturally looked upon them as the importers and propagators of the disease, and for some time could hardly be persuaded by any inducement to afford them a night's shelter. On this account many of the unhappy strangers were exposed to the greatest privations, and they fell victims to the scourge in considerable numbers. There were 2350 of them in all carried off. The loss of their natural protectors made it necessary for a good many widows and orphans to be sent back to England. The number of persons thus returned upon the mother country, including about a hundred of the pensioners, and a few lazy characters, of whom nothing could be made, was 850. To these deductions are to be added 3346 individuals who went to the United States. The remaining 45,200 settled in the Canadas; but in very unequal portions in the two great divisions of the country; 35,000 having proceeded to Upper Canada, and only 10,200 having remained in the lower province. Of the latter, the city and district of Quebec absorbed 4500, and Montreal 4000.

Mr. Buchanan's report, and the documents by which it is accompanied, are extremely interesting and valuable on account of the authentic information they supply respecting the rates of wages in the colony, and other particulars intimately affecting the prospects of the settlers. In Upper Canada, particularly, the labourers who went out last year are stated to have received from all classes a hearty welcome. All the information, Mr. Buchanan says, that he has received from the several districts to which they principally proceeded, speaks loudly in favour of their prosperous condition. He adds, "The demand for all classes of working people has never been exceeded in the Canadas, particularly since the abatement of the cholera, and I can assure your Lordship, that during my late tour through the districts and settlements in Upper Canada, I did not meet an industrious emigrant who could not meet with employment; the number of that class arrived this year is not adequate to supply the demand created by the more wealthy emigrants. This was particularly felt in the western and London districts of the upper province; where the want of labourers was so great, that it was found necessary to encourage a number to come over from Ohio and Pennsylvania." The settlement of almost every portion of Upper Canada, indeed, is stated to be going on with great rapidity; villages rising, and buildings extending, in all directions. It is the simultaneous influx of labour and capital that is thus turning the wilderness into the home of civilization and busy industry. Either alone would be equally inefficient to produce the change. Without capital, which is merely the accumulated results of past labour, the present labour that is necessary to operate the transformation could not be procured or sustained. If there were no such thing as capital to do its part in the process, such a country as Canada, it may be safely affirmed, would remain uncultivated to the end of time. In climates where the earth yields its increase almost spontaneously, or with comparatively slight solicitation, labour may begin its work, and carry it on for some time, without the aid of capital created by previous labour; but in these rugged and inhospitable regions, the tiller of the ground would perish before the seed he had sown had begun to germinate, if his only dependence, in the meanwhile, were upon the proffered bounty of nature. In other words, the labourer would be as helpless without the capitalist, as the capitalist would be without the labourer.

In 1832, at Quebec, the wages per day of masons' were stated to have been from 3s. 6d. to 6s.; those of carpenters, for whom there was a great demand, and whose wages rose accordingly, from 4s. to 5s.; those of smiths, from 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d.; and those of miners, and common labourers, from 2s. to 2s. 6d. Labourers at the cove, had from 3s. 6d. to 5s.; boom men, 5s.; broad-axe men, from 5s. to 7s. 6d.; narrow-axe men, from 4s. 6d. to 5s.; and sawyers, 6s. 6d. Labourers on board of ships had from 3s. 6d. to 5s. per day, and were found on board with the best of every thing. In Quebec, Mr. Buchanan states, at no time throughout the year, was the slightest inconvenience felt from the increase of numbers, or the accumulation of emigrant labourers and artificers; but, on the contrary, a very general difficulty was experienced by master tradesmen and contractors, in getting hands to carry on their work, at an advanced rate of wages. He mentions several buildings,

the progress of which was interrupted by the want of artificers and other labourers. Another fact which is noticed is very gratifying. "A very considerable number of labourers, servants, and mechanics," says Mr. Buchanan, "found profitable employment in Quebec and Montreal, and the accumulation of wealth by them, in general, is a certain proof that their industry has met a fair reward; and I have latterly witnessed a very great disposition among the working emigrants of last, and the preceding seasons, to find opportunities to get transmitted their little earnings to the United Kingdom, to aid their friends coming out to join them." There cannot be desired any better proof than this of the improved circumstances in which these persons find themselves in their new country. Comparing their previous with their present condition, they are so completely convinced of the superiority of the latter, that they not only wish their friends to join them, but are even willing to advance the funds necessary to enable them to make the adventure. It is a proof that the earnings of the settlers are more than sufficient for their support, that they are able to spare a portion of them for this purpose. Their willingness to make the loan, also, shews how perfectly satisfied they are that those by whom the money is accepted, should they come out, will soon be able to pay it back.

The facts that have been stated, we think, completely make out the advantages that are within the reach of those of our labouring population who are willing to emigrate to Canada, and whose steadiness and enterprise, as well as their time of life, fit them to make their way in a new country. The evidence also that we have of the capabilities of this colony to receive annually large importations of new comers without inconvenience, derived from the numbers which it has already absorbed, is exceedingly encouraging to the scheme of relieving our own overstocked market of labour by sending a portion of the commodity thither, where it is so much more in request. A letter from an inhabitant of Quebec, which is appended to Mr. Buchanan's Report, says, "The demand for labourers and mechanics is much greater here than it is in Europe. The emigrant Irish population of Quebec, and the townships in the immediate neighbourhood, I should incline to estimate, at present, about 13,000. In my opinion there are fewer pauper emigrants in Quebec and the province now than in former years. * * * The greater the emigration, the more cleared the country will become; markets thereby will be better supplied, and less chance will there then be for bad harvests or scarcity of provisions. The prospect for able-bodied labourers and mechanics cannot be better, if we but a moment consider the various improvements taking place in the cities and country parishes. As long as the trade of the Canadas is not impeded or interfered with, by restrictive policy in the mother country, the accommodations of the ports of Quebec and Montreal must become more enlarged every year; the revenue consequently must increase, and the internal improvements, both in town and country, be carried on on a more enlarged scale, thereby affording the emigrant on his arrival immediate employment—his grand, and it ought to be impressed upon him, his only protection against poverty in the winter." And other accounts speak in equally unqualified terms of the certainty that the colony for many years to come will continue able to receive large annual additions to its population from the mother country. On its part, however, the latter may do much to assist and accelerate a process in which it has so deep an interest. Parishes may apply the money that maintains their paupers at home in idleness to pay their passage to America, and by so doing get rid of them for ever. Of course, the emigration in all cases must be voluntary. No individual must be sent away without his own consent. It is one of the dishonesteries (for it could hardly have been raised in mere ignorance) by which it has been attempted to throw discredit upon pauper emigration, to assert that it was proposed to force the paupers to leave their native country whether they wished to do so or not. There never was a more unfounded calumny. Such a course was never suggested or thought of. The simple ground on which the supporters of the plan have rested their expectations of its success has been, that the pauper, convinced that he was likely to be a gainer by the change, would, in a great many cases, be willing and desirous to emigrate if the parish would supply him with the means. In such cases only has it been proposed that parishes should relieve themselves from their paupers by sending them out of the country. The amount of the pro-

position, in other words, is merely, that when persons subsisting on the poor-rates are disposed to follow the many thousands of their countrymen who are every year attracted to the colonies by the prospect of bettering their fortunes, the parish should come forward to enable them to carry their desire into effect.

PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS,

Passed in the FIRST Session of the ELEVENTH Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. 3^d & 4th Gul. IV.

1. To apply certain sums to the service of the year 1833.
2. For raising the sum of twelve millions by Exchequer Bills, for the service of the year 1833.
3. For continuing to his Majesty, until the 5th of April 1834, certain duties on sugar imported into the United Kingdom, and for one year certain duties on personal estates, offices, and pensions in England, for the service of the year 1833.
4. For the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous associations in Ireland.
5. For punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.
6. For the regulation of his Majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.
7. To indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the time limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th day of March, 1834: to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attorneys and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the 1st day of Hilary term 1834, and to allow persons to make and file such affidavits, although the persons whom they served shall have neglected to take out their annual certificates.
8. To amend an act for the conveyance of certain premises situate between London Bridge and the Tower of London.
9. For incorporating the members of a society, commonly called "The Seaman's Hospital Society," and their successors, as therein is mentioned and provided; and for the better enabling and empowering them to carry on the charitable and useful designs of the same society.
10. To reduce the duty payable on cotton wool imported into the United Kingdom.
11. For repealing the duties and drawbacks of excise on tiles.
12. To repeal the duties on personal estates continued by an act of the present session of parliament.
13. To provide for the execution of the duties performed by the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland in relation to the public revenue, and to place the management of the assessed taxes and land tax in Scotland under the commissioners for the affairs of taxes.
14. To enable depositors in Savings Banks, and others, to purchase government annuities through the medium of Savings Banks; and to amend an act of the ninth year of his late Majesty, to consolidate and amend the laws relating to Savings Banks.
15. To amend the laws relating to dramatic literary property.
16. To repeal the duties, allowances, and drawbacks of excise on soap, and to grant other duties, allowances, and drawbacks in lieu thereof.
17. For repealing part of an act of the twenty-sixth year of King George the Third, for better securing the duties on starch, and for preventing frauds on the said duties; and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.
18. To apply the sum of six millions out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year 1833.
19. For the more effectual administration of justice in the office of a justice of the peace in the several police offices established in the metropolis, and for the more effectual prevention of depredations on the river Thames and its vicinity, for three years.
20. To indemnify witnesses who may give evidence before either house of parliament touching the charge of bribery in the election of burgesses to serve in parliament for the Borough of Stafford.
21. To suspend until the end of the next session of parliament the making of lists, and the ballots and enrolments for the militia of the United Kingdom.
22. To amend the laws relating to sewers.
23. To reduce the stamp duties on advertisements and on certain sea insurances; to repeal the stamp duties on pamphlets, and on receipts for sums under five pounds; and to exempt insurances on farming stock from stamp duties.
24. To amend an act of the tenth year of his late Majesty for regulating the reduction of the national debt.
25. For raising the sum of 15,752,650*l.* by Exchequer Bills, for the service of the year 1833.
26. To repeal so much of an act passed in the parliament of Ireland in the thirty-fourth year of his Majesty King George the Third as imposes fines on the masters of vessels lying in the river Liffey for having fires on board.
27. For the limitation of actions and suits relating to real property, and for simplifying the remedies for trying the rights thereto.
28. To repeal an act of the thirteenth year of his Majesty King George the First, for the better regulation of the woollen trade.
29. To make further provisions with respect to the payment of pensions granted for service in the royal artillery, engineers, and other military corps under the control of the Master-general and Board of Ordnance, and with respect to deductions hereafter to be made from pensions granted by the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital.
30. To exempt from poor and church rates all churches, chapels, and other places of religious worship.
31. To enable the election of officers of corporations and other public companies now required to be held on the Lord's Day to be held on the Saturday next preceding, or on the Monday next ensuing.
32. To amend the several acts authorising advances for carrying on public works.
33. To amend three acts passed for maintaining and keeping in repair the military and parliamentary roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, and to improve certain lines of communication in the counties of Inverness and Ross.
34. To continue, until the 5th of April, 1835, compositions for the assessed taxes.
35. To remedy certain defects as to the recovery of rates and assessments made by commissioners and other persons under divers inclosure and drainage acts after the execution of the final awards of the said commissioners.
36. To diminish the inconvenience and expense of commissions in the nature of writs *de lunatico inquirendo*; and to provide for the better care and treatment of idiots, lunatics, and persons of unsound mind found such by inquisition.
37. To alter and amend the laws relating to the temporalities of the church in Ireland.
38. To extend to the 21st of January, 1834, and to the end of the then next session of parliament, the time for carrying into execution an act of the first and second years of his present Majesty, for ascertaining the boundaries of the Forest of Dean, and for inquiring into the rights and privileges claimed by free miners of the hundred of Saint Briavels, and for other purposes.
39. To reduce certain of the duties on dwelling houses, and to repeal other duties of assessed taxes.
40. To repeal certain acts relating to the removal of poor persons born in Scotland and Ireland, and chargeable to parishes in England, and to make other provisions in lieu thereof, until the 1st of May, 1836, and to the end of the then next session of parliament.
41. For the better administration of justice in his Majesty's Privy Council.
42. For the further amendment of the law, and the better advancement of justice.
43. For transferring to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Woods and Forests the several powers now vested in the Holyhead Road Commissioners, and for discharging the last-mentioned commissioners from the future repairs and maintenance of the roads, harbours, and bridges now under their care and management.
44. To repeal so much of two acts of the 7th and 8th, and 9th of George IV., as inflicts the punishment of death upon persons; breaking, entering, and stealing in a dwelling-house; also for giving power to the judges to add to the punishment of transportation for life in certain cases of forgery, and in certain other cases.

45. To declare valid marriages solemnized at Hamburgh since the abolition of the British factory there.

46. To enable burghs in Scotland to establish a general system of police.

47. To authorize his Majesty to give further powers to the judges of the Court of Bankruptcy, and to direct the times of sitting of the judges and commissioners of the said court.

48. To amend an act of the second and third years of his present Majesty, relating to stage carriages in Great Britain; and also to explain and amend an act of the first and second years of his present Majesty, relating to hackney carriages used in the metropolis.

49. To allow Quakers and Moravians to make affirmation in all cases where an oath is or shall be required.

50. To repeal the several laws relating to the customs.

51. For the management of the customs.

52. For the general regulation of the customs.

53. For the prevention of smuggling.

54. For the encouragement of British shipping and navigation.

55. For the registering of British vessels.

56. For granting duties of customs.

57. For the warehousing of goods.

58. To grant certain bounties and allowances of customs.

59. To regulate the trade of the British possessions abroad.

60. For regulating the trade of the Isle of Man.

61. To admit sugar without payment of duty to be refined for exportation.

62. To defray the charge of the pay, clothing, and contingent and other expenses of the disembodied militia in Great Britain and Ireland; and to grant allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers, adjutants, paymasters, quartermasters, surgeons, assistant surgeons, surgeons' mates, and serjeant majors of the militia, until the 1st of July, 1834.

63. To render valid indentures of apprenticeship allowed only by two justices acting for the county in which the parish from which such apprentices shall be bound, and for the county in which the parish into which such apprentices shall be bound, shall be situated; and also for remedying defective executions of indentures by corporations.

64. To amend an act of the second and third year of his present Majesty, for regulating the care and treatment of insane persons in England.

65. To enable the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom to acquire certain lands at Woolwich in the county of Kent, for better securing his Majesty's docks there, and for the improvement of the same.

66. To authorize the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury to purchase the duties of package, scavage, ballage, and portage belonging to the corporation of London.

67. To amend an act of the second year of his present Majesty, for the uniformity of process in personal actions in his Majesty's courts of law at Westminster.

68. To amend the laws relating to the sale of wine, spirits, beer, and cider by retail in Ireland.

69. To extend and enlarge the powers of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works, and Buildings, in relation to the management and disposition of the land revenue of the Crown in Scotland.

70. To alter and amend an act of the forty-first year of his Majesty King George the Third, for the better regulation of public notaries in England.

71. For the appointment of convenient places for the holding of assizes in England and Wales.

72. For carrying into effect two conventions with the King of the French for suppressing the slave trade.

73. For the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies, for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves, and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves.

74. For the abolition of fines and recoveries, and for the substitution of more simple modes of assurance.

75. To continue until the end of the next session of parliament, two acts for the prevention, as far as may be possible, of the disease called the cholera, or spasmodic or Indian cholera, in England and Scotland.

76. To alter and amend the laws for the election of the magistrates and councils of the royal burghs in Scotland.

77. To provide for the appointment and election of ma-

gistrates and councillors for the several burghs and towns of Scotland, which now return or contribute to return members to parliament, and are not royal burghs.

78. To amend the laws relating to grand juries in Ireland.

79. To provide for the more impartial trial of offences in certain cases in Ireland.

80. Requiring the annual statements of trustees or commissioners of turnpike-roads, to be transmitted to the Secretary of State, and afterwards laid before parliament.

81. To authorise the application of part of the land revenue of the Crown for providing fixtures, furniture, fittings, and decorations for Buckingham Palace.

82. To allow the people called Separatists to make a solemn affirmation and declaration instead of an oath.

83. To compel banks issuing promissory notes payable to bearer on demand to make returns of their notes in circulation, and to authorize banks to issue notes payable in London for less than fifty pounds.

84. To provide for the performance of the duties of certain offices connected with the Court of Chancery, which have been abolished.

85. For effecting an arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better government of his Majesty's Indian territories, till the 30th day of April, 1854.

86. To provide for the payment of certain ancient grants and allowances formerly paid out of the civil list revenues.

87. For remedying a defect in titles to messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, allotted, sold, divided, or exchanged under acts of inclosure, in consequence of the award not having been inrolled, or not having been inrolled within the time limited by the several acts; and for authorizing the appointment of new commissioners in certain cases where the same shall have been omitted.

88. To continue for seven years, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, an act of the fifty-ninth year of King George the Third, for facilitating the recovery of the wages of seamen in the merchants' service.

89. To authorize the issue of a sum of money out of the Consolidated Fund towards the support of the metropolitan police.

90. To repeal an act of the eleventh year of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, for the lighting and watching of parishes in England and Wales, and to make other provisions in lieu thereof.

91. For consolidating and amending the laws relative to jurors and juries in Ireland.

92. To explain and amend the provisions of certain acts for the erecting and establishing public infirmaries, hospitals, and dispensaries in Ireland.

93. To regulate the trade to China and India.

94. For the regulation of the proceedings and practice of certain offices of the High Court of Chancery in England.

95. To appoint additional commissioners for executing the acts for granting an aid by a land-tax, and for continuing the duties on personal estates, offices, and pensions.

96. To apply the sum of six millions out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year 1833, and to appropriate the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

97. To prevent the selling and uttering of forged stamps, and to exempt from stamp duty artificial mineral waters in Great Britain, and to allow a drawback on the exportation of gold and silver plate manufactured in Ireland.

98. For giving to the corporation of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England certain privileges, for a limited period, under certain conditions.

99. For facilitating the appointment of sheriffs, and the more effectual audit and passing of their accounts; and for the more speedy return and recovery of fines, issues, forfeited recognizances, penalties, and deadlands; and to abolish certain offices in the Court of Exchequer.

100. For the relief of the owners of tithes in Ireland, and for the amendment of an act passed in the last session of parliament, intituled "An act to amend three acts passed respectively in the fourth, fifth, and in the seventh and eighth years of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, providing for the establishing of compositions for tithes in Ireland, and to make such compositions permanent."

101. To provide for the collection and management of the duties on tea.

102. To repeal certain penal enactments made in the par-

liament of Ireland against Roman Catholic clergymen for celebrating marriages contrary to the provisions of certain acts made in the parliament of Ireland.

103. To regulate the labour of children and young persons in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom.

104. To render freehold and copyhold estates assets for the payment of simple contract debts.

105. For the amendment of the law relating to dower.

106. For the amendment of the Law of Inheritance.

PRIVATE BILLS OF THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT, 1833.

In our Prospectus we noticed the importance of what are termed Private Bills, in displaying the resources of the country, and in affording the means of estimating the progress of improvements which advance the prosperity and increase the convenience of the whole people. In our first Number, also, we gave a sketch of the general purposes of Private Bills, and the manner of carrying such bills through both houses of parliament; with a classified enumeration of the number of private bills passed in each year from 1825 to 1832, both inclusive. We now give the total number of petitions for private bills during 1833, with the different stages to which the bills were carried; a comparative classification of those of them that were passed, similar to that above alluded to for previous years; and a detailed abstract of their objects.

I. Numerical abstract of the petitions and private bills for the session 1833:—

Petitions presented to the Commons, or bills brought from the Lords	212
Bills read first time	189
Bills read second time	176
Bills read third time	169
Bills, which received the royal assent	166

We must here notice, that the above numbers are those given in the list prepared for the use of the members of the House of Commons, and that they differ slightly from the list of acts given by the king's printer as a table of contents of the acts of the session, and which is of course the more correct. The variation consists in the acts respecting Highland Roads and the London Scavage and Package Duties being printed as public acts, and that for dissolving the Trooper's Fund Society being transferred from the public acts to the private. The real number of private bills passed is therefore 165.

II. Comparative classification of bills passed:—	
Agriculture	19
Companies	10
Improvements of Towns and Districts	24
Internal Communications	81
Navigation	3
Private Regulation	28
	165

III. Abstract of petitions and private bills in parliament, session 1833:—

	Petitions.	Passed.	Not passed.
I. AGRICULTURE—			
1. Inclosures	18	15	3
2. Draining	4	4	—
II. COMPANIES—			
1. Cheltenham Sewers	1	1	—
2. Dublin Steam Packet	1	1	—
3. Economic Life Assurance	1	1	—
4. Edinburgh Life Assurance	1	1	—
5. Exeter Water	1	1	—
6. Glasgow Procurators	1	1	—
7. Imperial Continental Gas	1	1	—
8. Leeds Oil Gas	2	1	1
9. New Brunswick Land	1	—	1
10. St. George's Steam Packet	1	—	1
11. St. George's Fund Society	1	1	—
12. Thames Tunnel	1	1	—
III. IMPROVEMENTS OF TOWNS AND DISTRICTS—			
1. General Improvement	7	6	1
2. Churches, Gaols, Bridges, &c.	14	6	8
3. Local Water-works	6	3	3
4. Local Gas-works	3	1	2
5. Regulation of the Poor, &c.	11	8	3

	Petitions.	Passed.	Not passed.
IV. INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS—			
1. Roads	80	70	10
2. Railways	15	11	4
3. Canal	1	—	1
V. NAVIGATION—			
1. Harbours, &c.	6	2	4
2. Piers	1	1	—
3. Docks	2	—	2
VI. PRIVATE REGULATIONS—			
Estates, Naturalizations, Divorces, &c.	30	28	2
	211	165	46

I. AGRICULTURE. The fifteen *Inclosure Bills* passed during the last session were divided among the different counties as follows:—

Cambridge.—1. For inclosing lands in the parish of Oakington, and commuting the tithes in the said parish.

2. For inclosing, dividing, and allotting the commons, drows, and waste lands in the parish of Wisbech St. Mary's.

Cumberland.—3. For inclosing lands within the manor of Little Salkeld in the parish of Addingham.

Derbyshire.—4. For dividing, allotting, and inclosing lands in the township of Middleton by Worksworth.

Glamorganshire.—5. For dividing, allotting, and inclosing the commonable and waste lands in the borough of Loughor, in the manor of Loughor.

Gloucestershire.—6. For inclosing lands in the parish of Elkstone.

Herefordshire.—7. For inclosing lands in the parish of Ganerew.

Somersetshire.—8. For inclosing certain moors or commons called West Moor, East Moor, and Middle Moor.

Suffolk.—9. For inclosing lands within the parish of Lakenheath.

Sussex.—10. For inclosing lands in the parish of Bepton.

Wiltshire.—11. For dividing, allotting, and inclosing lands in the tithing of Hanging Langford, in the parish of Steeple Langford.

Worcestershire.—12. For inclosing lands in the parish of Yardley, and for commuting tithes in the said parish.

Yorkshire.—13. For inclosing lands in the township of Crakenhall, in the parish of Bedale, in the North Riding.

14. For inclosing lands in the township of Great Given-dale, in the East Riding.

15. For inclosing lands in the township of Wortley, in the parish of Leeds, in the West Riding.

The acts for draining apply to the following places:—

1. For altering and amending several acts passed for the drainage and improvement of the lands lying in the North Level, part of the Great Level of the Fens called Bedford Level, and in Great Portsand, and in the manor of Crowland; and for providing additional funds for such drainage and improvement by the New Outfall Cut to the sea.

2. To amend two acts for more effectually draining and preserving certain marsh lands or low grounds in the counties of Kent and Sussex, draining into the river Rother and channel of Appledore.

3. For draining and preserving certain fen-lands and low grounds in the parish of Wiggenshall, St. Mary Magdalen, in the county of Norfolk, and other purposes.

4. To alter and amend three previous acts of George III. and IV. for draining lands within the level of Ancholme, in the county of Lincoln, and making certain parts of the river Ancholme navigable.

II. The acts respecting companies incorporated for particular purposes have been,—

1. For the better sewage, cleansing, and draining of the town of Cheltenham.

2. To amend an act for regulating and enabling the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company to sue and be sued.

3. To enable the Economic Life Assurance Company to sue and be sued in the name of any one of the directors or trustees of the said society.

4. To enable the Edinburgh Life Assurance Company to sue and be sued in the name of their manager, secretary, or a limited number of their ordinary directors, to hold property, and for other purposes relating thereto.

5. For more effectually supplying with water the city and county of the city of Exeter, and places adjacent thereto.

6. For the better establishing and securing a fund for

providing annuities to the widows and children of the members of the Faculty of Procurators of Glasgow.

7. For granting certain powers to a company called "the Imperial Continental Gas Association."

8. For dissolving the corporation of the Leeds Oil Gas Light Company, and for vesting the estate and effects of the company in trustees, to be sold for the benefit of the parties interested therein; and for finally settling and adjusting the company's concerns.

9. For dissolving the St. George's Fund Society, otherwise called the Trooper's Fund, in the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, and for distributing the fund.

10. To amend the acts relating to the Thames Tunnel Company, and to extend the powers thereby given for raising money for the completion of the said tunnel.

III. For improvements of towns and districts there have been passed,—

General Improvement.—1. For paving, lighting, watching, cleansing, and otherwise improving the township or chapelry of Birkenhead, in Cheshire; for regulating the police thereof, and for establishing a market within the said township.

2. To explain and amend previous acts, for carrying into effect certain improvements within the city of Edinburgh, and adjacent to the same.

3. For paving, cleansing, lighting, watching, and improving the town and parishes of Gravesend and Milton, in the county of Kent, and for removing and preventing nuisances and annoyances therein.

4. For paving, cleansing, lighting, watching, repairing, and improving a certain portion of the parish of Herne, in the county of Kent.

5. For better regulating the market, and cleansing the streets, and preventing nuisances in the town of Taunton, in Somersetshire; and for amending two previous acts relative thereto.

6. For improving and enlarging the market-places within the city of York, and rendering the approaches thereto more commodious; and for regulating and maintaining the several markets and fairs held within the said city and the suburbs thereof; and for amending a previous act for paving, lighting, watching, and improving the said city, and other purposes.

Buildings.—7. For raising a sum of money for the repairs of Blackfriars Bridge.

8. For erecting a bridge over the river Dungleddan, within the town and county of Haverfordwest.

9. For erecting and maintaining a gaol, court-houses, and public offices for the burgh of Lanark, and the Upper Ward of the county of Lanark; and also for erecting a gaol, court-houses, and public offices for the burgh of Hamilton, and Middle Ward of the said county.

10. For making the hamlets of Newbold and Armscott a separate parish from the parish of Tredington, in the county and diocese of Worcester; and for building a church, and providing a churchyard and parsonage-house at Newbold.

11. For taking down the parish church of Stretton upon Dunsmore, in the county of Warwick, and building a new church in lieu thereof.

12. For building a bridge over the Trent, from Walton-upon-Trent, in Derbyshire, to Barton under Needwood, in Staffordshire.

Water-works.—13. For better supplying with water the city and county of the city of Exeter, and such part of the parish of St. David as is situated in the county of Devon.

14. For supplying with water the town and county of Haverfordwest, and the liberties thereof.

15. For better supplying with water the town and borough of Lewes, and the neighbourhood thereof, in the county of Sussex.

Gas-works.—16. For lighting with gas the borough of Congleton, and the township of Buglawton within the parish of Astbury, in the county of Chester.

Municipal Regulation, &c.—17. For repealing a previous act for the relief and employment of the poor in the hundred of Bosmere and Claydon, in the county of Suffolk; and for granting more effectual powers in lieu thereof.

18. For raising money to pay compensation for damages committed within the hundred of Broxtowe, in the county of Nottingham, during the late riots and tumults therein.

19. To alter and amend a previous act passed for better assessing and collecting the poor and other rates in the parish of St. Giles, Camberwell, in the county of Surrey,

and regulating the affairs thereof, and for other purposes relating thereto.

20. To appoint trustees for the creditors of the city of Edinburgh.

21. For amending several previous acts passed for the better relief and employment of the poor within the hundred of Forchal, in the county of Norfolk.

22. For the more easy and speedy recovery of small debts within the township of Hyde and other places therein mentioned, in the county of Chester.

23. To alter, amend, and enlarge the powers of a previous act passed for the better relief and employment of the poor in the hundred of Mutford and Lothingland, in the county of Suffolk.

24. To alter and enlarge the powers of several acts passed for the better relief and employment of the poor in the hundred of Wangford, in Suffolk.

IV. Under the head of Internal Communication, there have been passed seventy road-bills, and these have been chiefly for the more effectual repairing of the roads, or for enlarging the powers of the commissioners, &c. It would afford no useful information to detail the names of the particular places for which they were procured. We shall, therefore, only state that one is for Ireland, and embraces a more extensive district than is usually included in one English road-bill; it is for more effectually repairing several roads in the counties of Carlow, Kilkenny, and Tipperary; and also the road from the town of Clonmel, through the county of Waterford, to the cross-roads of Knocklofty, in the said county of Tipperary. Two are for Scotland, one for repairing, amending, and maintaining the turnpike-roads in the county of Haddington, for rendering turnpike certain statute-labour and parish roads, and for more effectually collecting and applying the statute labour in the said county; and one for renewing and extending the terms of the acts relating to the Greenock and Renfrew, and Greenock and Kelly Bridge roads in the county of Renfrew. In addition to these is the public act before alluded to, to amend previous acts passed for maintaining and keeping in repair the military and parliamentary roads and bridges in the highlands of Scotland, and to improve certain lines of communication in the counties of Inverness and Ross. Six are for Wales, which offer nothing remarkable; and the remaining sixty-one are for England.

The late session presents the singular feature of there not having been passed a single bill relating to canals. The increased celerity of movement afforded by rail-roads seems to have given a check to any extension of the inland navigation, though not before canals had been carried through the country in almost every direction, and aided most materially in promoting its prosperity, facilitating its commerce, and increasing the comfort and convenience of every class of society. In proportion as canal bills have fallen off, railway bills have increased. Out of sixteen bills brought into the House of Commons the following eleven have been passed into acts.

1. For making a railway from Birmingham to London.

2 and 3. To enable the Clarence (Durham) Railway Company to make certain additional branch railways; and to amend and enlarge the powers of the several acts for making and maintaining the said railway, and a second act to enable the company to make an extension of the line of their railway.

4. For making a railway from Greenwich to London.

5 and 6. To enable the company of proprietors of the Leicester and Swannington Railway, to execute additional works and branches, and for altering and amending the powers of the act relating to the said railway. Also a second act for making and maintaining a railway from the termination of the Leicester and Swannington Railway, in the township of Swannington, in the county of Leicester, to the Ashby-de-la-Zouch Railway, in the township of Worthington, in the said county, and a branch railway therefrom. This last is called the Coleorton Railway.

7. To alter, amend, and enlarge the powers of a previous act, passed for making and maintaining a railway or tram-road, from Gelly Gille Farm, in the parish of Llanelly, in the county of Carmarthen, to Machynis Pool, in the same parish and county; and for making and maintaining a wet-dock at the termination of the said railway or tram-road at Machynis Pool aforesaid.

8. For making two branch railways from the Monkland and Kirkintilloch Railway; and for altering, amending,

and enlarging the powers of the previous act for making the said railway.

9. For enabling the Stratford and Moreton Railway Company to make a new branch of railway to Shipston-upon-Stour, in the county of Worcester.

10. For making a railway from the Warrington and Newton Railway at Warrington, in Lancashire, to Birmingham, in Warwickshire, to be called the Grand Junction Railway.

11. For making a railway from Whitby to Pickering, in the North Riding of the county of York.

V. The acts passed relating to Navigation have been :—

1. For better preserving the harbour of Maryport, and for lighting, and otherwise improving the township of Maryport, in Cumberland.

2. To alter and amend several acts passed relating to the harbour of Rye, in the county of Sussex, and for granting further powers for improving and completing the said harbour, and the navigation thereof.

3. To amend a previous act, passed for rebuilding, or for improving, regulating and maintaining the town-quay of Gravesend, in the county of Kent, and the landing-place belonging thereto; and for building a pier or jetty, adjoining thereto.

VI. The remaining twenty-eight bills fall under the head of *Private Regulations*. Of these, only the two following possess any public interest :—

For settling and preserving Sir John Soane's Museum, Library, and Works of Art, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, in the county of Middlesex, for the benefit of the public, and for establishing a sufficient endowment for the due maintenance of the same.

For enabling and directing the trustees, acting under the will of Peter Thellusson, Esq., deceased, to grant certain leases of the estates subject to the trusts of the said will; and for other purposes.

The rest are bills for naturalization, exchanges, estates, divorce, and other matters of entirely individual interest.

It will be observed, on comparison with the statement in our first number, that the amount of private bills has been very considerably less during the late session, than for any of the years there given.

THE NEW BEER HOUSES.

THIS is a subject of such vast public importance in all its bearings, that we mean to devote a considerable part of our space to its consideration. By the two acts of 1 Will. IV. chaps. 51 and 64, both of which came into operation on the 10th of October, 1830, a change was made in the law, calculated to affect various great interests, as well as the comforts and general condition of the mass of the people, perhaps as directly as any measure that ever emanated from parliament. By the first of these statutes all duties upon beer, ale, or cider, brewed in Great Britain, were repealed; and by the second, the right to sell these commodities, which had been hitherto a privilege granted by favour to a comparatively small number of persons, was thrown open to all who chose to exercise it.

To any one at all acquainted with the habits of the people of England, and, therefore, having even the vaguest notion of the immense extent of the consumption of beer in this country, the mere statement of these alterations of the law is enough to convey an impression of consequences of vast magnitude and importance. But a few facts will give a clearer view of the exact amount of the effect that must have been produced by the measure in some of the directions in which it operated.

In the first place, the loss of revenue to the government exceeded three millions sterling per annum; or, deducting somewhat less than a third of this sum as having been recovered by the increased consumption of malt, the diminution was still above two millions a-year. In the three years that have elapsed, about seven millions in all have been given up. Assuming that the revenue could bear this diminution, if the duties on beer had not been abolished, taxes of equivalent amount on some other article would have been repealed instead; and, therefore, the sum we have mentioned may be considered as the price that has been paid for whatever benefits this particular measure has brought with it.

But the remission of taxation, or the actual relief to the

people, resulting from the measure, is to be reckoned as amounting to the whole three millions per annum. That sum, which they had hitherto paid every year to the government, the people were henceforth to retain in their pockets, still drinking the same quantity of beer as before. If the consumption of malt has since extended, and that article has yielded a larger revenue, this is because more beer has been drunk by the people than heretofore. Say that the increase of the produce of the malt-tax has been one-eighth, which is so much more money that has been every year drawn from the people through this channel, the fact proves that for every eight pots of beer drunk before the remission of the duties and the opening of the trade, nine pots have been drunk since. Either every beer-drinker has had nine pots where he formerly had eight, or nine persons now consume the beverage for every eight that could formerly procure it;—or, what is no doubt the real state of the case, partly the one of these effects has been produced, and partly the other. But, at all events, and let the precise distribution of the benefit have been what it may, its amount is at least what we have stated.

It has most probably, indeed, been a good deal more. Owing to the corn-law, the supply of barley, from which malt is made, is prevented in this country from expanding in proportion to the demand; and, therefore, when the demand rises, (at least within a certain limit,) the price rises also. Such a rise of price has, in fact, been produced by the increased consumption of malt occasioned by the new beer law; and that circumstance has, of course, tended to enhance also the price of beer. But there is every reason to believe, that this influence has been much more than counteracted by other causes which have operated to reduce the price of the beverage. The opening of the trade has, of course, swept away the monopoly profits which the article was formerly made to yield. The largely-increased competition among the dealers in it has, independently of this consideration, produced its natural effect in reducing the rate at which it is sold. The augmented quantity that is disposed of, further goes to enable the dealer to let down his profit upon each separate barrel or pot. If he could formerly exist, and carry on his business with a profit of a penny on each pot, he can do so with a profit of only three farthings upon each, if he now sells four pots where he formerly sold three. Then the expense of fitting-up and maintaining the establishment of a beer-shop is a great deal less than that which the landlord of a public-house has to meet. Lastly, the more active competition which has been excited, and the direction of the trade into a new channel, have already had the effect of introducing improvements into the process of manufacturing beer, by means of which an equally good article can now be produced from a smaller quantity of malt, and, on other accounts, at a less cost generally. What has taken place is, in a multitude of respects, a most striking illustration of the regeneration and entirely new life which is given to a trade or branch of industry, by relieving it from the torpidifying pressure of a monopoly, and suffering it to breathe the free air of competition. We ought to add, that in this case an additional relief still has been obtained by the manufacturer in his release from the interference of the excise in the operation of brewing, to which he was subject while the beer paid duty; and even this has, no doubt, its money value, which must be shared by the consumer. We have thus enumerated six different causes, besides the abolition of the duty, all of which must have tended, since the introduction of the new system, to reduce the price of beer. We shall in the sequel have occasion to examine with more precision what the effect of their conjoint operation, in the face of the single cause pressing in the opposite direction, has actually been.

But to one large division of the community, even the single circumstance which has operated to raise the price of beer has been a gain of no slight amount. The first year the trade was opened, the price of barley rose about six shillings the quarter. The measure, therefore, may be truly described as one of the greatest boons ever granted to the agricultural interest.

Such are the most remarkable financial effects which the change of the law has wrought. It may not be possible to ascertain their exact amount in pounds, shillings, and pence; but the general character of each, and the direction in which it has acted, cannot be made matter of dispute or doubt. There can be no question as to the following having been among the results of the new system : large sacri-

fice of the public revenue; a great diminution of the burthen of taxation; a reduction of the price of beer, of which the benefit has been shared by the whole community; and at the same time a rise in the price of barley, of which the agricultural interest has of course had the advantage.

So far all is clear. But besides these results, which must upon the whole be considered as great recommendations of the measure, it has been alleged that the change has brought along with it others of quite an opposite description, and so extensively bearing upon the condition and best interests of the community, that their evil must be regarded as far more than a counterbalance for any merely economical good of which those already mentioned may have been productive. Very soon after the new acts came into operation, this view of their tendency began to spread abroad; and the outcry it occasioned became at length so serious, that, early in the late session of parliament, the House of Commons, appointed a select committee of its members to inquire into the subject, with a view of making such alterations in the law as the case might seem to demand. The report of the committee, which was brought up about the end of June, has since been printed by order of the House.

The committee was fifteen days occupied in hearing evidence, and in that time fifty-six witnesses were examined, from various parts of the kingdom, and of different professions and ranks in society. Among the number were clergymen, magistrates, country gentlemen, parish-overseers, excise-officers, brewers, attorneys, licensed victuallers, beer-house keepers, master tradesmen, journeymen mechanics, and labourers. The evidence covers between 200 and 300 folio pages, and consists of answers to between 4000 and 5000 questions.

It would probably be difficult to parallel the contradiction and opposition not only of the opinions expressed by this miscellaneous assemblage of authorities, but even of the facts adduced by them, or of their accounts of the same facts. The mass of their conflicting arguments and statements presents as chaotic a jumble as we remember ever before to have met with in print. We see little reason to think that any one of the fifty-six has asserted anything which he did not believe to be true, in order to make out a case favourable to his own interests; but it is sufficiently manifest that many of them have been powerfully acted upon by impressions which, however honest, have yet been derived, in great measure, from the particular position of each in reference to certain effects which have followed from the late opening of the trade in beer. Thus, for example, the magistrate, whom the new law has deprived of his power of preventing at pleasure the establishment of houses for the sale of fermented liquors, naturally feels prejudiced against an innovation which has so seriously curtailed his authority and influence. The power which has been put an end to was usually exercised, in regard to any particular parish, very much in conformity to the wishes of the clergyman or the resident proprietor, even where they were not themselves in the commission of the peace; and they too, therefore, feel themselves to be losers under the new state of things, or are opposed to it as sharing in the sympathies of their order, or of those with whom they habitually associate. Overseers, parish constables, and excise officers, side from instinct with their superiors. From all these several classes of persons, therefore, we may expect strong evidence against the beer-houses; nor, in truth, does the Report disappoint us in this respect. On the other hand, we may not unreasonably suspect that the pictures of the admirable manner in which those establishments are usually or universally conducted, which we find drawn by the partners or agents of the brewing companies by whom they are supplied with ale, or whose property they are, and by the more ardent lovers of the cheap potations and social cheer which they dispense, are possibly a little too softly tinted.

The Report, however, notwithstanding the contest and confusion of statement which it exhibits, contains a good deal of interesting information. A portion of this we will now endeavour to methodize, collecting as we go along the bearing of the several facts upon the question at issue. The evidence, we may observe, is chiefly if not entirely confined to the great towns of London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Stockport, Warwick, Pilkington, Walsall, and Lewes; and to country places in the counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Berks, Hants, Wilts, Somerset, Devon, Bucks, Herts, Oxford, Essex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Lincoln,

Lancashire, and Durham. It is the south and eastern divisions of England, therefore, almost exclusively, to which the inquiries of the Committee have been directed; no evidence having been obtained with respect to any country parts west of Oxfordshire, or north of Lincoln, with the exception of some portions of the great manufacturing and mining counties of Lancaster and Durham. As to several of the counties enumerated, too, the information collected is extremely scanty and imperfect. And what is very material to be observed is, that the counties in which the operation of the new law is thus exclusively inquired into, are, for the most part, those in which the labouring population was from other causes in the most degraded condition previous to its enactment. With the exception of Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire, from which it may be presumed the accounts would have been nearly the same as those from Oxford, Buckingham, and Cambridge, by which they are surrounded, there is scarcely a county in England where the poor-rate has risen beyond an average amount that is not included in the list of those to which the evidence before us refers. On the other hand, the line thus drawn excludes all the northern counties, with the exception, as before mentioned, of certain parts of Durham and Lancaster, all the central portion of England, and all Wales.

In our selections we will begin with the evidence respecting the operation of the new system in the great towns. And this introduces us at once to almost the only point in the case as to which no difference of opinion is expressed; but that point is one of first-rate importance. In the metropolis it appears to be admitted on all hands that the opening of the new beer-houses has been an unquestionable and almost unmixed good. There are fifteen witnesses who speak to this matter, and the evidence of all of them is favourable. John Morris, styled a mathematician, but put down by himself, he says, a mathematical instrument maker, who frequents these houses three or four times in the week, or when it suits him, or when a friend calls upon him, declares he can take his oath that the beer sold at the new houses is in all respects better than that with which he was wont to be served by the licensed victuallers—cheaper, more palatable, and more wholesome,—that this is the opinion of hundreds to whom he has spoken on the subject,—and that he never meets at the beer-shops with any but respectable and orderly persons. He never, he says, saw any drunkenness in these places; “I am speaking,” he adds, with great emphasis, “positively, and candidly, and honestly.” The only thing that Mr. Morris complains of, is that they shut up so early. “When I have half got through my second pint,” he says, “I am obliged to drink it up fast, in a rough way, to accommodate the landlords, in order not to suffer them to be fined; and when I am there and thirsty, I sometimes could stop another hour with great convenience, and without any inconvenience to myself and family.” Mr. John Evans, surgeon and apothecary, who is in the habit of sometimes going to the beer-shops, several of their keepers, he says, being patients of his, observes on the subject of the quality of the beer sold there—“I am in the habit of recommending it to all my private patients, and taking it always myself at any time when I drink.” So Mr. Thomas Phillips, called a musician, but who asserts that he is no such thing, but has a small independence, and is of no trade, when asked what sort of persons frequent the beer-houses, answers, “Like myself and respectable tradesmen, and two or three doctors and proctors; and a few persons of that kind meet there almost every evening—a very genteel party—but we are obliged to leave too soon.” The enactment, obliging keepers of beer-shops to shut their doors and expel their customers at ten o’clock, is the subject of complaint with almost all the London witnesses, and appears, indeed, to have been productive of serious evils. “I should say a great injury has resulted,” says Dr. Evans, “and a greater proportion of crime—that is what I say it struck me as being, generally noticing things and drawing a conclusion therefrom—that when those men retire from the beer-houses, very frequently the public-houses, especially gin-shops, are open, and they go from the beer-houses to the gin-shops; whereas, if they were obliged to close at the same hour, there would be less drunkenness, and, I think, less crime.” Mr. Penny, accountant and valuer, says, “Myself I have an antipathy to any kind of spirituous liquor, but I have observed that a man that earns a guinea or 25s. a week will go to those beer-houses, and will find that he is not satisfied, and away he runs to a gin-shop. I have

actually noticed it in a clerk of my own. He says, 'It is ten o'clock, I shall not go home yet;' and he goes to a gin-shop, and, after taking a small quantity of ale, he goes and takes some pennyworths of gin, and it upsets the whole frame altogether; but I think if you were to put them all out at eleven o'clock, it would be a great benefit." "I have a lodger with me," says George Bish, a keeper of a beer-house, "that one night had a friend with him; he called for a pot of beer after ten o'clock, and I would not give it him, and he said he would go off to a public-house, and he went to the Marsh Gate, and he stayed till half-past eleven, and he came home, and I was obliged to lead him to bed." Thomas Ellis, another retailer of beer, says, "I have turned out as many as 120 out of my house at ten o'clock at night, and I have gone into the three neighbouring gin-shops and counted 54 out of those 120."

Even in London, however, where the practice has been hitherto by far most prevalent, there is reason to believe that spirit-drinking is beginning to give way before the increased consumption of beer, which has followed the opening of the trade in the latter article. Mr. W. Kimber, broker, of Lambeth, being asked if he is in the habit of going to beer-houses, replies, "Yes, I make a point of going there, for I enjoy the ale much better than I do at other places. Before I used to go there, I used to take a good deal of spirits; and since I have been in the habit of going there, I have not taken any spirits, and my health is better in consequence." William Keay, foreman to Mr. Nunn, coachmaker, in Westminster Bridge Road, states that his men, who now drink ale at the beer-house (for that is the common beverage there), used to drink a good deal of gin formerly when they drank porter, and that they now drink more beer and less spirits. Dr. Evans also asserts, that among mechanics and artisans, the habit of spirit-drinking has very much diminished. So Mr. Farren, brewer, at Nine Elms, Vauxhall, says, "I apprehend there are a great many people that were in the habit of drinking grog, that now drink ale instead."

Mr. Farren's evidence is extremely interesting, in reference to various points connected with the operation of the new law. He states that he brews entirely for the beer-shops, and is the only brewer in London whose business is exclusively confined to that branch. Such is the revolution, however, that has been occasioned in the trade generally, that "Barclay and Perkins," he says, "and other great houses, finding that there is a decrease in the consumption of porter, and an increase of the consumption of ale, have gone into the ale trade; nearly all the new trade is composed of mild ale." From all that he has seen, Mr. Farren asserts that the conduct of the persons who have taken out licenses to keep beer-shops in London has been perfectly orderly. "I have got," he adds, "between forty and fifty customers, and I do not think there is one but what is perfectly respectable." The ale sold in these houses is by no means all of London manufacture. This witness states that the average quantity of Scotch ale imported into London is 2,150 barrels a week; that there is hardly a beer-house but what takes in Scotch ale, in addition to the brewers' ale; and that there is also ale brought from almost every county in England, and a vast quantity of porter from Dublin. To fit up a London beer-house respectably will cost from 100*l.* to 300*l.*, and their rents may average 40*l.* a year each. At first, as was naturally to be expected, there was a rush into the new trade, and any mischief that resulted might be fairly imputed to its having been in this way overdone. But that evil has since in a great degree, if not completely, corrected itself. It appears that in the first three months after the bill came into operation, 1508 licenses were taken out in London: in the year 1831 the number taken out was 1407; and in 1832 it was only 1206. "Of the 1503 licenses granted in the first quarter," says Mr. Farren, "I am of opinion that not less than 800 were taken out by chandler-shop keepers, who had previously been privileged to sell beer not exceeding a certain price, without license. Allowing then for the licenses applicable to that class of persons, there would remain 703 licenses taken out by individuals who went into the new trade. I apprehend that there has been little or no diminution in the number of licenses taken out by chandler-shop keepers; and, therefore, deducting 800 for chandler-shops from the 1206 licenses granted in the year ending 5th January, 1833, there would remain only 406 licenses for beer-house keepers." Upon this calculation, then, we have a reduction on the

number of the new retailers, in fifteen months, of 302 out of 708, or more than forty-two per cent. It is probable that the trade has now found its level.

Mr. Farren enters into some details, which set in a striking light the amount of the consumption of beer in London, as compared with other parts of the kingdom. If the comparison be even confined to England and Wales (and this we think is the fair view, there being little ale drunk by the great body of the inhabitants of either Scotland or Ireland), it appears that the consumption of London and its immediate vicinity is not much less than twice what it would be were it proportioned to the population. The population of London and its dependencies is not quite one-ninth of the population of all England and Wales; but the consumption of beer in this district is not much under one-fifth of the whole consumption of the country. If all the beer brewed and consumed within ten miles of London were taken into the account, Mr. Farren is of opinion that the rate of consumption in the metropolitan district would be greatly augmented.

There is, as we have said, no evidence of any evil or inconvenience whatever having followed the opening of the beer trade in London. On the contrary, all the witnesses examined by the Committee agree in stating that great benefits have attended the measure. The price of beer has unquestionably been reduced by more than the difference occasioned by the removal of the tax; though it is not easy to ascertain the exact amount of the reduction, owing partly to the circumstance that the descriptions of beverage now sold are not the same with those that were in demand, or rather which the public were forced to be contented with, before the opening of the trade. It appears from the evidence of several of the witnesses, that many of the public-houses still charge their customers about a penny on the pot more than they would be charged for liquor of the same quality at the beer-shops. One beer-shop keeper says that he has got some at 6*d.* a pot that you cannot get for 7*d.* at a public-house. Another witness says that for a mixture of ale and porter for which before the remission of the tax he used to pay 7*d.* at the public-house, he now pays only 5*d.* at the beer-shop. Another, who is a dealer, states that he sells ale for 6*d.* a pot, for which, before the passing of the beer-bill, he used himself invariably to pay 9*d.* From Mr. Farren's evidence, it appears that the reduction made by the brewers to their customers has been 12*s.* on the barrel, being 3*s.* more than the amount of the duty. Upon the whole it would seem that, in addition to the duty amounting to about 1*d.* on the pot, the average reduction upon all sorts of ale, as sold at the beer-shops, has been nearly 1*d.* more. The price varies, however, in different parts of the country, and, perhaps, also in different districts of town; and it is to be recollected that it is, in most cases, higher at the public-houses than at the beer-shops. In the neighbourhood of Boston, in Lincolnshire, for instance, one witness states that the same beer which is sold for 6*d.* in the former may be had for 4*d.* in the latter. There are some attempts on the part of other witnesses to make it appear that the cheaper beverage is of an inferior quality; but the weight of evidence is greatly on the other side.

When we leave London, however, and proceed to the other great towns comprehended in the inquiry, we find the statements of the different witnesses more unsatisfactory. Of Birmingham, for instance, we have a most favourable account; but as it comes from the principal agent of a company of brewers, by whom most of the beer-houses throughout the town and its vicinity are supplied with ale, and by whom many of them have been set up, it may be thought to be liable to objection, in the absence of any corroborative testimony. Mr. Dawes, the witness in question, states that the company with which he is connected had then (in May last) opened two hundred beer-houses in Birmingham and the country within eight or ten miles round, and that they had refused an equal number of applications from other parties. The reduction that has taken place in the price of beer, he rates at from 15 to 25 per cent., independently of the amount of the duty. The duty having been 3*d.* a quart, it has fallen, he says, 1½*d.* altogether. The beer-houses have, besides, afforded accommodation to travellers of a certain description, which before they could not procure except at an exorbitant rate, and sometimes not at all. This is corroborated by other witnesses. Drunkenness in Birmingham, Mr. Dawes says, has diminished since the opening of the beer-houses; and

that as to the new law having been the cause of an increase of crime, there is not the most remote idea of anything of the kind in that town. The rent of the beer-houses there is in general 10*l.* and upwards. Spirit-drinking, the witness thinks, has considerably decreased. So greatly are the beer-shops appreciated, he says, by the labouring classes, that they could have got up a petition in their favour, signed by females alone, to the number of 10,000 or 20,000;—"in this kind of way," he adds, however, in explanation, "if they could have got it (the beer) to take home with them."

The evidence with respect to the town of Warwick, on the contrary, in the same county, represents the beer-shops as having been the source of all sorts of evils. The witness here is a police officer of the borough. Speaking of the effects of the new system, "I find," he says in different parts of his evidence, "that crime has increased a great deal in the neighbourhood;—common prostitutes, common thieves, and boys, are suffered to go to the beer-houses, and tittle and drink at all hours of the night;—I have apprehended a great many boys; and when I have had conversation with them, I have found that they have been seduced into crime by the low characters that they met at these beer-houses, that would not have been allowed to go into the old public-houses." He conceives that the beer-shops are operating with injurious effect even upon the old public-houses, and driving their landlords, in order that they may be enabled to keep their ground, to permit the same disorders which are tolerated by their competitors.

The evidence with regard to Liverpool is nearly of the same complexion. It comes from two witnesses, one a publican, the other a wholesale and retail dealer in wine and spirits. The former thinks the consumption of spirits has increased since the opening of the beer-shops (which he says are called Jerry-shops in Liverpool), and that the consumption of beer, in his opinion, has not increased at all. The other witness mentions an evil which is not, we believe, noticed in any other part of the Report. The owners of the beer-shops in Liverpool, he says, "generally consist of persons who employ large bodies of labouring men, being themselves labouring men, either in the capacity of foreman or master of such men as undertake contracts for large excavations at the docks, and employing men in the discharge of vessels, who are technically called in Liverpool 'lumpers'; and those men always give the preference to those persons who frequent their beer-houses; and in some instances, it has come to my knowledge from the working men themselves, that they have complained very much of the operation of the beer-bill, as they have been compelled to spend a portion of their earnings at the beer-houses." The only two classes, he states, in Liverpool, who have been affected by the change, are the Irish labourers, and young men in the lower walks of life, of the age of fifteen and upwards, both of which classes, comprising large numbers, have become in consequence much more dissolute and drunken. The evidence as to Sheffield, which is given by Mr. George Wells, now a solicitor, and lately in the magistrates' clerks' office, in that town, is equally unfavourable. The number of beer-houses in Sheffield on the 1st of February last, was 280; that of the public-houses being 336. The rents of the beer-houses are nearly all under 10*l.* a year. Spirits are understood to be sold in them covertly; gaming is not unfrequently permitted; and it is no uncommon thing for the outer door to be fastened at night, while the company remain till eleven or twelve o'clock. The number of dram-shops has increased fourfold since the beer act passed. The thieves have also increased. We have the same kind of evidence as to Leeds, from the mayor of the town, and the chief constable of the town. According to the latter, there are in Leeds 280 licensed ale-houses, and 251 beer-shops, of which last the rent varies from about 5*l.* to about 20*l.* This witness also produces a statement, by which it appears that, during the three years before the beer bill was in operation, 639 persons only were brought before the magistrates for being drunk, being at the rate of 213 in the year; whereas, in the first 31 months after the opening of the trade, the number was 2023, being at the rate of 783 annually, or not much under four times as many as formerly. By an analysis of this curious document, we further find that the increase of drunken cases has taken place to the greatest extent among females under twenty-one years of age, of whom there are now more than six that get drunk for one that did for-

merly. The next greatest increase is among males under twenty-one; it appears to be from 1 to 4'235. Among males above twenty-one, the increase is from 1 to 3'745; and among females above twenty-one, it is from 1 to 2'423. If the accuracy of this document is to be depended on, the results which it shows are certainly appalling; and it is not to be denied that such a statement seems to go far to establish the position, that, in some places, the first experience of the new system has been eminently disastrous. We should like, however, to know what measures have been resorted to by the magistrates to repress this growing dissipation—in how many of the drunken cases brought before them they have imposed any punishment upon the offenders—and what means, if any, they have taken to keep the beer-houses within their jurisdiction in order, and to apply to them those restraints which the same law that has established them has provided for their regulation. Is the police of the town sufficiently strong? or, being strong enough, is it sufficiently active in this part of its duty?

We cannot now enter at any length into an analysis of the voluminous evidence collected by the committee, with regard to the effect of the opening of the beer trade in the country. Suffice it to state, that the principal evils which are alleged to have attended the measure are the same which its opponents charge it with having produced in the towns. It is asserted to have occasioned a large increase of drunkenness, profligacy, and crime among the mass of the population—to have engendered in some places habits of turbulence and disinclination to work among the labouring classes—and generally to have contributed powerfully to the initiation into dissipated habits of young people and children. The circumstance that beer-houses are often opened in retired lanes, in woods, on heaths, and in other places remote from observation, is dwelt upon by many of the witnesses as pregnant with the worst consequences. In the country the police is usually still more inefficient than in towns, in most of which it is extremely inadequate; and the difficulty of keeping the beer-shops in order is accordingly greater. In some cases, the poor-rates are stated to have been augmented by the increased idleness and immorality which the change in the law has occasioned; and the wives of the labourers are represented as in general complaining bitterly of what its operation has been, in so far as they and their families are concerned, considerably less of what their husbands earn now finding its way to the baker and the grocer than formerly, since the beer-shop keeper has come in for his share. It would rather appear that, not only the clergy and the landlords, but the farmers also are, in general, strongly opposed to the new system.

We have no wish to conceal or overlook these statements, although they are not very specific, and are probably in a considerable degree coloured by the influence of prejudices, natural to the quarters from which they proceed. Allowing them, however, all the weight which they can fairly claim, we must not forget many other important considerations which bear upon the question. It is pretty evident, from the various accounts we have quoted, that the opening of the new beer-houses has not been attended, in some places, with any of the injurious effects which it is alleged to have produced in others. In London, and we would also say, in Birmingham, it appears to be allowed on all hands to have been quite innocuous. One chief reason of this we believe to be, that in both these places the system of police is of a very superior order, and the duties of the magistracy are performed with a diligence and regularity quite unknown in most rural districts, and equalled even in very few of our other great towns. Indeed, throughout the greater part of England, a police can hardly be said to exist, either in our villages, or in our third and fourth-rate towns. Hence in a great degree both the disorders of beer-houses, and the prevalence of crime in general. We quite believe the statements of many of the witnesses, magistrates, and others, as to the extreme difficulty that is found in many places in keeping a sufficient watch over these houses, and even in suppressing disorders when known to take place in them. The people of England are prejudiced and wrongheaded upon this subject to a very remarkable degree. They imagine that much of the essence of the liberties and happiness of the country consists in the absence of a police. There never was a greater mistake. A police, properly constituted, is the good citizen's best protection. Should we be the freer if we had no laws to restrain

and punish criminals? But what is the use of laws without a force to make them be obeyed? If the latter be objected to, the former ought also to be dispensed with. But the chief folly is, that, if a judgment may be formed from our practice, it is not a police which we dislike, but a good or efficient police. The mere form of the thing we have a great attachment to; deeming a constabulary force which is incapable of doing any service, or is never called upon to act, to be indispensable to our humblest parishes. By the plan which we pursue, we entail upon ourselves the very evils which it is our wish to avoid. With a good police we might safely have milder laws, and more liberty in divers ways than we actually have. Such an instrument would much more effectually prevent the commission of crimes by watching criminals, than we now do by sending them to the treadmill, to Botany Bay, or to the gallows. Would fewer executions, fewer imprisonments, and fewer punishments of all sorts, imply any diminution of the public liberties? And was such a law as that, which, till lately, regulated the sale of beer in England, one of a particularly liberal and popular character? On the contrary, no system could have been devised more intensely aristocratic and coercive. And yet the chief, perhaps the only danger attendant upon the abolition of this tyranny, is created by our want of a regular police to see to the prevention of disorder, in the room of the capricious and irresponsible despotism to which we used to be subjected.

What the beer-houses want, in our opinion, where the new law is alleged to have operated injuriously, is merely to be somewhat better looked after. A return to the old *regime* of the magistracy is quite out of the question. We have got rid for ever of that machinery of oppression, favouritism, and jobbing, and must now have fixed rules by which to proceed in this matter, and no more mere arbitrary dictation. Let the beer-houses, if necessary, be put under stricter regulations—they cannot be put down. The right of any man to obtain a license to sell beer, under certain specified conditions, must be preserved. It is upon these principles that the act has been framed which was passed by parliament towards the close of the late session. By this statute it is provided, first, that every person applying hereafter for a beer license shall, along with his application, produce a certificate signed by six rated inhabitants of the parish, to the effect that the applicant is a person of good character, and likely to manage a house for the sale of beer or cider by retail, in a peaceable, orderly, and respectable manner. Upon presenting such a certificate, with the attestation of one of the overseers, that the persons subscribing it are really rated parishioners, the applicant is to obtain his license as a matter of course. Secondly, the duty is raised from its present amount of two guineas to five pounds. This alteration of the law will probably do something to exclude the more necessitous and irresponsible class of applicants, and to confine the trade to persons of some substance and respectability. The penalties for misconduct are also made more severe, it being now competent for the justices, in addition to the fine, to disqualify the offender for selling beer for a period of two years on a second conviction, instead of only on a third, as before; and on a third conviction to disqualify him for ever. Lastly, the old law is amended in those of its provisions which referred to the hours during which beer-houses might be kept open; it being now (very properly, we think) enacted that they shall not be open for beer to be drunk on the premises on any Sunday, Good-Friday, Christmas-Day, or day appointed for a public fast or thanksgiving, before half-past twelve in the afternoon, nor at all between ten in the morning and that hour. They were formerly allowed to be open on such days, as usual, from four till ten in the morning. They are still, as before, to be shut again from three till five in the afternoon. And it is enacted that the justices of the peace, in quarter-sessions, shall have the power to fix, once in each year, the hour at which they shall be closed at night on every other day; provided that the hour so fixed shall not, in any town, be earlier than ten o'clock or later than eleven; or in any country district earlier than nine or later than ten.

These alterations are all, we think, improvements upon the former act; and we are not disposed to say that it would have been wise to have gone farther in the way of limiting the mere right to open a house for the sale of beer. The committee, in their report, proposed, in addition to the restrictions which have been adopted, that the applicant should require to be rated to the parish at a certain amount,

varying between 7*l.* and 15*l.*, to be fixed for every town or parish by the magistrates at quarter-sessions; but this would have been a power extremely liable to be abused, and it has therefore been wisely withheld. We concur, however, in another recommendation of the committee, to the effect that it is expedient that the system under which all houses are licensed for the retail of beer and spirituous liquors, should be revised in a future session of parliament; and we believe, with the Committee, that very serious reasons of justice and public advantage may be adduced in favour of an assimilation of all the regulations, as to hours and management, to which every description of house licensed to sell beer or spirituous liquors by retail should be subjected.

ABOLITION OF THE COMMERCIAL MONOPOLY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THE new arrangement that has been made with regard to the East India Company is by far the most important commercial measure of the late session of parliament. We propose in the present article briefly to explain its nature, and to notice some of the most remarkable of the results by which it may be expected to be followed.

The change has been effected by three acts, numbered chapters 85, 93, and 101 of the 3d and 4th of William IV. The first is entitled, An Act for effecting an arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better government of his Majesty's Indian Territories, till the 30th day of April, 1854; the second, An Act to regulate the trade to China and India; and the third, An Act to provide for the collection and management of the Duties on Tea.

By the first of these acts it is provided that the Indian territories shall remain under the government of the Company for a term of twenty years, from the 30th of April next; but that from the 22d of April, on which day the present charter expires, the Company shall discontinue and abstain from all commercial business, except in so far as may be necessary for the conversion into money of all their merchandise, stores, and effects, at home and abroad, distinguished in their account-books as commercial assets, and all their warehouses, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and property whatsoever which may not be retained for the purposes of the government of the said territories. By the 81st clause it is further enacted, "that it shall be lawful for any natural-born subject of his Majesty to proceed *by sea* to any port or place, having a custom-house establishment within the said territories, and to reside thereat, or to proceed to and reside in, or pass through, any part of such of the said territories as were under the government of the said Company, on the 1st day of January, 1800, and in any part of the countries ceded by the nabob of the *Carnatic*, of the province of *Cuttack*, and of the settlements of *Singapore*, and *Malacca*, without any license whatever." Persons who are not natives of the country are merely, on their arrival, to make known in writing to the chief officer of the customs their names, places of destination, and objects of pursuit in India. No person is to enter the country *by land* without license from the Board of Control, the Court of Directors, or the governor of any of the presidencies. It is likewise provided that no license to reside in other parts than those mentioned shall be revoked, unless in accordance with the terms of some express clause of revocation in such license contained. The governor-general, with the previous consent of the Court of Directors, may declare any other places open. And by the 86th clause it is enacted, "that any person authorized to reside in the said territories may acquire and hold lands, or any right, interest, or profit in or out of lands, for any term of years, in the parts in which he shall be so authorized to reside; and that the governor-general in council may further make such laws or regulations as shall enable any subjects of his Majesty to hold lands in any part of the said territories whatever." The act contains 117 clauses in all; but those which we have quoted are the only ones to which it is necessary for our present purpose that we should refer.

By the second of the three acts, that numbered chapter 93, the several acts prohibiting the importation of tea, unless from the place of its growth, and by the East India Company, and into the port of London, or of goods gene-

rally from China, except by the said Company, and into the said port, or the importation of tea into any of the British possessions in *America*, and into the Island of *Mauritius*, except from the *United Kingdom*, or from some other *British* possessions in *America*, and unless by the Company, or with their license, are repealed; and it is declared to be lawful for any of his Majesty's subjects to carry on trade with any countries beyond the *Cape of Good Hope* to the *Straits of Magellan*. Commanders of vessels arriving at any place under the government of the Company are merely required to deliver at the custom-house a list of the persons they have on board. In place of the establishment of a supercargo, and other residents, which has been hitherto kept up in China by the Company, a chief superintendent, and two others, together with the necessary assistants, are to be appointed by his Majesty's commission to form the resident British authorities in that country. His Majesty, it is also enacted, may create a Court of Justice with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction for the trial of offences committed by British subjects in China, and on the high seas within a hundred miles of the coast, one of the superintendents being appointed to act as judge. To defray the expense of these establishments, a duty is to be levied from vessels entering the ports where any of the said superintendents shall be stationed, not exceeding, in respect of tonnage, the sum of five shillings for every ton, and not exceeding, in respect of goods, the sum of ten shillings for every one hundred pounds of the value of the same.

The third act was shortly noticed in our last Number. It permits the importation of tea by any of his Majesty's subjects into the *United Kingdom*, from the *Cape of Good Hope*, and from places eastward of the same to the *Straits of Magellan*, and also into the islands of *Guernsey*, *Jersey*, *Alderney*, and *Sark*, and into the British possessions of *America*, either from these limits, or from *Great Britain*, on payment of the following duties, which have been somewhat modified since the bill was introduced; namely, one shilling and sixpence the pound on bohea, two shillings and twopence the pound on congou, twankay, hyson skin, orange pekoe, and campoi; and three shillings on souchong, flowery pekoe, hyson, young hyson, gunpowder, imperial, and other sorts not enumerated.

The general amount of these provisions may be stated to be, to throw open, for the first time, the countries to which they relate, to British enterprise and capital. Up to the last renewal of the Company's charter, in 1813, both *China* and *India* were as completely shut against the people of this country generally, as if they had been regions with the inhabitants of which we were at war. No British ship could approach any port in either, or bring home to Europe any commodity which either produced, except by the leave of the Company. The existing charter broke in, to a certain degree, upon this state of things; and the rigour of the old exclusion has been since still further relaxed in practice by the Company's indulgence. By the charter the ships of private traders were allowed to resort to *India*; and hence has grown up a considerable commerce between that country and this, altogether independent of the Company. More recently, regulations of the Indian government have permitted land to be held in *India* by persons who are not natives, and thereby led the way to the introduction both of British capital and of British residents into the country. But still this has been only upon sufferance, and on a comparatively small scale. In *China*, again, a limited number of persons, not connected with the Company, have for some years been allowed to reside, and to carry on a trade between *Canton* and *India*, which has now become one of some magnitude. But no relaxation of the monopoly of the trade between *China* and *England* has ever been conceded. That, with the exception of a trifling portion, called the privilege trade, allowed to be carried on by their naval officers for their private behoof, the Company have preserved entirely in their own hands.

Let us now see what is the nature and extent of the whole of our present commercial intercourse with *India* and *China*, and what proportion it bears to the total amount of our foreign trade. The following are the only articles of which any considerable quantities are imported from *India* and *China* into this country. We annex the quantities for the year 1831, according to a statement of the whole imports and exports of the *United Kingdom* for that year, which was a few weeks ago laid before the *House of Commons*, and of which we gave an abstract in our last number:

	Imports from India and China.	Total Imports.
Barilla	cwts. 2,264	184,649
Cassia Lignea	lbs. 358,413	398,420
Cinnamon	do. 222,991	225,869
Cloves	do. 122,709	128,223
Coffee	do. 7,457,417	43,007,828
Wheat	qrs. 1,368	1,838,696
Wheatmeal and Flour	cwts. 14,426	1,636,059
Cotton, Piece-goods of India, not printed	pieces 1,011,456	1,064,416
Elephants' Teeth	cwt. 2,172	5,267
Marten Furs	no. 2,290	214,107
Minks' Furs	do. 2,010	103,561
Ginger	cwt. 849	5,315
Gum Arabic	do. 2,488	7,285
Lac Dye	lbs. 753,252	782,399
Shellac	do. 1,144,329	1,183,058
Hemp, undressed	cwt. 9,472	530,820
Hides, untanned	do. 2,137	271,469
Indigo	lbs. 6,996,663	7,299,605
Mace	do. 40,921	41,287
Madder Root	cwts. 2,570	52,449
Nutmegs	lbs. 110,040	210,363
Castor Oil	do. 343,384	393,191
Pepper	do. 5,560,007	6,273,480
Rhubarb	do. 133,462	140,395
Rice	cwts. 123,496	168,744
Rice, in the husk	bushels 33,564	225,556
Safflower	cwts. 2,436	2,772
Sago	do. 2,250	2,549
Saltpetre	do. 170,722	175,938
Senna	lbs. 200,990	250,296
Silk, raw and waste	do. 1,643,876	3,992,593
Silk Bandannoes, Romals, and Handkerchiefs	pieces 183,549	185,117
Silk Crape in pieces	do. 932	1,367
Silk Crapes, Shawls, Scarfs, Gown-pieces, and Handkerchiefs	no. 23,278	27,233
Silk Taffaties, Damasks, and other Silks in pieces	pieces 9,096	10,631
Goat Skins, undressed	no. 29,374	354,584
Sugar	cwts. 185,572	5,366,262
Tea	lbs. 31,648,922	31,648,926
Tin	cwts. 6,608	8,099
Manufactured Tobacco and Snuff	lbs. 8,570	220,106
Cotton Wool	cwts. 25,905,153	288,674,853

Other articles, of which small quantities were imported, are cheese, barley, pease and beans, printed cottons, currants, beaver, musquash, and otter furs, straw hats, leather gloves, linens, madder, opium, pimento, raisins, thrown silk, calf and kid skins untanned, deer and kid skins undressed, rum, brandy, Geneva, timber masts, &c., teak, unmanufactured tobacco, and bees' wax. Of wines of all sorts there were also imported 85,951 gallons from *India*, and 4801 from *China*; but these were chiefly the produce of *Madeira*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, the *Canary Islands*, the *Cape*, and *Germany*.

The following is a similar table of the principal exports from this country to *India* and *China*:—

	Exports to India and China.	Total Exports.
FOREIGN PRODUCE—		
Cochineal	lbs. 39,443	168,329
Cocoa Nuts	do. 11,255	1,531,131
Copper, unwrought	cwts. 1,256	1,550
Cottons, printed	sq. yds. 9,961	133,068
Iron, in bars	tons 1,426	4,253
Pig Lead	do. 106	1,234
Quicksilver	lbs. 253,227	848,108
Spelter	cwts. 51,609	62,684
Rum	proof gals. 12,030	2,375,527
Brandy	do. 89,993	504,172
Geneva	do. 14,151	207,072
Wines of all sorts	gals. 187,051	1,014,925

HOME PRODUCE—

Declared Value—

Of Apparel, Slops, and Haberdashery	£ 44,600	£ 790,293
— Arms and Ammunition	12,310	562,765
— Bacon and Hams	4,097	22,689
— Beer and Ale	54,622	161,768
— Printed Books	22,706	101,110
— Brass and Copper Manufactures	348,054	803,124
— Cordage	4,348	81,986

HOME PRODUCE— Declared Value—	Exports to India and China.	Total Exports.
Of Cotton Manufactures . . .	£1,196,546	13,282,185
— Cotton Twist and Yarn . . .	467,861	3,975,019
— Earthenware . . .	11,837	461,090
— Glass . . .	90,714	429,624
— Hardwares and Cutlery . . .	53,334	1,622,429
— Beaver and Felt Hats . . .	7,820	170,188
— Iron and Steel . . .	110,383	1,123,372
— Lead and Shot . . .	38,452	96,333
— Plate, Plated Ware, Jewellery, and Watches . . .	39,019	188,144
— Stationery . . .	45,832	179,216
— Woollen Manufactures . . .	645,582	5,232,013

There were also small quantities exported in 1831 of the following articles of foreign produce; pearl and potashes, cinnamon, cloves, wheat, barley, oats, pease, and beans, wheat-meal and flour, mace, nutmegs, pepper, pimento, rice, raw and waste silk, European manufactured silk, bandannoes, &c., taffaties, &c., sugar, tobacco, and snuff. Of coffee, there were exported 23,950 lbs., and of tea, 26,091 lbs. And of the following articles of home produce, in addition to those we have enumerated, there were exported inconsiderable quantities, namely, beef and pork, butter and cheese, coals, culm and cinders, herrings, leather, wrought and unwrought, saddlery and harness, linen manufactures, machinery, and mill work, painters' colours, salt, silk manufactures, soap, candles, sugar, tin and pewter wares, woollen and worsted yarn, and sundry other articles the names of which are not given. The total declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom having been 37,164,372*l.*, the value of the exports of that description to the East India Company's territories, Ceylon, and China, was 3,377,412*l.* The value of the home produce exported from this country to Russia the same year, was 1,191,565*l.*, to Brazil, 1,238,371*l.*, to the Netherlands, 2,082,536*l.*, to the British colonies in North America, 2,089,327*l.*, to Italy, 2,490,376*l.*, to the West Indies, 2,581,949*l.*, to Germany (exclusive of Prussia), 3,642,952*l.*, and to the United States of America, 9,053,583*l.* These facts are sufficient to convey a general conception of the actual state of the trade carried on by this country with India and China. Let us next consider its prospects under the change of circumstances which has now taken place.

British subjects, it is to be observed, are permitted, by the new law, not only to trade to both India and China, but to take up their residence in these countries. It is needless to point out the vast importance of the latter of these privileges to the former. Even in the case of China, where the jealousy of the government interposes such formidable obstacles in the way of the attempts of foreigners to penetrate into the interior of the country, it is probable that a number of active agents residing at Macao, or Canton, and occasionally proceeding on excursions along the coast to the north, may have it in their power to be of material service, both in procuring at the cheapest rate supplies of Chinese produce for export to Europe, and in pushing the sale of English manufactured goods among the natives. It is in India, however, that we are to expect the greatest advantages to result from numbers of British subjects fixing their residence in the country. From the nature of the case, the colonization of India by Englishmen cannot take place at a rapid rate; nor is there, indeed, any reason to apprehend that the races by whom the country is at present inhabited will ever be displaced, or even disturbed in their occupation of the soil, by any influx of their European conquerors. From the low rate of wages in India, no considerable emigration thither of the labouring classes can ever take place. What India wants, and what England will send, is not labour, but capital, together with the skill and enterprise necessary for its effective application. The resources of the country, which have hitherto lain in great part dormant, will thus be called up into activity. The soil will be cultivated, and the people will be employed. The general wealth of the country, and its capacity of absorbing foreign commodities, may in this way be immensely increased, without any addition to the numbers of the people. What busy occupation for the spinning machines and the workshops of England might not be given by the hundred millions who inhabit India, if they were thus put in a condition to exert the full effect of their numbers. Or take it another way; suppose that, instead of

depending upon England for manufactured articles, India should, as is not impossible, become herself to a great extent a manufacturing country, still, that state of things, if it shall ever come to pass, remains to be brought about by the capital and talent of Englishmen. In either case, a vast field, and one which promises to remunerate them richly, is opened to the enterprise of our countrymen. Undoubtedly, there is still much to be done before things shall be brought to a state perfectly favourable for any experiment of the kind to which we allude, on a grand scale; but the primary obstacle to its institution, at least, has been removed, and the foundation has been laid of those reforms in the government and laws of the country which may be necessary for its perfect success.

In the meantime, the mere distribution of a number of zealous mercantile agents throughout India may be expected to operate in the same manner as the exertions of the British residents at Canton, in extending the market for the manufactures of this country. It is also to be observed, that the private trader is now relieved from the competition of the Company, which is asserted to have sometimes, while acting in its commercial capacity, applied its extraordinary resources in such a way, as seriously to interfere with the efforts of individual enterprise. The profits of the tea trade alone, as carried on by the Company, are stated by themselves to have usually exceeded 800,000*l.* per annum. The rate of profit appears to have been really about 25 per cent. As this is a rate that could not be maintained under a system of free competition, it follows, that if individual traders shall be able to bring the article to market only at the same cost as the Company have been wont to do, its price to the consumer must be very considerably diminished. But the Company's manner of trading was, in truth, an extravagantly expensive one. The vessels which they fitted out were of a tonnage greatly exceeding that of those ever employed in any other commercial service; and the establishment of residents which they maintained in China, cost them annually not less than 100,000*l.* There can be no doubt that the private trade will be conducted upon a much more economical system.

But tea is not the only article which will now probably be brought from China. The Company themselves have been in the habit of importing from that country considerable quantities of raw silk and nankeen cloth; and the imports in what is called the privilege trade consist of a long list of articles, among which we find the following enumerated:— silk piece goods, aniseed, cambogium, canes, cassia lignea, cassia buds, China roots, cloves, dragon's blood, mace, mother-of-pearl shells, nutmegs, oil of cassia, oil of cinnamon, rhubarb, sago, sugar, tin, tortoiseshell, tutenague, turmeric, vermillion, and woods. Some of these articles may, no doubt, be brought home with advantage by the private trader. On the other hand, there are many articles which British ships may carry out to China either from the United Kingdom, from India, or from ports in other parts of the world at which they fit out or touch. The following descriptions of goods have been of late years exported from Great Britain to China by the Company:—broad cloth, long ells, camblets, stuffs, &c., lead, British iron, tin, British calicoes, cotton twist, factory stores, foreign cotton wool; foreign skins, and worsted yarn. The privilege export trade has comprehended a much longer list of articles, namely, apparel, drugs, beer, blue, boots and shoes, books and charts, candles, carriages, cloth cuttings, clocks and clock-work, coach-furniture, confectionery and compounds, cordage, copper, corks, cottons, cotton piece goods, cotton thread, cotton twist, cotton yarn, cudbear, cutlery, fire-engines, flints, fowling-pieces, glass and earthenware, gold and silver lace and thread, haberdashery, hats, hosiery, ironmongery and iron, jewellery, lead and lead shot, wrought leather, linen, looking-glasses, mathematical and optical instruments, millinery, musical instruments and music, oil-man's stores, painters' colours, perfumery, pewter, pictures, plate-glass, plate and plated ware, playing-cards, printing materials and apparatus, provisions, saddlery, ship-chandlery, skins, snuff, steel and spring-steel, stationery, statuary, tin ware and tin plates, tobacco-pipes, toys, turnery, upholstery and cabinet ware, watches, woollens, amber, bugles, cloves, cochineal, coral beads, coral and coral fragments, cotton wool, elephants' teeth, furs, ginseng, mace, manna, musical boxes, and cages, nutmegs, orsidee, pearls, printed cottons, quicksilver, coral seed and beads, smalts, spelter, spirits, stockfish, tar, wine, ebony-wood, rose-wood;

and sandal-wood. Many of the articles in this list have been, no doubt, carried out exclusively for the use of the European residents at Canton; but these, it is to be remembered, will now form a larger community than ever. Others, however, have been sold to the Chinese themselves, among whom there can be no doubt that the consumption of some of them might be greatly extended. The private trade, which, by permission of the Company, has arisen since 1813 between China and India may, now that it will be perfectly free, be, in all probability, much increased in amount. The imports to China in this trade have hitherto consisted principally in cotton, of which there was imported in 1831-32 to the value of 4,929,775 dollars, and in opium, of which there were imported the same year 13,946 chests, valued at 11,304,018 dollars. The opium trade is entirely an illicit one, but still we see the extent to which it is carried on in spite of all the efforts of the Chinese authorities. So sensible, indeed, has the government become of its inability to prevent the introduction of the article into the country, that the propriety of legalizing the trade and subjecting it to a duty has been lately taken into consideration, and that plan, there can be little doubt, will ere long be adopted. The payment of the duty, unless it be of immoderate amount, (and if so, its purpose will be defeated,) will be an advantageous change to the importer, whom it will relieve from the hazards and expenses of smuggling. The Company have never taken any part in this illicit trade; but they grow the opium for the use of the importers, and derive the largest part of the profits on its consumption. Among other articles not already mentioned that enter into the imports from British India to China are pepper, spices, rattans, beetle-nuts, putchuck, shark's fins, fish-maws, and stockfish, black and red wood, saltpetre, ivory, cornelians, Indian piece goods, myrrh, olibanum, Prussian blue, cutch, camphor, sticklac, gum gogal, birds nests, bêche de mer, teak, and rice. Of the whole trade between India and China in 1828-29, the share carried on by private individuals amounted (taking imports and exports together) to 3,795,966*l*, while that carried on by the Company amounted only to 433,388*l*. In the preceding year, the exports and imports of the private trade made together 4,951,678*l*.

Cotton goods, as may be perceived from the table in p. 158, are those of which by far the largest quantities are exported from Great Britain to India. There are various other articles, however, of which the export is also already very considerable, and the consumption of which may, no doubt, be greatly extended among the natives under the advantages of the new order of things. Among the principal of these is salt, both the sale and manufacture of which commodity in India has been hitherto monopolized by the government. Mr. Wilbraham, the member for Cheshire, in a speech which he made in the last session of parliament, showed, that while the very bad salt sold by the Company in India sometimes costs the natives 15*s*. or 16*s*. the bushel, the best salt from England might be sold in Calcutta for 1*s*. the bushel, exclusive of duty.

For the salt sent to India from England, a return might be obtained in the exportation to England of sugar from India. The sugar at present manufactured in the latter country is certainly inferior to that which is produced in the West Indies. But there is no reason to suppose that that grown in the east might not be made to rival in quality that grown in the west. The cultivation of the latter has hitherto been encouraged, and that of the former depressed, by the inequality of the rates of duty at which they are severally admitted to the home market; the produce of the West Indies paying at present a duty of only 27*s*. per cwt., while that of the East Indies pays 37*s*. The consequence has been, that the latter is almost excluded from this country. The total quantity of sugar imported into the United Kingdom in 1832 was 4,867,748 cwt., of which only 175,252 cwt. were the produce of the East Indies. An equalization of the duties would in no long time bring the imports from the two points nearer to the same level.

GENERAL EDUCATION.

It is not the least important amongst the proceedings of the first Reformed Parliament that a law has been passed, by which the education of the children of a very large body of the people is rendered compulsory. We believe that this is the first example of the interference of the British Government

in a matter with which the best and most lasting interests of the country are connected; and we hail it as the commencement of a series of legislative enactments which, having for their foundation the great principle, that national security and happiness cannot co-exist with the ignorance of large masses of the population, will provide for the removal of that ignorance in no timid or sectarian spirit, but with a broad and liberal enforcement of the protective and remedial power of the state. The enactment to which we allude is contained in the 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23d sections of the "Act to regulate the labour of children and young persons in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom." We give the clauses at length:—

"20. And be it further enacted, that from and after the expiration of six months from the passing of this act, every child hereinbefore restricted to the performance of forty-eight hours of labour in any one week, shall, so long as such child shall be within the said restricted age (eleven, twelve, and thirteen), attend some school to be chosen by the parents or guardians of such child, or such school as may be appointed by any inspector, in case the parents or guardians of such child shall omit to appoint any school, or in case such child shall be without parents or guardians; and it shall and may be lawful, in such last-mentioned case, for any inspector to order the employer of any such child to make a deduction from the weekly wages of such child as the same shall become due, not exceeding the rate of one penny in every shilling, to pay for the schooling of such child; and such employer is hereby required to pay the sum so deducted, according to the order and direction of such inspector.

"21. And be it further enacted, that after the expiration of six months from the passing of this act, it shall not be lawful to employ, or continue to employ, in any factory or mill, any child restricted by this act to the performance of forty-eight hours of labour in any one week, unless such child shall, on Monday in every week next, after the commencement of such employment, and during every succeeding Monday or other day appointed for that purpose by an inspector, give to the factory-master or proprietor, or to his agent, a schoolmaster's ticket or voucher, certifying that such child has for two hours at least, for six out of seven days of the week next preceding, attended his school, excepting in cases of sickness, to be certified in such manner as such inspector may appoint; and in case of any holiday, and in case of absence, from any other cause allowed by such inspector, or by any justice of the peace in the absence of the inspector; and the said last-mentioned ticket shall be in such form as may be settled by any inspector.

"22. And be it further enacted, that wherever it shall appear to any inspector that a new or additional school is necessary or desirable, to enable the children employed in any factory to obtain the education required by this act, such inspector is hereby authorized to establish, or procure the establishment of, such school.

"23. And be it further enacted, that if, upon any examination or inquiry, any inspector shall be of opinion that any schoolmaster or schoolmistress is incompetent, or in any way unfit for the performance of the duties of that office, it shall and may be lawful for such inspector to disallow and withhold the order for any payment, or any salary to such schoolmaster or schoolmistress as hereinbefore provided."

This is, indeed, only a beginning in the recognition of the principle that the state is responsible for the education of its youth; but it is a most important beginning. The children who will come within the compass of this enactment are a very numerous body; and, perhaps, all circumstances considered, they are the most influential body, for good or for evil, in the country. A prudent, intelligent, and moral manufacturing population,—alive to their own interests, but just towards the interests of others,—impatient of oppression, but obedient to the laws,—these furnish the thews and sinews of our national strength; but with a rash, ignorant, and depraved manufacturing population—selfish and blind in their attempts to dictate to their employers—tumultuous and desperate at one time, crouching and sullen at another—it may be truly said that the nation "sleeps upon gunpowder." To call forth the real strength, which consists in the virtue and intelligence of these millions congregated in large towns, the education of their children must be general,—it must be well directed,—it must be subject to uniform regulations. The enactments which we have recited prescribe its general application, and they also make some provision against incompetent instructors. Upon this point, however, we fear that little can be done, until a system involving the nurture of the youth of the whole nation be called into action. The state of education in a particular district will vary as the diligence of the inspectors may differ, and according to the notions which each inspector may form of the sort of education which ought to be given. We have sufficient examples of these differences in the modes in

which education is carried on in parish workhouses. The Poor-Law Commissioners have just published some further extracts from their Reports, which wholly relate to the subject of education. These will furnish the examples to which we allude. Our limits will not allow us to quote them; but we refer to the evidence of the clerk of St. Clement's Danes, and that of the assistant overseer of St. Sepulchre's, as to the effects of a bad education. On the other hand, in the testimony of the assistant overseer of St. George's, Southwark, we have evidence of the effects of a good education upon workhouse children, as opposed to the effects of a bad education upon a similar class.

It is quite clear, as it appears to us, that what is imperatively required, is a plan of education comprehensive enough to embrace all the children of the country, and so well defined as to leave no doubt as to what is proper to be taught and what is not. It might seem that amongst a comparatively small number of children, such as the inmates of workhouses, there could be no difficulty in the enforcement of a scheme of education which should eradicate the horrible evils complained of in St. Clement's Danes and St. Sepulchre's;—but we see the contrary. We fear that it will be the same with the factory children: some will be well taught, others will learn worse than nothing.

With regard to that large portion of the population, the children of the agricultural labourers, there appears to us to be a greater necessity for the enforcement of a general plan of education amongst them, even than in the manufacturing districts. There is a general impression that the very lowest sort of instruction is quite sufficient to make a ploughman. It may be so; but that lowest sort of instruction, or complete ignorance, (and there is not much to choose between the two,) makes him also a rick-burner.

On the general subject of the education of the working classes upon a liberal and comprehensive plan, we have had great pleasure in referring to the interesting account given by Mr. Brougham (now the Lord Chancellor) of the establishment of Mr. Fellenberg, in his evidence before the Committee on Education, in 1818. Our space prevents us selecting more from this evidence than the description of Mr. Fellenberg's seminary for the poor. It is fifteen years since the narrative was given, and during that time the institution at Hofwyl has gone on prosperously. Beginning with a single pupil, Mr. Fellenberg has rescued several hundreds of wretched and depraved children from the circumstances which appeared to condemn them to hopeless misery, and has elevated them into useful and happy citizens:—

“The branch of this establishment,” says Mr. Brougham, “which is more particularly deserving of attention, and with which all the others are more or less connected, is the seminary for the poor. Mr. F. having long remarked the extreme profligacy of the lowest orders in the Swiss towns, and the habits of ignorance and vice in which their children were brought up, formed many years ago the design of attempting their reformation, upon principles equally sound and benevolent. His leading doctrine was, that to make those poor people better, it was necessary to make them more comfortable; and that this end would be best attained by forming in their earliest years habits of industry, which might contribute to their subsistence, and by joining with them a greater degree of intellectual cultivation than has ever yet been extended to the labouring classes of the community, or been imagined to be compatible with their humble pursuits. He began his experiments upon a small number of children, which he has now increased to between thirty and forty; and this may be reckoned the utmost limit upon a farm of so moderate an extent. Those children were taken from the very worst description of society—the most degraded of the mendicant poor in Berne and other Swiss towns. With hardly any exception, they were sunk in the vicious and idle habits of their parents, a class of dissolute vagrants, resembling the worst kind of gipsies. The complete change that has been effected in them all, is one of the most extraordinary and affecting sights that can be imagined. When I saw them, there were some who had been there for several years, and had grown up towards manhood; but the reformation in almost all took place in from one to two years, or a very little more, according as they were taken at an earlier or more advanced age. The remark which I make, is that which immediately strikes all who visit Hofwyl;—the appearance of the children alone, their countenance and manner, impress you with a conviction of their excellent dispositions. To describe all the steps of the process by which this reformation has been effected, would be impossible, as much depends on minute circumstances, and upon the great skill and judgment of Vehrli, a young man who has devoted his life, under Mr. Fellenberg, to the superintendence of this part of the establishment, and to whose extraordinary virtue and ability its

success is principally owing. But I shall endeavour to give the committee some idea of the mode of treatment pursued.

“The first principle of the system is to show the children gentleness and kindness, so as to win their affections, and always to treat them as rational creatures, cultivating their reason, and appealing to it. It is equally essential to impress upon their minds the necessity of industrious and virtuous conduct to their happiness, and the inevitable effects of the opposite behaviour, in reducing them from the comfort in which they now live to the state of misery from which they were rescued. A constant and even minute superintendence at every instant of their lives, forms of course part of the system; and, as may easily be supposed, the elder boys, who have already profited by the care of the master, aid him in extending it to the new comers, who for this purpose are judiciously distributed among them. These are, I am aware, very general principles, and upon their judicious application to practice in each particular instance, according to the diversities of individual character, their whole virtue depends. To this everything else is made subordinate; but with this is judiciously connected a variety of intellectual pursuits. At their hours of relaxation, their amusements have an instructive tendency; certain hours are set apart for the purposes of learning; and while at work in the fields, the conversation, without interrupting for a moment the necessary business of their lives, is always directed towards those branches of knowledge in which they are improving themselves during the intervals of labour. Besides writing and ciphering (at which they are very expert), they apply themselves to geography and history, and to the different branches of natural history, particularly mineralogy and botany, in which they take singular delight, and are considerable proficient. The connexion of these with agriculture renders them most appropriate studies for those poor children; and as their daily labour brings them constantly into contact with the objects of those sciences, a double relish is thus afforded at once to the science and the labour. You may see one of them every now and then stepping aside from the furrow where several of them have been working, to deposit a specimen, or a plant, for his little *hortus siccus*, or cabinet; and Mr. Fellenberg rarely goes into the field where any of them are labouring, without being called upon to decide some controversy that has arisen upon matters relating to mineralogy or botany, or the parts of chemical science which have most immediate relation to agriculture. There is one other subject which is ever present to their minds; I mean a pure and rational theology. Mr. F. is deeply imbued himself with the sense of religion, and it enters into all his schemes for the improvement of society. Regarding the state of misery in which the poorest classes live, as rather calculated (if I may use his own expression) to make them believe in the agency of a devil than of a God, his first care, upon rescuing those children from that wretchedness, is to inspire them with the feelings of devotion which he himself warmly entertains, and which he regards as natural to the human heart, when misery has not chilled nor vice hardened it. Accordingly, the conversation as well as the habits of the poor at Hofwyl partake largely of religious influence. The evidences of design observable in the operations of nature, and the benevolent tendency of those operations in the great majority of instances, form constant topics of discourse in their studies, and during the labours of the day; and though no one has ever observed the slightest appearance of fanaticism or superstition, (against which, in truth, the course of instruction pursued is the surest safeguard,) yet ample testimony is borne by all travellers to the prevailing piety of the place. One of them has noted an affecting instance of it, when the harvest once required the labourers to work for an hour or two after nightfall and the full moon rose in extraordinary beauty over the magnificent mountains that surround the plain of Hofwyl. Suddenly, as if with one accord, the poor children began to chant a hymn, which they had learnt among many others, but in which the Supreme Being is adored as having ‘lighted up the great lamp of the night, and projected it in the firmament.’

We shall return to this subject, to which we attach the highest importance, in a future Number.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE	PAGE
Affairs of Spain 161	Savings Banks Annuities . . . 171
Slave Trade 164	Public Petitions 172
Tea Permits and Surveys . . . 165	Abstracts of Parliamentary Re-
Proposed New House of Commons 163	turns 172

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN.

THE long anticipated event which took place on the 29th of September, the death of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, has turned anew the public attention of Europe to the state and prospects of that interesting country. In this article, however, we do not intend to indulge in much speculation respecting the future, for which, as yet, materials are almost entirely wanting; but rather to throw together a few notices in explanation of certain matters likely to be prominently brought forward, and frequently referred to, in the discussions to which Spanish affairs may now be expected to give rise.

The late king, as our readers are aware, although four times married, has left no issue, except two daughters by his last wife, the present queen-dowager, the eldest of whom, having been born on the 10th of October, 1830, is of course only a child of three years of age. The first question which will fall to be decided is that of the succession to the throne,—the question whether Ferdinand's heir is his daughter, or his brother, the Infant, Charles Maria Isidore, commonly called Don Carlos. The latter rests his claim to succeed, in preference to the young princess, upon what is commonly called the Salic law. As this is a subject with regard to which much misconception prevails, we will begin by explaining what the Salic law really is.

The rule of royal succession which goes by this name used to be peculiar to the kingdom of France. Nobody at this time of day will think of denying or attempting to dispute the force of the regulation or custom, which excludes females from the inheritance of the crown in that country. On whatever foundation this assumed principle of the monarchy may have formerly stood, or in whatever manner it may have been originally established, it has in recent times been repeatedly adopted and consecrated as the law of the country, with every form and solemnity necessary to give it validity. The constitution drawn up in 1791 by the National Assembly, the Senatus Consultum of 1804, by which the dignity of Emperor was conferred on Napoleon, and, finally, the settlement of 1830, transferring the crown to the house of Orleans, have all recognized in express terms the restriction of the royal succession to the male line. About what the law is on this head now, therefore, there can be no question. Indeed, the matter may be considered to have been decided from a much older date than the earliest of those to which we have just referred—from the year 1316, namely, when on the accession of Philip V., who was the brother of Louis X., the former king, the states of the kingdom met and passed a solemn decree, both excluding from the throne a daughter whom Louis had left, and declaring all females for ever incapable of reigning in France. The principle thus laid down, accordingly, was again acted upon when Philip, who left daughters, was himself succeeded, not by one of them, but by his brother Charles IV.; and again, when the latter, who also left daughters, was succeeded by his cousin, Philip of Valois. From this period, at least, whatever may have been the case before, the rule has been distinctly recognized as a fundamental law of the monarchy.

The origin of this rule, however, and the propriety of the name by which it is commonly referred to, admit of more doubt. Whatever may be the import of the term Salic, about which there has been much difference of opinion, the Salic

Law, or Compact, is really a code or body of statutes, consisting of above seventy chapters, which, so far from relating in any part of it to the order of regal succession, was in all probability drawn up before ever the nation for whose use it was intended had passed under the government of a king. There is merely a single clause at the end of one of the chapters, (the 62d,) which provides that a certain description of inheritances, called Salic, shall not descend to females. These Salic inheritances appear to have been the military fiefs or freeholds, held in return for certain services rendered in war, and thus distinguished from the allodial estates, the possessors of which were exempted from, or, to speak more correctly, were not deemed worthy of, being called upon to perform such services. This difference of tenure sufficiently explains the difference between the laws of succession for these two kinds of property. It was natural enough that females should be excluded from an inheritance to which the duty of military service was attached as its especial distinction.

It is in the highest degree improbable, however, that this exclusion was originally established by the clause which has been so often quoted from the Salic code. That clause is attached to the end of a statute or chapter, which refers throughout, not to Salic, but to Allodial estates, and which is even expressly described in its title to be the law respecting the latter. This circumstance has been made matter of much perplexity; but it seems to admit of a very easy and natural explanation. The clause, introduced as it is, is evidently not to be considered as one of the positive enactments of the code; but simply, as set down to guard the previous provisions of the chapter to which it is appended, from being carried beyond their proper application, which was to allodial lands merely. The ancient, and well-understood law of the nation, with regard to landed tenures generally, appears to have been, for the reason just noticed, that they could only be held by males. In laying down, therefore, as is done in this chapter, a new principle to comprehend the case of the new kind of estates called allodial, (which were probably those left in possession of the original inhabitants, when the Franks conquered Gaul,) it was natural to conclude the statute by the restricting proviso, that, nevertheless, no part of any *Salic* inheritance should ever pass to any female, which are exactly the words used. We constantly find the same thing done in our own acts of Parliament, as when, for instance, it is added at the end of the enacting paragraphs, that none of them shall apply to Scotland or to Ireland, or, as the case may be, to any description of persons or things, except that to which the statute specially refers. So here we have merely the law for allodial inheritances expressly restricted to these, and the old law left to operate as before in regard to all others.

In course of time, however, in regard to estates of every description in France, this old law, excluding females from the succession, came to be entirely laid aside. All properties, by whatsoever tenure held, had, long before any controversy arose about the succession to the throne, come to be considered as descendible to heirs general, and many had been actually possessed by females, or by holders to whom the right had passed through female ancestors. In this circumstance, we have a curious illustration of the gradual relaxation, as the country became settled, of the ferocity of the military system under which it was at first managed. The change was brought about in the first instance by express permissions being granted in the case of individual Salic inheritances, that they should be held by females. When this was allowed, they were said, by an expression which no doubt in its original application conveyed a touch of the contemptuous, *tomber de lance en quenouille*,—to fall from the lance to the distaff.

But all this while the situation of the crown happened to be such, as quite to preserve it from being affected by the

process that was going on. Not only might there have been, for obvious reasons, a difficulty in obtaining in this peculiar case the special permission which was at first necessary in other cases. The crown itself in France appears to have been at first merely the chief military freehold, or Salic inheritance; and, accordingly, in the early ages of the monarchy, several cases occurred, in which the daughter of the deceased king was actually set aside in favour of his brother, or other more distant male relative. For nearly three centuries and a half, however, after the accession of Hugh Capet, the founder of the third dynasty, in 987, no opportunity had been afforded for this principle to come into play; every king down to the death of Louis X., in 1316, having left a son to succeed him. In this manner, the period during which the change of practice as to other inheritances was gradually taking place, passed away without having witnessed any breach of the ancient rule, in so far as the succession to the crown was concerned.

It still, accordingly, continued to be the general understanding, that no female could reign in France; and when Philip, the brother of Louis, assumed the sovereignty without regard to the daughter whom the deceased king had left, he was, as already mentioned, supported by the estates, or assembled nobility of the realm, the only authority which then existed besides the crown. But did he or they ever think of alleging the clause in the Salic law as the ground on which his right rested? That clause never was so much as referred to, either then or throughout the whole course of the subsequent dispute which arose between Philip VI. and our Edward III., and the wars protracted for more than a century which it occasioned. The official documents relating to the claims of the two rivals, and the contemporary historians merely speak of females being excluded from the succession to the crown by the common law or custom of the country. The code called the Salic Law or Compact, was never cited in reference to this matter till towards the close of the fifteenth century, a hundred and fifty years after the controversy had arisen.

And here we may stop to notice another common misapprehension connected with this subject. It is very generally conceived that, in the conflict of pretensions to which we have just alluded, while Philip stood upon the principle that females were excluded from the succession to the crown of France, the English king founded his claim upon the denial of that principle. But this is quite a mistake. The law, or custom excluding females, in fact, so far from being disputed either by Philip or by Edward, afforded the sole foundation for the claim of the one as well as for that of the other. Had it not been for this law, the daughters of any of the last three kings, all of whom had left female issue still alive, would obviously have come in before both. Neither accordingly was absurd enough ever to call that rule of succession in question—although many of the supporters of Edward's pretensions in later times have done so. The point in dispute was altogether different. The English king admitted that the constitution of France would have excluded his mother (through whom he claimed) from the crown of that kingdom, but he denied that it therefore excluded himself. It prevented a female from reigning, but it did not, he contended, destroy the right of her descendant to succeed, if he happened to be the nearest male relation of the deceased king. He, therefore, the nephew of Charles IV., had, he argued, a preferable right to that of Philip, who was only his cousin. It is true, that even on this showing, there was another claimant entitled to come in before both the present competitors, the young king of Navarre, who was, through his mother, the grandson of Louis X. The principle of succession, too, it may be added, which Edward wished to establish, besides being altogether new, and unheard of before in any part of Europe, was obviously fraught with the grossest absurdity and inconvenience. Had Edward, for instance, not been born till after the accession of Philip, would it be contended that as soon as he made his appearance in the world Philip ought to descend from the throne, and allow him, as the nearer heir, to mount it? or, at least, that after Philip's death, the succession should revert to him or his line, to the exclusion of any son or other male descendant whom Philip might leave? or, to avoid both these awkward results, was the rule to be that whenever the throne became vacant a regency should be appointed, to subsist as long as there was a possibility that any female, although excluded herself, might produce a male heir? The adoption of some one of these

plans would seem to be the necessary consequence of the introduction of such a principle of succession as that which Edward proposed.

Some French writers have expressed themselves in a very extraordinary style as to the foundations of the custom by which females are in France excluded from the crown. Froissart tells us that on occasion of the dispute between Philip VI. and Edward III., the twelve peers and the barons of the kingdom having assembled at Paris, unanimously decided in favour of the claims of the former, on the ground, as they alleged, that the kingdom of France was of too great nobleness for the succession of it to pass to a female. In later times, Jerome Bignon, a most learned lawyer, has treated the prohibition which forbids females to wear a crown as almost a law of nature. In this spirit the Scotch reformer, John Knox, published two tracts against Queen Elizabeth, which he entitled the *First and Second Blasts of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regimen of Women*. But the severest thing that ever was uttered against female sovereignty is the expression of Tacitus, when in mentioning one of the German tribes who lived under the government of a queen, he adds, *to such a degree have they degenerated, not only from liberty, but from slavery*.

But however repugnant to French and Roman ideas, this order of things has not seemed to the other nations of modern Europe to involve anything unsuitable. Up to the beginning of the last century, indeed, in no European country, except France, were females precluded from reigning. In Spain, as elsewhere, the crown might be worn by a king as well as by a queen; and females had actually, at different times, inherited the throne in most, if not all, of the separate Gothic kingdoms into which that peninsula had formerly been divided. The foundation of the existing monarchy had been laid, in the fifteenth century, by the marriage of Ferdinand, King of Arragon, with Isabella, Queen of Castile; and it was through their daughter Joanna, by whom they were succeeded, that the kingdom afterwards passed to her son, the celebrated Emperor Charles V., of the House of Austria. It remained with his descendants till the death of Charles II., in 1700, without issue, either male or female.

It was the will of the last-mentioned sovereign which transferred the crown of Spain to the founder of the present House, the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin of France, who accordingly succeeded under the title of Philip V. If Philip had any claim independently of the will of his predecessor, he derived it from his mother, who had been the eldest sister of Charles II. Upon that relationship he would have inherited as of right, if he had not had an elder brother, and if his mother upon marrying the heir to the French crown had not renounced for herself and her posterity all pretensions to that of Spain. This renunciation, indeed, was held to be so conclusive an act that it was asserted to incapacitate the Duke of Anjou from inheriting in any circumstances; and the dispute gave rise to a European war, which, however, after lasting nearly a dozen years, was terminated by a general acquiescence in Philip's title. Here, then, we have an instance of a king of Spain appointing his successor by will; nor does it appear that Charles II., in exercising this power, was considered to have overstepped his prerogative. His nomination was objected to only because the person in whose favour it was made was alleged to have been, by a previous constitutional decree, expressly debarred from, and rendered incapable of, reigning in Spain.

It was Philip V. who, in the year 1714, as soon as he found himself left by the cessation of hostilities in peaceable possession of his throne, abrogated the antient fundamental law of the Spanish monarchy, and substituted in place of it the law of royal succession, which prevailed in France. A more despotic act it is impossible to conceive. It went far beyond the testamentary disposition of Charles II.; for that only regulated one step of the succession, but this went to direct its course for ever after. It was accordingly exclaimed against at the time as unwarranted by the constitution of the country; and, indeed, if it was not, it is difficult to imagine what else could be; but the power of the king eventually prevailed, and the innovation was submitted to. The new law, however, has hitherto been practically inoperative. Philip V. was succeeded, in 1746, by his son Ferdinand VI., who, dying in 1759, left the throne to his brother, Charles III. The latter was succeeded, in 1788,

by his son, Charles IV., who was the father of the late king, Ferdinand VII.

Still, however, as this new law had been regularly enrolled and published, it would, no doubt, have been held to be binding if any case had occurred to which it was applicable, so long as it remained unrepealed. But it has, in fact, been repealed some time ago. In 1830, before the birth of his daughter, Ferdinand, by a royal ordinance, solemnly restored the ancient law of the monarchy which permitted females to inherit the throne. The force of Philip V.'s law, therefore, whatever it might have been for a time, is now entirely at an end. It has been abrogated by the same authority by which it was established.

Ferdinand had also further fortified the right of his daughter, by exercising in her behalf another royal prerogative, and naming her as his successor in his will. Standing upon this nomination alone, she would have a claim to the crown at least as good as that which was advanced by Philip V. himself. The disqualification under which Philip was alleged to labour cannot be urged against her.

Upon the whole, therefore, there would appear to be nothing in the pretensions of Don Carlos to the exclusion of his niece likely to excite throughout Spain any general feeling in his favour as the legitimate heir to the crown. He does not rest his claim upon the ancient laws of the country, but upon the alleged abolition of these laws—an abolition of doubtful legality, brought about, if it really took place, by circumstances anything but naturally fitted to flatter the vanity of the nation, which never has been actually operative, even if it was legally effected, and which finally has been revoked and declared null and void at least with as much authority as can possibly be quoted in its favour. The mere legitimacy of Don Carlos, therefore, can hardly be expected to call up any large portion of the people of Spain in support of his cause.

Neither are the personal character and manners of this prince such as to make him a popular favourite. His wife, especially, a sister of Don Miguel of Portugal, is described as being a woman of harsh and overbearing temper, whose ambition of reigning is offensively conspicuous in her whole demeanour. There is nothing about either to enable them to compete with the interest naturally attaching to the infant princess, and with the general feeling of goodwill which her mother has acquired for herself by her affability and good humour. The advantages of which the queen-dowager and her daughter are thus in possession would probably, if the contest were to be decided by such considerations alone, far outweigh any which Don Carlos may have gained by his elaborate efforts to draw forth the plaudits of the mob—his punctilious observance, along with his duchess, of the ancient national dress and mode of living,—his ostentatious display of his family of grown up sons, as if by way of contrasting them with the female child of his brother, or of exciting the public sympathy for himself and them as excluded from the throne on her account,—and the “grim smile,” to use the expression of a late graphic painter of Spanish scenes and manners, which he is wont to dispense to the crowd as he drives along the public walks.*

But the new contest, to which the succession to the Spanish throne is probably about to give rise, promises to be mainly influenced and propelled by passions very little connected with any feelings of attachment to the individual claimants under whose names the contending parties may array themselves. The conflicting pretensions of Isabella and of Carlos will merely serve to muster and separate the combatants. If the quarrel involved nothing more than the claims of the uncle and the niece, there would be a chance of its being decided without the arbitration of the sword. An arrangement might be come to which, by allowing Carlos to mount the throne now and affiancing the young princess to his eldest son, her cousin, would satisfy and unite both parties. But the two rival competitors are looked upon by their partisans as being divided from, and opposed to, each other by something much more difficult to get over than a mere difference of personal interests. Even the former war of the succession, which commenced with the last century, and, all Europe being speedily involved in the flame, continued to rage till it was put an end to by the peace of Utrecht in 1713, was excited and kept alive by no such elements of

discord as we might now expect to see at work should hostilities commence. That was in its commencement but a quarrel of rival families, and it never became more than a contest of nations. This would be from the first a contest of principles—a strife not to be settled by cessions of territory or any other arrangements partaking of the nature of a compromise, but only by the entire subjugation, for the time at least, of one or other of the two irreconcilably hostile forces between which it was carried on.

If a contest take place at all, no management, no profession or clever contrivance of either party, will prevent it from taking this form and character. There is nothing at all about which to fight, if the partisans of absolutism are not to be on the one side, and those of constitutionalism on the other. The Queen Regent may, if she can persuade the friends of things as they are that she is as great an enemy to any reform of the government as Don Carlos himself, prevent altogether any opposition, or any serious opposition, to her daughter's succession; but let a civil war have once fairly begun, and the two parties must take the ground of conflicting principles, and there fight out their battle. And it may be that that battle will not be confined to Spain; if any of the other great powers strike in, its fury may again sweep over and envelop all Europe. A sad and frightful possibility, but one from which, while we pray that it may never be realized, our eyes should not be altogether averted, if we would arm ourselves with the best security against danger, the foreknowledge of its existence.

Ever since the restoration of Ferdinand to his throne in 1814, Spain has been kept in almost constant agitation by what we may call the preparatory throes of the great struggle that seems to be now approaching. Indeed, the elements that now threaten to come into fierce collision, had begun to make their appearance long before that period. The French revolution could not fail by its first outbreak, to give a shock to the old order of things in a country where reform was so much needed—notwithstanding the extraordinary precautions which Charles IV. immediately adopted to prevent all communication between his subjects and those of France. The active hostilities in which that king soon after engaged, first against France, and then in concert with her, and finally, the French occupation of Spain, and the war of independence by which it was followed, by bringing the country and the people into the very midst of the vortex of European politics, and mixing them up in intercourse with foreign nations to an extent they had never before experienced, must have all tended to weaken old habits and prejudices, and to prepare the way for change. But the actual movement in that direction may be said to have begun with the assembling of the Cortes in 1810. From this date, down to the return of Ferdinand, the director of national affairs was the public voice, in as far as it could be heard amidst the din of arms, or could command obedience in a country, one-half of which was occupied by an enemy, and the other by the troops of a foreign ally. With Ferdinand's reappearance came the first meeting and actual encounter of the new power which had arisen with the old which it aimed at subduing. No sooner did he find himself again a king, than this weak and tyrannically inclined monarch dissolved the Cortes, and restored nearly every old abuse which it had abolished. Some years disquieted by a succession of conspiracies and insurrections followed, till in 1820 the constitution was again proclaimed, and the Cortes reassembled. Three years after, a French army under the Duke of Angoulême, marched into the Peninsula, by which that body, already weakened and detached from the affections and respect of the country by many acts of violence and folly, was once more overthrown. But neither this catastrophe, nor the sanguinary revenge by which Ferdinand signalized the restoration of the old despotism, and sought to strike terror into the subjugated party, sufficed to extirpate the new opinions. The former course of plots and disturbances has been repeated, only varied in its latter stages by some counter movements of the ultra-royal faction, to whose taste even the government of Ferdinand was too liberal.

There is no doubt that Don Carlos has been at the bottom of these last-mentioned attempts, or at least, that their authors have universally had him in their eye as the person whom they wished to place at the head of affairs, and eventually on the throne. Since the birth of Ferdinand's daughter especially, this feeling has been every day becoming more and more general among the partisans of

* See Inglis's “Spain in 1830,”—a work which gives a more complete insight into the state of society in that country than any other in our language.

the ancient form of government. The course which things were thus taking, had, for a considerable time before the death of Ferdinand, alienated him to a certain degree from that party, and inclined him towards a middle system, and some relaxation of the stern rule which he had hitherto maintained. He was fond of his queen, and of his daughter, and in spite, therefore, of old connexion, habits, and prejudices, could not feel perfect satisfaction with the proceedings of those by whom their cause was looked upon with coldness or aversion. The queen, for the same reason, and perhaps moved also by a real conviction of the need and the desirableness of some change in the ancient despotism, was understood to be much more decidedly opposed than her husband to the politics of the absolute faction. In this manner has been working out for some time the disposition of parties which is now likely to be developed; the general rallying, namely, if there should be a coit test, of the friends of political improvement in support of the cause of Queen Isabella II., and of the zealots of absolute principles around the standard of King Charles V.

The issue, of course, if Spain shall be left to itself, will mainly depend upon the inclination of the great body of the people. We fear that as yet, the Spanish people cannot be considered as generally desirous of better institutions. Even from what has already taken place since the death of Ferdinand, it is evident that the population of the Biscay provinces is ready to go any lengths in support of what are called Carlist and apostolic principles. Biscay is, indeed, but a small portion of Spain; but it is important both from its frontier position, and from the resolution and hardihood which distinguish its inhabitants. Both the neighbouring frontier provinces of Navarre and Catalonia, and those of Old Castile and Estremadura, lying in the heart of the peninsula, are understood to be generally inclined in the same way with the Biscayans. The strength of the constitutional party lies chiefly on the opposite side of the kingdom, in the provinces of Andalusia, Murcia, Valencia, and the other districts that border on the Mediterranean.

The issue of a contest for the Spanish crown would now, however it might be decided, affect a much smaller portion of the globe than it would have done some centuries ago. When Philip II. came to the throne in 1555, his dominions comprehended, in addition to Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, Milan, the Netherlands, the seven Provinces now forming the kingdom of Holland, Mexico, the greater portion of South America, and all the principal West Indian islands. By his marriage the preceding year with Queen Mary of England, he had also become, to a certain extent, master of that country. He lost his marital sceptre in 1558 by the death of his wife; but in 1580 he acquired what was then a much more splendid addition to his dominions, the kingdom of Portugal, together with its South American territories, and its vast Africo-Indian empire, comprehending nearly the whole line of coast from the Senegal to China. Scarcely a reign has passed since that of Philip in which some of these possessions have not dropped off. The treaty of Antwerp in 1609 deprived Philip III. of the seven Dutch provinces. In 1640, in the time of Philip IV., the Portuguese recovered their independence; and Brazil, together with all of their oriental empire that had not been previously conquered by the Dutch, was wrested from Spain. In 1652 Jamaica was captured by England. The next king, Charles II., ceded the half of St. Domingo to France, by the peace of Ryswick in 1697. Philip V., his successor, lost Gibraltar to the English in 1704; and by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, he relinquished the Netherlands, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Milan. At the peace of Paris, in 1763, Charles III. was compelled to give up the Honduras to England, in return for the restoration of the Havannah, Trinidad and Manilla, which the latter had conquered in the preceding war. By the treaty of Basle, in 1795, the remaining half of St. Domingo was given up to France by Charles IV., and Louisiana was ceded by him to the same power in 1801. And since then Spain has lost all her West Indian possessions, except Cuba and Porto Rico, and has been driven from every foot of the vast extent of country of which she was formerly the mistress in the neighbouring continent of the New World.

Measured, however, by the extent of ground which it covers, Spain is still one of the greatest of the European kingdoms. It comprehends more than six-sevenths of the spacious peninsula which it shares with Portugal. Its sur-

face, estimated at 230,000 square miles, is nearly one-sixth greater than that of France. France, however, is nearly three times as populous; the inhabitants of Spain being only about thirteen millions, while France contains, within its narrower limits, thirty-two millions. Portugal is even more populous than Spain, if, as is generally supposed, its inhabitants exceed three millions in number. In the case of both countries, however, the estimates are little more than conjectural, and can only be regarded as probable approximations to the truth.

SLAVE TRADE.

Two series of papers relating to the slave-trade were, during the late session, presented to both houses of parliament by his Majesty's command:—one marked A, containing the correspondence of the government on this subject with the British commissioners at Sierra Leone, the Havannah, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam, during the year 1832; the other, marked B, comprising the correspondence during the same period with foreign powers.

France.—The correspondence with France relates chiefly to the mode of carrying into effect the provisions of a convention concluded between that power and Great Britain on the 30th November, 1831, and the supplementary convention of March 22nd, 1832. The government of Great Britain had been led to consider that the clandestine traffic in slaves could only be effectually suppressed by the exercise of the right of mutual search by the different maritime nations, on the basis of considering a vessel to be engaged in the slave-trade, and condemned accordingly, which should be found fitted up as a slave-ship in such latitudes as vessels engaged in the slave-trade frequent, even though no slaves should be actually on board at the time of search. In concluding a convention with France to this effect, it was agreed that the other maritime powers should be invited to accede to it within as short a period as possible. In the account of the remaining correspondence, it will be seen how the invitation sent to Spain and Brazil was received.

The convention with France is embodied in a bill which was passed in the last session, for carrying its provisions into effect. It commences with defining the limits within which the right of mutual search shall be exercised, by a certain number of ships, of war only, whose commanders shall be commissioned captains, or lieutenants at least. After describing the manner in which a search shall be conducted, it directs the captured vessels, with their crews, to be delivered over to the jurisdiction of the nation to which they belong, to be tried by its laws; and it is afterwards provided, that 65 per cent. of the proceeds arising from the sale of the condemned vessels shall be paid over to the government to which the captor belongs, to be distributed among the officers and crew of the capturing ship.

The sixth article of the Convention specifies the particulars which, if found in the outfit, equipment, or on board a vessel, shall expose her to be regarded as a slave-ship, unless proof to the contrary be given. Among the criminalizing particulars specified are the following:—having hatches fitted with open gratings, instead of close hatches, as usual, in merchant ships;—having on board spare planks, either actually fitted in that shape, or fit for readily laying a second or moveable deck, or slave-deck;—having on board shackles, bolts, or handcuffs;—having on board more water-casks, more copper boilers, more water, more provisions, unless as part of the cargo, than is sufficient for the consumption of the crew as a merchant vessel. The owners of a vessel in which any of these criminalizing circumstances shall be found will be entitled to no compensation for the seizure and detention, even should the vessel not be condemned: but where any illegal or vexatious visit or detention shall take place under the powers of this Convention, the Bill founded on it authorizes the Lords of the Treasury to award compensation. The limits within which the mutual right of search is to be exercised are:—1. Along the western coast of Africa, from Cape Verd to the distance of ten degrees to the south of the Equator, that is to say, from the tenth degree of south latitude to the fifteenth degree of north latitude, and as far as the thirtieth degree of west longitude, reckoning from the meridian of Paris; 2. All round the island of Madagascar to the extent of twenty leagues from that island; 3. To the same distance

from the coasts of the island of Cuba; 4. To the same distance from the island of Porto Rico; 5. To the same distance from the coasts of Brazil. Vessels suspected and chased within these limits, however, may be followed and captured beyond them.

Spain.—The correspondence with this power contains complaints from the British government that sufficient zeal and energy were not shown by Spain in the execution of existing treaties, and that the slave-trade continued to be largely carried on between Cuba and the coast of Africa under the Spanish flag.* The Spanish authorities express their disapproval of the traffic in general, and acknowledge themselves sensible of the evils to be apprehended from it; they state that the most energetic prohibitions against the recurrence of such practices as are asserted to have taken place have been sent to the governor of Cuba. No attention, however, is paid to the invitation to accede to the Convention between Great Britain and France; and in reply to an application for a list of the Spanish cruizers employed for the suppression of the slave-trade, it appears that none had been specially so employed; and the ships of war which are *supposed*, among their other objects, to have watched over the illicit trade, have met with no vessels employed in the traffic.

Portugal.—The correspondence with Portugal calls the attention of its government to the fact that, since the separation of Brazil from the mother-country, it had ceased to be lawful, under the subsisting engagements and declarations of Portugal, for Portuguese subjects to exercise the trade in slaves, and a declaration for its abolition is required. It having been found that vessels condemned for being engaged in the slave-trade had been again employed in that illegal traffic, the concurrence of Portugal and of the other powers is sought to the entire destruction of condemned vessels, and the sale of their materials when broken up. The demands and inquiries of the British government remained unanswered at the conclusion of the year.

Netherlands.—The British government complains of assistance rendered to slave-traders at the Dutch settlement of Elmina, on the African coast; and also that the negroes of the brig *Snow*, liberated by the mixed commission at Surinam, had not been well treated by the colonial government, the male negroes having been united to a corps forming part of the regular troops, and the females treated in every respect as the slaves of the colony. The Dutch government, in reply, expresses its ignorance of the proceedings complained of at Elmina, on which coast the slave-trade does not appear to be carried on to any considerable extent, but states that an explanation would be required of the commandant. In reply to the other complaint, a return is furnished to show that the forty-nine negroes emancipated in Surinam had met with good treatment, and were in no respect regarded as slaves. The return states the name, and situation or employment of each negro, with the dates at which some of the number had died. A list is also given of the vessels, thirty-four in number, which, since 1818, have been furnished with the instructions agreed upon for the execution of the treaties against the slave-trade.

Brazil.—The correspondence with this state is the most extensive in the document. Its government is exhibited as much interested in the suppression of the slave-trade, and two decrees are introduced, framed for the more effectual attainment of this object. But it appears that, notwithstanding such measures, the slave-trade continues to be carried on to a great extent with impunity. The slave-traders land the negroes in unfrequented bays and afterwards openly enter the harbours of Brazil, receive the necessary supplies, and again proceed on their nefarious voyages. The Brazilian government seems to decline the proposal to accede to the treaty with France, under the impression that its own recent laws were alone sufficient to put a stop to the traffic in slaves to Brazil. It also complains of seizures by British cruizers, and condemnation by the commission at Sierra Leone of Brazilian vessels, and strongly urges a right of appeal against the sentences of the commission.

* In the paper marked A, there is a list of twenty-nine slave-vessels which left the Port of Havannah during the year 1829, of which eighteen returned with cargoes of slaves, one without slaves, and two were captured on the coast of Africa:—the fate of the remaining eight was not known. There is a similar list of thirty-one vessels which left the same port in 1831, and another of thirty-six vessels, which, during the same year, returned from the coast of Africa.

A return is furnished of ten Brazilian vessels which, in the years 1831 and 1832, received instructions to prevent illicit slave-trade.

Denmark.—The short correspondence with this power relates to a charge made against the merchants of the Danish island of St. Thomas of being much connected with slave-trading, and as acting in conjunction with the slave-trading merchants of Nantes in carrying on their criminal proceedings. The Danish government, in reply, disclaims any connivance in such transactions, the existence of which is not denied; but, St. Thomas being a free port, the evil complained of is attributed to circumstances over which the government has no control.

Sweden.—The British government makes similar charges to the above, against the merchants of St. Bartholomew. The reply complains of the general nature of the accusations, and questions their justice; but the injunctions already issued against the slave-trade, it is promised, shall be enforced in the most peremptory manner.

The following statement is drawn from the paper marked A. The number of vessels condemned at Sierra Leone during the year 1832 was nine; of which one was Portuguese, one Brazilian, and the rest Spanish. These vessels had on board 1849 slaves at the time of capture, of whom 1701 were emancipated, making the total number of the slaves emancipated at Sierra Leone since 1819 amount to 23,996.

TEA PERMITS AND SURVEYS.

THERE are, it is well known, certain articles of foreign production which not only pay a duty upon being imported into this country, or before they are sold by the importers, but are also subject to the superintendence and control of the Excise so long as they remain in the possession either of the wholesale or the retail dealers. The articles with regard to which this interference is now exercised in its most rigorous form are foreign spirits, wine, tobacco, and tea. Coffee, cocoa nuts, and pepper, which used to be included in the list, have been, to a great extent, exempted since 1829.

Some months ago a commission was appointed by his Majesty to inquire generally into the establishment of the department of Excise, and into the management and collection of the Excise revenue, in all its branches, throughout the United Kingdom. The first report of this commission (at the head of which is Sir Henry Parnell) is dated the 26th of July last, and has since been printed. It consists of an exposition and examination of so much of the system of the Excise as is connected with the superintendence of the trade in tea.

The Report, as might be expected from the Chairman, is drawn up with remarkable clearness, and with the evidence and documents annexed, affords a very complete view of the subject to which it relates.

The tea duty has hitherto been a rate levied upon the article, according to the price which it brought when put up for sale. It has, therefore, unlike the other taxes upon articles of foreign produce, been considered as an inland, and not a port duty, and has been collected, not by the department of the Customs, but by that of the Excise. In a minute, however, dated the 26th of December last, the Lords of the Treasury recommended that the collection of the tea duty should be transferred to the same department by which the duties on other imported commodities are managed. This determination was come to after the subject had been submitted to the consideration both of the Commissioners of Customs and the Commissioners of Excise, and reports had been received from the former body in favour of the innovation, and from the latter against it. The change has not yet been made, having been deferred till the opening of the tea trade, which will take place next April; and, accordingly, in the act passed last session, entitled "An Act to provide for the Collection and Management of the Duties on Tea," (the 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 101.) it is provided that the collection of the tea duties shall be, for the future, under the management of the Commissioners of Customs.

The Lords of the Treasury, when they recommended the change we have just explained, in the mode of collecting the revenue from tea, expressed themselves as "not prepared, without further consideration, to dispense with the jurisdiction and control at present exercised by the Board of

Excise over the stocks of the dealers in this extensive article." The present Report comes to supply the materials for a judgment upon the important point thus reserved.

The general nature of the Excise regulations at present in force, as they affect the dealers in the articles to which the survey and permit system applies, is thus described in the Report:—

"They require, first, that every tradesman who deals in tea, wine, tobacco, or foreign spirits, shall make an entry in writing at the Office of Excise within the limits of which his warehouse, room, shop, or other place are situated, of every warehouse, &c., intended to be made use of for keeping such goods.

"Secondly, That he shall take out a license.

"Thirdly, That he shall enter all sales in books provided by the Excise.

"Fourthly, That none of these articles, except in small limited quantities, shall be moved from one place to another unless the person who has occasion to move them shall have first obtained a written authority, called a permit, which permit is to accompany these articles whilst in the act of being moved: and,

"Fifthly, That an account of the stock of every dealer in these articles shall be taken by the officers of the Excise at certain short intervals of time, generally twenty-eight days."

These regulations were first introduced by an act of parliament passed in 1724, by which, at the same time, the collection of the duty on tea was committed to the Commissioners of Inland Duties, and a drawback was allowed upon the exportation of the article. Under this system it is obvious that it might be necessary to resort to a much more minute and rigorous superintendence over dealers than is now required, when a simpler mode of collecting the duty has been established. So long indeed as the collecting of the duty on tea was in the hands of the Commissioners of Inland Duties, this incessant vigilance, in regard to the distribution of the article over the country, afforded the only means of preventing much of it from escaping taxation altogether. A permit may be considered as nothing more than a certificate that the article has paid duty; and while tea was allowed to enter the country, and to remain occasionally for some time in the hands of the dealers, without the duty having been paid, it would not have been possible to have permitted any quantity of it to be transferred from one person to another without that protection.

For many years past, however, the duty upon all tea legally imported has been collected from it before passing out of the hands of the importers. Under the new system this will still be the case; the duty will be levied upon the entry of the article into the country. It is plain, therefore, that the superintendence that is now wanted is not a superintendence to prevent the illegal sale and circulation of tea which may have been legally imported. The necessity for this exceedingly difficult sort of superintendence has been put an end to. The only object that has now to be kept in view is the prevention of the introduction of the commodity into the country without paying the duty; in other words, the prevention of the smuggling of tea.

This consideration, besides simplifying the subject, may tend to reconcile those who, from undefined notions of the danger of relaxing old precautions, dread the consequences of abolishing anything which has long been in use, to the reform which the present report recommends.

After stating what the provisions of the law are, the next point to which the commissioners advert, is the manner in which the law relating to tea permits and surveys has been carried into execution by the Excise department. Upon this head they have collected a good deal of curious evidence. It turns out that the inspection of the Excise officers is a mere form, or farce,—a humbug, as one of the witnesses expressively calls it—in so far as its professed object is concerned. Thus Mr. James Cousins, one of the partners in the house of Cousins and Kemp, the extensive tea-dealers in Thames Street, says, "There are no stocks taken according to act of parliament, and no officer could do it unless he took three times the time now allowed him. On the days of survey, the officer comes to our warehouse and says, What teas have you received?—what have you sold?—and he goes and takes the amount of the quantities of tea we have on hand from the draughts and weights our warehouseman shows him, and he says, There appears a decrease so' and so; and away he goes." "In some dis-

tricts," says another witness, "the stocks of dealers are not weighed more than twice in a year; the Excise officers take the amount to be whatever may be written by the parties." Another dealer says his stock has not been taken for these three years: the Excise officers regularly visit him, "but as to weighing the stock we have on hand," he adds, "they do not attempt it." "I do not suppose that we have been weighed close," says Mr. Labrey of Manchester, "for the last twelve years;" and when asked, How long does the taking stock occupy your time?—he answers, "Perhaps ten minutes, but it would take ten days to take it properly."

But besides being quite impracticable, the observance of the regulations would really be of no use. This appears to be well understood by all concerned, and is, in point of fact, what has led to the merely formal mode of going through the business which universally prevails. To render the permit system anything like a complete protection to the revenue, it would be necessary that every ounce, or half ounce of tea that is sold, should be accompanied by a permit; but as this is evidently not to be attempted, the legislature has been forced to content itself with looking after merely the more considerable quantities. Any quantity less than six pounds may be legally sold without a permit. We apprehend that by far the larger portion of the tea that is used in this country finds its way from the dealer to the consumer in quantities of less than six pounds. It is true, that the law requires the dealer to enter daily in a small book, an account of all the tea he sends out of his stock unaccompanied by a permit; but no means being provided for enforcing the observance of this regulation, it has necessarily, and by the consent of all parties, fallen completely into disuse. Here then is an opening provided, or at least left, by the law itself, of ample dimensions to admit and conceal any evasion of its enactments. The greater part of the tea which every shopkeeper sells over his counter, he is allowed to send away without any permit; he evidently may, therefore, for any check which the occasional taking of his stock in the most perfect and accurate manner by the officers of Excise would throw in the way of his operations, receive as much without a permit as he so sends away. But as the thing is managed, the protection is even less than we have here supposed; for permits are rarely taken by private purchasers with packages of tea, even when considerably exceeding the weight of six pounds.

The following are some of the statements of the witnesses examined by the commissioners, which tend to show the nearly complete uselessness of the present regulations, even were they to be executed to the letter. Mr. Sayell, who had been himself in the Excise for sixteen years, five of which he was a supervisor, being asked, From your conversation with the officers of Excise of different ranks, what would you say was the general opinion on the policy of continuing this system of surveying and permit in the tea trade? answers, "All that I have had an opportunity of hearing state their opinions, have expressed most decidedly, that they consider the surveying system of no use whatever." "I do not think," he says in reply to another question, "it is any check whatever if a person was inclined to smuggle, because the officer only has access to the rooms in the house which the traders choose to enter; and if a trader was inclined to smuggle tea, and could procure the article, he would of course keep it in a proper place, until he had opportunities of introducing it by decreasing his stock." Another witness, a dealer, is asked, Could any exact account of stock be kept by the officer? to which he answers, "Certainly not; I do not think it possible for any house, either in the wholesale, or the retail trade, to keep an exact account." The examination goes on: "How is the decrease arranged between you and the Excise officer?—It is thrown on one side. No notice is taken of it?—Not the slightest." The following is part of the examination of another dealer: "You are required by the Excise Laws, to enter in books your sales, and to have a permit for every quantity exceeding six pounds? Yes, but we never think of doing it: when we draw a permit, of course it is entered in our regular Excise books; but if a person were to come for seven pounds of tea, and to say, we do not want a permit with it, we give him the tea, and take no further notice of it. Is that the practice of the trade? Yes; the practice, I believe, is so general, that I will venture to say, if any retailer to any extent in London, or the country, has de-

creases to the extent of from 80 to 1500lbs. per week, that he never puts them down in his book at all, until the Excise officer comes, and says, what do you think you have sold?" Another witness says, "I consider it (the Excise system) serve rather as a protection to smuggling, than as a preventive to it. The dealer gets a permit for the quantity he purchases from a smuggler, and then the permit acts as a protection." This witness, who states that he was bred in the county of Kent, where much general smuggling is carried on, and that he knows well what smuggling is in every department, gives it in answer to other questions as his opinion, and the result of his experience, that if the smuggler succeeds in landing tea in defiance of the Customs officers, then the interference of the Excise is of no use, and that when the article was landed without interruption from the Customs, he had never found that the getting it into consumption was a matter of any difficulty whatever, notwithstanding all the Excise regulations. To the same purport is the following extract from the evidence of Mr. Fry, a wholesale dealer to a large extent; "I am most decidedly of opinion, from the experience I have had for nine years, during which I have given the subject very close attention, and it is the opinion of our house, that, when tea is once smuggled into the country, the permits facilitate the fraud of those parties who are engaged in the illicit trade. The Excise officers profess to take our stock, but as a proof of the inefficiency of the present system, I hold in my hand twenty-two permits, to the amount of 11,138lbs. of tea, that we have entered in our book to show to our Excise officer; consequently, because our stock was so egregiously wrong, we might have made use of those permits to take in that quantity for moving smuggled tea, if we had been so disposed."

A considerable trade, it would appear, is actually carried on in the sale of these permits. Mr. Fry's evidence explains how this is done. "Suppose," he says, "the stock of tea in a retail warehouse or shop, when taken by the officers, to be 250 lbs.; and suppose that up to the next period of his stock being again taken 200 lbs. has been permitted into that stock, making 450 lbs. On the other side, we will suppose this man to have sold in parcels of 6 lbs. and upwards, for which he is obliged to draw permits, 130 lbs. of tea. I may here observe that every dealer is furnished by the Excise with a book, in which ought to be entered the quantity sold each day, in parcels of less than 6 lbs., and upon these entries it is perfectly impossible for the Excise to have any check. And suppose this dealer to have entered in this retail book only 70 lbs., whereas he has in reality disposed of 90 lbs. Now, deducting the 70 lbs. entered, and the 130 lbs. drawn for, making 200 lbs. from the 450, it leaves 250 lbs., for which he has what is called credit, though having omitted in his retail book to put down 20 lbs., his actual stock is only 230 lbs.; consequently, he could receive 20 lbs. of smuggled tea: or he might turn it to advantage in another way, by drawing a permit for a similar quantity, and disposing of it to some other party, who may be desirous to take in smuggled tea, but whose *credit* would not allow him to do it. In large businesses these practices might be carried on to an enormous extent." Another dealer says, "If I chose to help smugglers, I could do so in an extensive point of view. I could sell, say 5000 lbs. of *credit* per month, at sixpence the pound; that is the common price of permits. The permits not only are sold, but always have been sold." Another says, "I could have made a considerable profit by the sale of permits, if I had wished it." The principal thing, indeed, which prevents this trade from being carried on to a very large extent is the extremely limited quantity of tea that is really smuggled. Nearly all the witnesses agree in admitting that the article is one which, in no circumstances, is likely to be illegally introduced into the country to a large extent. It is too bulky for the purposes of the smuggler, and too delicate and susceptible of injury from contact with the water, or being buried in the earth, or subjected to any of the other modes of concealment to which he is usually obliged to resort. Unless, too, it were to be brought from some depôt on the continent, the country from which it would have to be procured is too distant to suit the skulking habits of an illegal traffic. At present scarcely any tea, except of the finer sorts, is smuggled; and accordingly it is understood that these are the teas for which permits are principally sold.

It has been contended that the superintendence exercised by the Excise, if it is of no further use, is at least service-

able in preventing the adulteration of teas. But there seems to be as little ground for this commendation of the system as for any of the other notions of its admirers. For one thing, it does not appear that the officers of Excise are at all qualified to judge whether the tea they examine is adulterated or not. Most of the witnesses state their belief that there is now very little adulteration; and this opinion is confirmed by the fact that, in 1830, there were only two seizures by the Excise of adulterated tea; in 1831, not one; and, in 1832, only one. The commissioners express their conviction, in which they are borne out by the evidence, "that the reason why this is the case is, not any dread of the Excise-laws, but because adulteration has proved unprofitable as a speculation." Consumers themselves very soon discover whether or no the person with whom they deal gives them a genuine article; and it is quite certain that, at any rate, no large trade in the sale of tea can be carried on, except on honest principles.

We have left ourselves but little room now for any statement of the positive evils of this system. Its inutility, indeed, is quite sufficient argument for its condemnation. It is also, however, productive of very considerable trouble and annoyance to all those engaged in the sale of tea. There is the necessity of sending to the Excise Office for permits when wanted, the distance in the country being often several miles; while even in town they frequently cannot be had at the moment, and the execution of an order is delayed for another day, or, it may be, a week. Then the loss of time occasioned to every dealer, by the visits of the Excise officer, and the actual labour imposed upon him, are very considerable, to say nothing of the tormentingly inquisitorial character of the superintendence to which he is subjected. Mr. Fry states that in his establishment, when they are tolerably busy, the time of one man or more is fully occupied nearly the whole day in procuring permits for the teas received from the East India Company's warehouses; while others are constantly employed in going to and from the Excise Office for such as are wanted to protect packages sent out to parties who deal with the house. When again the officers come to take stock, their best man is taken off for many hours to attend to them. The tea-dealer besides is made to feel, or at least cannot help feeling, that he is, to a certain degree, in the power of the excise-officer by whom he is visited. The penalties to which dealers are subject, "would oblige me," says Mr. Cousins, "to leave off business to-morrow if they were enforced." "The officer," says another witness, "has it in his power, if he is so disposed, to be exceedingly troublesome and vexatious, by making himself very busy by looking into this canister and that canister." He might, for example, seize any mixed teas, if he chose to exert his authority to the utmost; for anything of this kind it is, strictly speaking, illegal for a dealer to have upon his premises. But that enactment too shares the fate of the rest; it is so entirely disregarded that there is scarcely a retail shop in the metropolis where mixed tea is not found in considerable quantities. Could anything more discreditable be alleged against a law—anything more conclusively demonstrative of its unsuitableness, folly, and mischief, than such systematic evasion of all its provisions as we have here? We laugh at the Chinese authorities for their conduct in regard to the opium trade which we carry on with their country; they rigorously prohibit the importation of the article in ordinances and proclamations, and yet never attempt actually to prevent its introduction when it is going on before their eyes. But if that government were, by way of returning such a compliment as we lately paid them, to send a junk up our coasts with the view of having a peep at how we manage matters at home, we should, perhaps, afford them as much amusement by some of our empty legislative fulminations as they do us by theirs. They would, probably, think our tea surveys and permits quite as good a joke as we do their opium law.

The Excise surveyors and other officers belonging to that department maintain that the cost of this precious system is but a mere trifle. It is quite evident, however, that it must be very considerable. On this head, however, we can only afford to subjoin the general summary given in the Report:—

"First, *As to making entries of warehouses, &c.* There is the keeping of books in every Excise district, for entering all the warehouses, rooms, shops, or other places, intended to be made use of by 101,687 tea dealers.

"Secondly, *As to Permits.* There is the printing annually of more than 850,000 permits and a great number of books; the sending of these books every three months to every Excise district in the United Kingdom; the returning of these books every three months, containing the checked parts of the permits issued, and the blank permits not made use of. The keeping of a register-book in the Permit Office of each Excise district of the stock of every dealer in tea in the district; the writing on every permit the name of the person requesting it, the quantity of tea to be delivered by him, and the name of the person to whom it is to be delivered; and the comparing of the permits issued with the permits returned.

"Thirdly, *As to Surveys.* There is the surveying every twenty-eight days of the stocks of all dealers, and additional surveys every three months by the officer, and also by the supervisor. According to the number of dealers, the number of surveys cannot be less in a year than 2,137,424.

"Fourthly. There is the printing and transmitting of a supply of two descriptions of Excise-books, amounting to more than 300,000 annually, to every dealer, in one of which he has to enter his sales which consist of parcels exceeding six pounds in weight, and in the other his sales below that weight."

On the whole, we think, very little doubt can remain in the mind of any person who has perused the document of which we have given this very imperfect abstract, that it is high time for this needless and vexatious superintendence to be put an end to. As one of the witnesses examined by the Commissioners remarks, "The proper means to prevent smuggling is by an efficient coast-guard. If once tea is laid on shore and gets into the possession of parties, if they take any sort of precaution for concealment, there is very little chance or possibility of detection, unless it is by information, which would be just as available after the removing the system of permit and survey as now." We have only to add that it is probable government means to adopt the recommendation of the Report, from an enactment introduced into the Act already referred to, as passed last Session, for the collection and management of the duties on tea, giving authority to the Lords of the Treasury to discontinue the practice of requiring permits on the removal of the article, and in their stead to establish such other regulations as may appear to be necessary for the security of the revenue.

PROPOSED NEW HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE metropolis of the British empire, unapproached as it is among the cities of the world in those things which make a truly wonderful town, is certainly as little of a *show* city as so vast a congregation of buildings well could be. We mean, that if one who had never seen it before were merely to drive through its principal streets, he would not carry away an impression of any thing very grand or imposing. There is little to catch the eye at a first glance. What of ordinary ornament and splendour there is, is spread over so large a surface, that its effect is nearly lost on a hasty inspection. But the character of London is, that, like that of everything else that is most great in nature or in art, its magnificence grows upon you so as almost to make you feel as if, in regard to it, you were becoming endowed with a new sense. The man who has seen certain other famous capitals, Byron has said, in a true and pointed couplet,

"May not think much of London's first appearance,
But ask him what he thinks of it a year hence."

But this is not all. At the end of the second year, it will seem to him something still more stupendous than it did at the end of the first; and every additional year he spends in contemplating and studying it will only make him think it the more wonderful. That which overpowers you is not any particular object, but the endlessness of everything,—the constant succession,—the boundless extent,—the inexhaustible variety, that meet you in whatever direction you turn, and baffle all your efforts to get to the bottom of the mystery.

There are few things, perhaps, that more surprise and disappoint a person, on first coming to London, than the appearance of those buildings in which the national legislature assembles, and especially the interior of the House of Commons. He makes his way to the gallery some evening while the House is sitting, expecting to see a display of mag-

nificence corresponding to the ideas he has been accustomed to entertain of the noblest political arena in the world. When he gets there, he looks down from his narrow and uncomfortable nook upon a room that, in point both of dimensions and decoration, would be paltry for a country parish church. He has read of senate-houses and legislative halls; but this is neither a house nor a hall; it is a mere apartment, not much larger than many a private drawing-room. And as to its appearance apart from its size, the most that can be said for it is, that it is neatly enough fitted up; but assuredly it would be scarcely possible to have everything in a plainer style. This, we apprehend, is what every one feels at first, during the moments when the present reality has driven away everything, except its plain prosaic self. Afterwards it may be somewhat different. The imagination will probably rally its forces after a little time, and the past will, in its turn, drive away the present. Then, with the help of some material accessories, the reign of illusion will be, in part at least, restored. The blaze of the candles will fall on all around, taking the place of the languid dying daylight which at first had made everything look so doubly sombre, dingy, and almost dirty. The few disengaged living figures that here and there dotted the vacuity have become a compactly congregated throng, covering almost every inch of the internal surface of the little box from the floor to the ceiling. And for the unintelligible muttering, and incessant movement to and fro, which had filled up the first hour or more, while petitions were presenting, or other business of mere form going forward, "the grand debate" is now making head like a tide; the orator is pouring forth those words which are in a few hours to be carried abroad over the earth, as if "on the wings of all the winds," and to sway the destiny of nations; all around are held suspended by the eloquent voice; some sympathizing with every successive argument or sarcasm; others all eagerness to refute the one, and retort the other; the frequent cheer peals from side to side; the excitement is intense and absorbing; and no wonder that the whole scene is then glorified, that the very compass of the walls seems to expand, and that the vision is brought back again which the imagination had formerly cherished of the place where Fox, and Pitt, and Sheridan, and Burke, and Chatham, were wont to hurl round them their thunder and their lightning.

The real inconveniences of the building, however, are not to be removed by such a dream as this, and have of late forced themselves to such a degree upon the attention of honourable members and the public, that, within the last three years, the subject has been twice referred by the House to the consideration of a select committee. Both committees made reports, the first on the 6th of October, 1831, and the second on the 13th of May last. The latter came to the following resolution:—"That it is the opinion of this committee that the present House of Commons does not afford adequate accommodation for its members, and that no alterations or improvements could be made in the present House which would afford adequate accommodation, due regard being had to the health and general convenience of the members, to the dispatch of public business, and to the expense to be incurred; and the committee therefore recommend the erection of a new House of Commons; and they refer the House to the evidence which has been taken as to the plan and site, and the expense in such case to be incurred."

The apartment in which the Commons of England assemble, our readers are aware, was originally a chapel, dedicated to St. Stephen. It was originally founded by King Stephen, in 1141; but it was rebuilt in 1347 by Edward III., and it is the structure then erected which still subsists. The earliest parliament at which we have any certain account of representatives of the Commons having been present, is that which met in 1265, the 49th year of Henry III. For a considerable time the knights and burgesses formed one assembly with the barons or nobility; it was not till 1377 that there was a separate House of Commons. In that year the Commons met by themselves in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, a room which stands on the east side of the cloisters, and is now used as a repository for sundry ancient records. It is here that the venerable survey of England, called "Doomsday Book," which was drawn up in the time of the Conqueror, is preserved. When the parliament met in London, this appears to have been the place of sitting appropriated to the Commons, down to the year 1547, when Edward VI. gave them their present

House, which accordingly is described in a document dated a few years after, as "the upper buildings now called the Parliament House over the vault of the College Chapel of St. Stephen." The chapel, which had been made collegiate by Edward III., was within the royal palace of Westminster. The Commons, therefore, have now met here for 236 years.

The east end of St. Stephen's Chapel stands about 159 feet from the left bank of the Thames, which at this place flows nearly in a due north direction. The chapel stands exactly east and west, and therefore perpendicular to the course of the river. It is also in the same relative position to Westminster Hall and the House of Lords, which stand parallel to the river, about thirty feet to the west of the House of Commons, the Hall being to the north, and the House of Lords to the south. The space between the angles of these two buildings, and the west wall of the House of Commons, forms the lobby of the latter. To the north of St. Stephen's Chapel, and the east of Westminster Hall, stands the Speaker's House. Running along the east side of the House of Lords is the apartment called the Long Gallery. The south end of the House of Lords forms his Majesty's Robing Room; and running down from that, in a direction perpendicular to the river, and of course parallel to the House of Commons, is the Painted Chamber, in which conferences between the two houses are usually held, and which is said to have been the bed-chamber of Edward the Confessor. Along part of the north wall of this apartment, but extending nearer to the river, stands the lately erected library of the Commons; and, finally, occupying part of the space between that and St. Stephen's Chapel, is the residence of Mr. Ley, the Chief Clerk of the House of Commons.

This account will give the reader a clear idea of the disposition of the different parts of this extensive mass of building, which it is impossible to learn merely from viewing the exterior, and not very easy to come at even by exploring the tortuous passages that lead from one apartment to another. With the exception of the north end of Westminster Hall, indeed, scarcely any portion at least of the under part of any of the rooms we have mentioned, is to be seen from the street. They are cased nearly all the way round with other erections—the several courts of justice—the committee rooms belonging to the two houses—and other apartments used for various purposes—which are what present themselves on the outside. On the east side, between the several buildings and the river, are Cotton Garden, and the garden of the Speaker. The different apartments that have been mentioned, we ought also to state, are not all on the same level. The floor of Westminster Hall, for instance, is on the ground; that of the House of Lords is perhaps at the height of ten or twelve feet; and that of the House of Commons is four or five feet higher. There are crypts or cellars under both the latter apartments, that under the House of Lords being classic ground, as the scene of Guy Faux's famous plot.

The length of the House of Commons is only 61 feet, and its breadth not quite 33 feet. Its whole area is only about 2000 square feet, or scarcely more than a tenth-part of that of Westminster Hall. Out of that room, in other words, might be cut ten such rooms as the House of Commons. The latter, although the contrary has been commonly stated, is even very considerably less than the House of Lords, which is between 30 and 40 feet broad, by upwards of 90 feet in length. It is only a portion of the area of the floor of the House of Commons, however, that is allotted to members; about 11 feet being cut off from the west end for the accommodation of those strangers who are admitted by orders from the Speaker. What properly constitutes the legislative hall, therefore, is only a space of about 50 feet by 32, giving an area of 1600 square feet. The portion of the floor that is left unoccupied by benches is 14 feet in width; but about the half of this at the east end is covered by the table, the seats of the clerks, the Speaker's chair, and several rows of benches behind it. The entire clear space on the floor does not much exceed 350 feet square.

The seats provided for the members consist of five rows of benches, carried round the north, east, and west walls. It was stated to the committee of 1831, that allowing 2 feet for each individual, these benches would only afford 342 seats. Allow only 22 inches for each, and you accommodate a twelfth part of that number more, or about 370

in all. But the number of members is 658, or 288 more than can thus find room upon the most liberal calculation. Those excluded can only take refuge in the members' gallery, which runs round three sides of the room; but it is not usual for any one sitting here to take part in the debate. And besides, the gallery, in which there are only two rows of seats, certainly could not contain many more than half the number in question.

Till the Union with Scotland, in 1707, it might have been possible for the whole body of the representatives of the Commons to have found accommodation in the present house, which accordingly, in an account of London, published the very last year in which the English members sat alone, we find described as "a commodious building, accommodated with several ranks of seats covered with green, and matted under foot, for 513 gentlemen, of which number this honorable, learned, and judicious assembly consists, the like in all those respects, perhaps, no where to be paralleled." Whether the encomium bestowed by the courteous author in these last words is intended for the house or the members is not very clear; but it can hardly now, at any rate, be claimed by the former. The accession of the Scotch members made the number of persons to be accommodated 558; and we apprehend even that is considerably more than the body of the house and the gallery together could hold. But for the last thirty-three years, since the union with Ireland, the number of members has been 658, which is certainly very nearly 150 more than could, by any packing, be seated within the walls of the present house.

But even before the Union with Scotland, the inconvenience of the narrow dimensions of the House of Commons was the subject of complaint. In 1604, we find on the Journals the following warrant, ordered to be issued by the Speaker, to the surveyor of the king's works:—"Whereas the members of the Commons House of Parliament, by reason of more charters granted by his majesty, as also by their attendance in greater multitudes than heretofore hath been usual, do want convenient room to sit in the place accustomed for their meeting, and many are thereby forced to stand in the entrance and midst of the House, contrary to order; it is required on behalf of the said House, that the officers of his majesty's works do immediately give orders for the erecting and fitting such and so many rooms and seats as the whole House may sit, and attend the service with more ease and conveniency." It is probable that in consequence of this order some additional seats were erected; but the House itself was not enlarged. At the Union with Ireland, a few new seats were also placed in very inconvenient situations, in the two angles of the room, namely, behind the Speaker's chair. But all the benches which are not in front of the chair may be considered to exclude those who occupy them from taking any part in the debate still more completely than a position in the gallery itself.

Such is the state of things which is conceived to create the necessity for a larger house than the present. Among the witnesses examined by the second Committee were Sir John Soane, Sir Robert Smirke, Sir Jeffrey Wyattville, Mr. Blore, Mr. Burton, and several others of the most eminent architects in the metropolis. In general, the opinions of these witnesses are decidedly in favour of an entirely new house, though most of them propose to attach the building to be erected to the present, so as that St. Stephen's chapel should still remain a part of the House of Commons. Mr. John Hopper is, we believe, the only person who conceives that the object in view may be most effectively secured by retaining the present site; but he is very strongly of opinion that that would be the better plan. His proposal, however, involves nearly the complete demolition of the present house. He would take down the two side walls of the chapel, and remove them so far back as to give a width of sixty-six feet, or rather more than double the present. The width of the room, indeed, upon this plan would exceed its length. Mr. Hopper states, that such an alteration could be effected at very much less expense than the building of an entirely new house. He would preserve the present roof as part of the new one, and even the floor, the Speaker's seat, and the front seats would remain as they are. There would merely be so many rows of new seats added behind the present. The committee do not seem to have been much impressed in favour of Mr. Hopper's ideas; but we think his plan deserves consideration.

* "New View of London," (supposed to be by Edward Hatton,) 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1708; vol. ii., p. 269.

The greater economy is something, though we are willing to allow that, in such a case as this, the expense is not the first thing to be minded. But confessing to a partiality for the spot which, of all others on the soil of this island, has been dignified by the most memorable scenes, and the most momentous events, we would, if it did not involve the sacrifice of any essential advantage, have the Commons of England still to assemble and deliberate on the arena consecrated by so many proud recollections. True, the building in which they met would be in the main a new one; but really we apprehend the identity of the outer walls is not what the imagination cares about, or thinks about, in thus clinging to an interesting locality. With architects indeed, it may be otherwise. Some of the eminent professional men examined by the committee are, we perceive, full of fancies about the restoration of the old ecclesiastical building, Edward III's chapel of St. Stephen's, and seem inclined to remove the Commons elsewhere, mainly because they are at present in the way of the execution of this project. But the public in general, we conceive, do not care a straw about the restoration of St. Stephen's as a chapel, and would stare at such a proposition. The building appears, no doubt, to have been a very magnificent one in its day—richly adorned with gilding, sculpture, and frescos, and also possessing much architectural beauty; but its moral history, which is what attaches the general mind, is a mere blank; we know nothing of it beyond its name. As a chapel, it has been as much forgotten for nearly the last three hundred years, as if during all that while not a stone of it had stood; and the notion of its restoration as such seems, therefore, almost as preposterous as would be a proposal to rebuild some temple of Apollo or Diana, which had once graced our island, but had not existed since the time of the Romans.

Mr. Hopper's plan would leave the *place*, though not exactly the *room*, in which the Commons assembled, the same which it now is, and during so many ages has been. Future champions of the popular liberties would still take their stand on the same "holy ground" on which the battles of the constitution had been fought of old. The spot would still remain, what it has so long been, the central heart, from which not only the chief impulse is given to all the movements of our own mighty political system, but more of power and influence is sent forth than from any other over the whole globe. Instead of Mr. Hopper's plan, however, which would go entirely to change the form of the house, we would propose an extension partly in a lateral, and partly in a longitudinal direction, so as to preserve as much as possible the same shape of room, though with enlarged dimensions. For this purpose, we would sacrifice so much as might be necessary of the present lobby, and build a new lobby at the opposite end of the apartment. This, to our taste, would be preferable to making the extension of the house in the latter direction, as it would allow the Speaker's chair and the benches to remain in their present position.

Some such plan as this appears to have occurred to Mr. Croker, who is one of the witnesses examined by the committee; but upon the whole, he is inclined to prefer an entirely new house, to be built to the north of the present, which might serve as its lobby. Nearly all the other plans suggest the erection of a new house to the east of the present, that is on the space between it and the river. Another of Mr. Croker's ideas is the removal of both houses of parliament to St. James's Palace; and somebody else suggests the building of a new House of Lords, and the conversion of the present into a House of Commons.

The following passage from Mr. Croker's evidence, besides some interesting facts, contains, we think, much good sense, and is well worthy of attention. "I must take the liberty of saying, if I may do so without presumption, that the committee appear to me to have calculated their new house upon too large a scale. The questions that have been read to me require accommodation for 600 members, at three feet four by two feet each; that appears to me too much, and it will be followed, if adopted, by disappointment and regret; this will be made apparent by a consideration of what experience shews us to have been practically requisite. Before the Irish union, it never happened but once, that 500 members were assembled, and that was in what has been called the 'Great Walpolean Battle,' at the end of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, when, I think in the year 1742, 504 members voted. From the time of the Irish union to

the first Reform Bill in 1830, for thirty years, there were but thirteen divisions which produced 500 members, and but one which produced 550; the Reform Bill produced 608. Every body knows that on such occasions the great pressure exists for only the few last hours of a debate; and it should also be recollected that the space and ventilation which would be required for 600 members in the month of July, would be found uncomfortable for an ordinary house of 200 or 300 members in the month of January; to say nothing of the disagreeable effect on the House itself; and, above all, on any persons speaking in it, of seeing a desert of unfurnished benches; it distracts the attention; and the members, moving about in a large and thinly-attended House, would become prominent objects, and very much disturb both the audience and the orator. It must also be recollected that the human voice has its limits; and that it may be said, pretty accurately, that the smaller the room in which your audience can be personally accommodated, the better that audience will hear. Upon the whole, therefore, I should take the liberty of saying that if you allow three feet by two for each sitting, I consider it an ample space; because, as you will, no doubt, have many and commodious gangways, and a corridor all round the House, there will be infinitely less occasion to cross members who are sitting than there is at present. You should, therefore, not compute, as seems to have been done, the dimensions of each seat, making full allowance for one member to sit and for another member to pass. With regard to the running measure of two feet for the sitting, I have nothing to say; but that in the last hour of a great debate members will find it not very inconvenient to sit much closer; and I am therefore of opinion, upon the whole, that if you make provision for the general business of the House in the House itself to the amount of 400 or 450, you ought to consider by what means the extraordinary concourse of members on extraordinary occasions can be provided for; and I believe that that would be best and most commodiously accomplished by a gallery, which, on ordinary occasions, does not offend you by its emptiness, and which at the moment of pressure affords seats for the additional number of members."

The correctness of these remarks is confirmed, to a considerable extent, in the remainder of the Right Honourable Gentleman's evidence by a reference to different legislative chambers, and halls for lecturing or public debate. "I remember," he says, "the Irish House of Commons; the Irish House of Commons was a circle of about fifty or fifty-five feet; round it went a corridor; over that corridor was a receding gallery for strangers. In the front of the gallery, on the perpendicular of the wall of the House, ran a circle of columns which supported a dome above. The number of members was 300, and as well as I recollect, the number of concentric seats were four or five. I was present at some of the great Union debates, and there seemed to me to be room enough; but, in the gallery at least, it was what I should call a very bad hearing House, as the Committee will easily conceive when they figure to themselves a high spherical dome, and a peripteral gallery running round the House." In this apartment the chair of the Speaker was in a line with the lower circle of seats, opposite the entrance gangway, and raised a few steps; so that several of the benches occupied by members were placed almost behind the Speaker, nearly as they are in our present House of Commons. In the Chamber of Deputies at Paris, which is a semicircular room, with both an advancing gallery for the more favoured class of strangers, and a receding gallery for the public, Mr. Croker states that he had found considerable difficulty in hearing, and that several members, upon his making inquiries of them, confirmed his opinion of its being a very bad hearing House. "It was owing, I thought, to a reverberation," he adds; "and that was produced probably by a concurrence of causes, the size and height of the room, and the form of the walls and ceiling, as well, I think, as to the want of something to act as a sounding-board behind or above the person speaking; for his voice appeared to me to ascend to the skylight, rather than come into the body of the House."

The American Hall of Representatives at Washington, which is of the same form with the French Chamber, is also, we may remark, well known to labour under the same greatest of all defects. It is a very splendid room, 96 feet across, and 40 feet in height. The gallery for the public extends around the entire circular part of the wall, and the

Speaker's chair is placed below, in the centre of the wall opposite; the seats of the members are ranged around in concentric rows, so that their faces are all to the Speaker, and their backs to the gallery. "This noble room, or more properly, amphitheatre," says Captain Hall, "is not well adapted for hearing. Were it actually a theatre, and the audience seated where the members are placed, while the actors addressed them from the corridor, or open space behind the Speaker's chair, along the diameter of the semicircle, I dare say it might do very well; because the Speaker, when addressing the House from the chair, was heard distinctly enough by the members. It was always difficult, however, for any member of the House to make himself heard. I spoke to one of them about this essential defect. He replied that, for once, in America, utility had been sacrificed to beauty; 'which,' said he, good-humouredly enough, 'you must do us the justice to say, is not often the fault of this country.'"

The circumstance that this form of room is, perhaps, better adapted than any other for lecturing in, or speaking from a platform, or other fixed station, seems to have too hastily led to the conclusion that it must answer equally well for that kind of debate which is carried on by persons speaking from all the different points in the apartment. It is found that, in the latter case, the semicircular form, instead of being the best, is one of the very worst suited for the purpose in view. The theatres of the London University, and of King's College, for instance, although both good lecturing-rooms, would probably make, either of them, a very bad House of Commons. For a debating-room, too, a very lofty roof seems to be objectionable; and so, indeed, is any portion of empty space which can be avoided. With all its inconveniences, our present House of Commons possesses, at least, the quality of first-rate importance of being an excellent hearing-room. Even in the strangers' gallery, when there is no disturbance, every word spoken in the body of the House, in the ordinary tone of debate, is distinctly heard. Nor has the orator to strain his voice in order to make himself audible. The room, although small, and without many accommodations which are provided elsewhere, as well as having no pretensions to majesty of appearance, is, however, as Captain Hall well remarks, when contrasting it with the Hall at Washington, "of such convenient dimensions, that any member's voice may easily be heard when raised a little above the pitch of ordinary conversation; and, consequently, the loud oratorical tone, which is the bane of good debating, is entirely excluded, as unnecessary, and out of place." These advantages are so important, that we trust, if a new House is to be built, the old one will not be condemned, or disfigured, until some experience has been had of their comparative good and evil qualities; so that, if the removal should not be found to answer expectation, the power of return to the forsaken benches may still exist.

An elongated room, either with or without the corners rounded, appears to be the most suitable for a legislative assembly. When the present House of Commons was undergoing a slight alteration for the accommodation of the additional members at the Union with Ireland, the House sat in the Painted Chamber, and that room, Mr. Croker states, was a remarkably good place for hearing. It is, as already stated, an oblong apartment, and is somewhat longer than the House of Commons, but not so wide. The magnificent hall at Madrid in which the Cortes used to meet before the overthrow of the Constitutional Government in Spain, was also, we believe, an excellent hearing room, and its form was that of an oblong, with circular ends. The throne and chair of the President were placed at one extremity, the benches on which the members sat were ranged parallel to the side walls, and at the other end of the Chamber were two spacious galleries, one above the other, for the accommodation of strangers. The House of Lords may also be mentioned as another example. It is an oblong apartment, and although there is a good deal of empty space, and the newly-erected gallery is complained of as being too far removed from the body of the House, a person speaking in it, when his voice is not a very bad one, appears to make himself perfectly audible to all present without any extraordinary exertion.

If it should, however, be determined to build a new House of Commons, there are various accessories which ought to form part of the plan, in addition to the legislative chamber. The inconveniences of the present house consist nearly as

much perhaps in the awkward arrangement, and inadequate size and number of its committee-rooms and other offices, as in the confined dimensions of the House itself. This consideration, indeed, is urged by several of the witnesses as a strong argument in favour of building a new House, in a different situation, rather than retaining the present site; but we do not see why the suite of new offices, including the more spacious lobby, said to be so desirable, might not, instead of the House, be erected on the vacant ground towards the river. The House could then be left standing where it is, and merely receive enlargement in different directions in the way already suggested. The access to the house at present, whether for members or the public, is certainly anything but commodious; and the want of any proper ante-room to separate the place in which the members are assembled from any crowds that may gather around it, composed, it may be, of an infuriated mob, or the lowest rabble from the streets, has been frequently attended with unpleasant consequences. In 1780, the mob were with the utmost difficulty prevented from forcing their way into the House, out of which they were only kept by the intervention of the slight door upon which they kept pressing, and occasionally knocking, for hours. And the following extract from the Journals, under the date of the 14th of June, 1648, shows that matters had sometimes been nearly as bad in former times:—"Ordered, that the Commander-in-Chief, and the guard that do guard the House from time to time, do keep the clamorous women from coming up the stairs leading to the House of Commons' door, and from coming into and clamouring in Westminster Hall on the Speaker and members of the House."

There is one advantage in the present situation of the houses of parliament which it might be difficult to secure, to the same degree, if they were removed from that vicinity,—the absence of any annoyance or interruption from noise in the streets. It appears, however, that of old our ancestors, in their riotous merriment, used sometimes to disturb the members from another quarter,—from the river. The following entry occurs in the Journals of the Commons, under date of 31st May, 1610; "this day the Lord Mayor and the citizens, in the liveries of their several companies, went to Putney, in their way to Richmond, and waited upon Prince Henry, coming down to Whitehall; the Duke of Brunswick, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Pembroke, and Earl of Mar, in the barge with him. At nine o'clock in the morning they went. The drums and fifes were so loud, and the company so small, as Mr. Speaker thought not fit, after nine o'clock, to proceed in any business, but to arise and depart."

SAVINGS BANK ANNUITIES.

THE Act 3 Will. IV. c. 14 is a great boon to the indigent classes, for whose benefit it was intended, by enabling them, under the guarantee of government, to secure a small, but certain, provision for the time of old age and declining strength. From doing this, many such persons can only have been prevented by the want of a means so eligible and safe as that which this Act provides.

This Act enables a person to purchase an annuity of not less than 4*l.*, or more than 20*l.* per annum, to commence at any age the purchaser may desire; and which may be either immediate or deferred, for life or term of years; but no annuity can be contracted for on the life of a person under the age of fifteen. The purchase may, at the option of the purchaser, be effected either by the payment of a certain sum in the first instance, or by weekly, monthly, quarterly, or yearly instalments. The amount of the money paid down, or of the yearly instalments, must necessarily depend on the age of the purchaser, and on the time when he wishes the annuity to commence. If he lives to that time, he becomes entitled to receive an annuity in value equivalent to all his payments, with the compound interest accumulated thereon: but if he dies before the annuity becomes payable, it is provided that all the money he had contributed shall be returned to his family or executors; and, in case of his death after the payment of the annuity has commenced, the executors become entitled to all the arrears due at the annuitant's demise, and also to one-fourth of the expired annuity in addition, if claim is made for it within two years of his decease. Still further to diminish the possibility of any disadvantageous result to the purchaser, it is provided that should he feel unable to continue the payment of his yearly

instalments, he may at any time receive back the whole of the money he has paid on giving three months' notice.

No annuity granted will be subject to any taxes, &c., nor is it transferable, but must continue to be the property of, or be received for, the benefit of the party by, or for, whom it was originally purchased. But in case the purchaser of an annuity becomes bankrupt or insolvent, the annuity is to be repurchased by the Commissioners, and the money paid over to the assignee for the benefit of the creditors.

The annuity is made payable half-yearly, namely, on the 5th of January and 5th of July, or the 5th of April and 10th of October; but if a person wishes to have his annuity paid quarterly, he has only to purchase one-half as payable in January and July, and the other in April and October, to effect his object.

These annuities are to be purchased through the medium of the local savings banks; but where none such exist, a parochial society may be formed for the special purpose, provided the rector, vicar, or minister, or a resident justice is one of the trustees. Provision is also made that the annual payments may be continued, and the annuity received, at any other society than the one at which the contract was originally formed. As the trustees and managers act as the agents of government, no unnecessary expenses are incurred in the management, which is wholly gratuitous; and for such expenses as are necessary, no other sums can be demanded from the party contracting than a fee of 2s. 6d. on his application for the purchase of an annuity, and afterwards no sum exceeding 1s. yearly.

The foregoing are the provisions of the Act for carrying into effect this excellent plan of applying the savings of the provident and industrious. J. Tidd Pratt, Esq., who has indefatigably exerted himself in the promotion of everything connected with the establishment and well-being of savings banks, has also, on this occasion, issued a pamphlet containing rules proposed for the establishment and management of these societies. He is also preparing an abstract of the law relating to them, and a series of tables of the value of the annuities, all of which are highly useful.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

SINCE our September publication, the Committee for Reporting on Public Petitions have issued three Reports, numbered from forty to forty-two. In concluding the Reports for the session, the Committee take occasion to state, that many of the petitions are not written upon parchment, according to the usual practice of the House, but upon paper—that many of those on paper are transcripts from one common original—that many of the signatures to them are in one and the same hand-writing—and that it has been alleged, that parties interested in a petition, have contracted with other persons to carry it about and procure signatures thereto, at a fixed sum for a given number. They also complain, that members presenting petitions, are in the habit of neglecting to inscribe their names on them; and conclude with stating, that they had directed their clerk to prepare for the press an Index to the whole number of petitions presented.

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
<i>Parliamentary.</i>		
For vote by ballot	55	37,314
<i>Ecclesiastical.</i>		
For the better observance of the Sabbath	1,173	277,425
For removal of religious disabilities	135	25,860
For abolition of tithes in England	55	18,375
Against tithes' commutation bill	43	10,134
Against church patronage in Scotland	160	68,025
Against the composition act (Ireland)	6	508
For the tithes stay of suit's bill	23	2,827
Against bishops' holding seats in the House of Lords	2	462
<i>Taxes.</i>		
For the repeal of the malt tax	132	44,065
Against the assessed taxes	49	20,915
Against the tax on merchant seamen	12	4,069
Against the legacy and probate duties	3	2,033
Against various other taxes, none of which have been included in any former enumeration	7	317
<i>Ireland.</i>		
For the repeal of the Union	44	13,263
Against the disturbances bill	671	422,285
Against the new system of education	19	2,083

	No. of Petitions.	No. of Signs.
In favour of grand jury bill	17	5,351
For the introduction of poor laws	33	5,334
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>		
For the abolition of slavery	5,020	1,309,711
Against the slavery abolition bill	32	16,463
In favour of factories regulation bill	143	197,068
Against ditto	26	2,815
Against the retail beer act	228	31,559
Against the Bank of England charter bill	15	3,268
Against the bankrupt's (Scotland) bill	25	774
Against notaries-public bill	22	102
In favour of ditto	3	100
For regulations respecting linen weaving	8	7,115
In favour of local courts	5	1,409
For inquiry respecting the Cold Bath Fields' meeting	4	1,282
Complaining of abuses in corporations	133	76,455
Against imprisonment for debt	7	267
Ditto ditto bill	2	763
Against the metropolitan police	11	7,271
Against the vestry acts	6	22,013
Against highways' bill	51	3,451
For the protection of the shipping interest	18	1,648
For alteration in the registry of vessels bill	3	236
For encouragement to mechanics institutions	1	538
For a revision of the laws of Scotland	4	993
For uniformity of weights and measures	2	195
Other miscellaneous petitions reported since the Companion to the Newspaper, No. IX.	115	5,713

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS.

QUANTITIES and declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported in the year 1831:—

	Quantity.	Declared Value.
Apparel, Slops, and Haberdashery		£ 790,293
Arms and Ammunition		562,765
Bacon and Hams . . cwt.	7,564	22,689
Beef and Pork . . barrels	41,243	117,922
Beer and Ale . . tuns	8,844	161,768
Books Printed . . cwt.	4,112	101,110
Brass & Copper Manufactures do.	181,951	803,124
Butter and Cheese . . do.	63,260	234,024
Coals, Culm, and Cinders . . tons	510,831	199,760
Cordage . . . cwt.	36,276	81,986
Cotton Manufactures (entered by the yard) . . yds.	421,385,303	12,163,513
Ditto Hosiery, Lace, and Small-wares		1,118,672
Cotton Twist and Yarn . . lbs.	63,821,440	3,975,019
Earthenware of all sorts . . pieces	37,028,897	461,090
Fish,—Derrings . . barrels	96,712	109,656
Glass (entered by weight) . cwt.	177,915	420,044
at value		9,580
Hardwares and Cutlery . . do.	336,194	1,622,429
Hats, Beaver and Felt . . dozens	62,554	170,188
Iron and Steel (wrought and unwrought) . . tons	124,312	1,123,372
Lead and Shot . . do.	6,777	96,333
Leather (wrought and unwrought) . . lbs.	1,314,931	246,410
Saddlery and Harness		61,312
Linen Manufactures (entered by the yard) . . yds.	69,233,892	2,400,043
Thread, Tapes, and Small-wares		61,661
Machinery and Mill-work		105,491
Painters' colours		102,065
Plate, Plated Ware, Jewellery, and Watches		188,144
Salt . . . bushels	9,932,214	165,437
Silk Manufactures		578,874
Soap and Candles . . lbs.	9,625,686	236,499
Stationery of all sorts		179,216
Sugar (refined) . . cwt.	581,836	1,238,919
Tin (unwrought) . . do.	21,763	77,718
Tin and Pewter Wares and Tin-plates		230,143
Wool, Sheep's and Lambs' . lbs.	3,494,275	173,105
Woolen and Worsted Yarn . lbs.	1,592,455	158,111
Woolen Manufactures (entered by the piece) . . pieces	1,997,348	4,580,902
by the yard . . yds.	5,797,546	500,956
Hosiery and Small-wares		150,155
All other Articles		1,363,874
Total declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures, exported from the United Kingdom		37,164,372

STATEMENT of the PRICES of *British Staple Articles*; PRICES (exclusive of Duty) of *West India and Spanish Main Produce*; and PRICES (exclusive of Duty) of *East India Produce*; for Eight Years, from 1826 to 1833.

STATEMENT OF THE PRICES OF BRITISH STAPLE ARTICLES.

From the London Mercantile } Price Current, First Week in January, }		1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	Fall from 1826.	Rise from 1826.
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	P ^{ct} .	P ^{ct} .
Alum	ton	15 0 0	16 0 0	16 0 0	15 15 0	15 0 0	13 10 0	10 0 0	9 10 0	36	
Coals, Newcastle . . .	chald. }	2 2 6	1 10 3	1 12 9	1 12 0	1 11 0	1 11 0	1 9 9	17 3 p ^r ton or 21 6 p ^r ch. }	50	
Sunderland	" }	2 4 0	1 11 6	1 14 0	1 13 0	1 14 0	1 12 0	1 11 3			
(Exclusive of duty of 6s.)											
Copper, in sheets . . .	lb.	0 1 2½	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 11½	0 0 11	0 0 10	0 0 10	0 0 11	24	
Copperas, green . . .	cwt.	0 4 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	. . .	0 5 0	0 3 9	6	
Corn:—											
Wheat, Kent and Essex .	qr.	3 5 0	3 2 0	3 2 0	4 6 0	3 10 0	3 18 0	3 10 0	2 18 0	10	
Flour	sack	3 0 0	2 8 0	2 10 0	3 15 0	3 0 0	3 3 0	3 3 0	2 10 0	16	
Do. Inferior	"	2 13 0	2 5 0	2 4 0	3 10 0	2 10 0	2 14 0	2 13 0	2 5 0	15	
Oats, feeding	qr.	1 7 0	1 12 0	1 5 0	1 8 0	1 4 0	1 7 0	1 4 0	1 1 0	22	
Barley	"	1 15 0	1 18 0	1 13 0	2 2 0	1 15 0	1 18 0	1 10 0	1 12 0	8	
Beans, tick	"	2 5 0	2 9 0	2 4 0	1 19 0	1 14 0	1 19 0	1 18 0	1 15 0	22	
Do. small	"	2 10 0	2 13 0	2 11 0	2 3 0	2 2 0	2 3 0	2 2 0	1 17 0	26	
Peas, hog	"	2 8 0	2 10 0	2 2 0	2 0 0	1 17 0	1 19 0	1 18 0	1 17 0	22	
Rye	"	1 16 0	1 18 0	1 12 0	2 2 0	1 13 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	1 16 0	.	
Malt	"	2 10 0	2 2 0	2 18 0	3 6 0	2 18 0	3 6 0	3 6 0	2 16 0	20	
Drugs:—											
Arsenic, white	cwt.	3 2 0	3 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 2 0	2 0 0	1 14 0	19	
Aquaforis	lb.	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	37	
Borax, refined	"	0 1 4	0 1 1	0 1 1½	0 1 2	0 1 0½	0 0 11	0 0 10½	0 0 8½	46	
Camphor	"	0 3 4	0 3 0	0 2 10	0 2 7	0 2 3	0 2 2	0 4 1	0 2 6	25	
Sal Ammoniac	cwt.	4 17 0½	4 12 0	4 13 0	4 5 0	3 15 0	3 12 0	3 3 0	3 1 0	37	
Epsom	"	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	0 17 6	0 16 0	0 11 0	0 13 0	35	
Glauber	"	0 12 0	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	33	
Saltpetre	"	1 8 0	1 9 0	1 11 0	1 11 0	1 11 0	2 4 0	2 3 0	2 1 0	.	46
Soda	"	1 8 0	1 0 0	1 1 0	0 19 6	0 17 0	0 17 0	0 15 0	0 12 6	55	
Verdigris	lb.	0 2 3	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 9	0 1 3	44	
Vermilion	"	0 4 2	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 2	0 2 10	32	
Vitriol, blue or Roman	cwt.	2 9 0	1 18 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	1 16 0	1 14 0	1 12 0	1 11 0	36	
Feathers, Irish grey . .	lb.	0 1 1	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 3	0 1 3	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	7	
Do. fine white	"	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 4	0 1 4	0 1 4	5	
Glue	cwt.	3 8 0	3 0 0	2 14 0	2 10 0	2 6 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 16 0	47	
Hops, Sussex	pocket	14 11 0	4 10 0	3 10 0	3 3 0	5 16 0	7 10 0	5 6 0	7 7 0	50	
Do. Kent	"	16 10 0	5 12 0	4 0 0	3 10 0	6 10 0	8 8 0	7 0 0	10 0 0	39	
Iron, in bars	ton	11 0 0	11 0 0	10 0 0	9 0 0	7 10 0	7 0 0	6 5 0	6 0 0	45	
Do. pigs	"	10 0 0	8 10 0	7 0 0	6 10 0	5 10 0	5 5 0	5 0 0	4 15 0	52	
Do. hoops	"	16 0 0	15 0 0	14 0 0	12 10 0	11 0 0	10 10 0	9 0 0	8 10 0	46	
Lead, pig, best	fod. }	27 10 0	22 0 0	20 0 0	18 0 0	16 10 0	14 10 0	13 10 0	13 0 0	52	
Do. milled sheet . . .	ton. }	26 10 0	24 0 0	22 0 0	20 0 0	17 0 0	15 0 0	14 0 0	14 10 0	45	
Do. ore	"	22 0 0	19 0 0	18 10 0	17 10 0	19 0 0	16 0 0	14 0 0	13 0 0	40	
Do. red	"	26 0 0	25 0 0	24 0 0	24 0 0		17 0 0	16 0 0	15 10 0	40	
Do. dry white	"	35 0 0	31 0 0	30 0 0	30 0 0	28 10 0	25 0 0	24 0 0	21 0 0	40	
Do. Litharge	"	26 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0	22 0 0	18 10 0	18 0 0	15 0 0	41	
Do. bars	"	28 0 0	27 0 0						14 0 0	50	
Do. ground white . . .	ton	42 0 0	34 0 0	30 0 0	28 0 0	28 0 0	24 0 0	24 0 0	24 0 0	42	
Leather, calf skins . .	lb.	0 2 9	0 2 4	0 2 4	0 2 3	0 2 6	0 2 1	0 2 1	0 2 0	27	
Horse hides	"	0 1 4	0 1 3	0 1 5	0 1 6	0 1 9	0 1 6	0 1 5	0 1 4½	.	3
Molasses	cwt.	1 10 0	1 5 6	1 5 6	1 2 6	0 18 6	1 2 6	1 2 6	1 4 6	18	
Oil of vitriol	lb.	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	25	
Oil-cake	ton	7 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0	5 5 0	5 0 0	28	
Pitch	cwt.	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 6 6	0 7 0	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 6 6	.	8
Provisions:—											
Butter, Cork	"	4 10 0	4 10 0	4 0 0	3 17 0	3 8 0	5 4 0	4 14 0	4 0 0	11	
Beef	tierce	7 0 0	6 10 0	7 15 0	6 0 0	6 2 6	5 10 0	5 12 6	7 12 6	.	17
Pork	"	6 15 0		6 0 0	5 15 0	5 5 0	5 15 0	6 0 0	6 2 6	9	
Bacon, Waterford . . .	"	2 13 0	2 8 0	2 5 0	2 10 0	1 19 0	2 5 0	2 8 0	2 6 0	13	
Rosin, black	cwt.	0 6 0	0 6 6	0 7 6	0 7 0	0 6 6	0 6 0	0 7 6	0 7 0	.	16
Do. yellow	"	0 7 0	0 7 6	0 8 6	0 8 0	0 7 6	0 7 0	0 8 6	0 8 0	.	14
Salt, common	ton	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 12 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	60	
Seeds, caraway	cwt.	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 7 0	2 10 0	3 0 0	3 4 0	3 10 0	.	75
Do. Canary	qr.	5 5 0	5 10 0	3 15 0	2 14 0	2 16 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	3 15 0	28	
Do. linseed	"	2 10 0	2 6 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 0 0	2 12 0	2 5 0	2 16 0	.	12
Soap, yellow	cwt.	2 18 0	3 0 0	3 4 0	3 2 0	3 2 0	3 4 0	3 2 0	3 2 0	.	6
Do. mottled	"	3 6 0	3 8 0	3 10 0	3 8 0	3 8 0	3 10 0	3 8 0	3 8 0	.	3
Do. white curd	"	3 10 0	3 12 0	3 14 0	3 12 0	3 12 0	3 14 0	3 12 0	3 12 0	.	2
Spermaceti, refined . .	lb.	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 9	0 1 9	0 1 9	0 1 3	0 1 2	0 1 2	41	
Spirits, British	gal. }	(Exclu- sive of Duty.)	0 4 0	0 3 4	0 3 9	0 2 6	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 2 8	33	
Do. Irish	" }		0 3 10	0 3 1	0 3 9	0 2 6	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 2 7	32	
Do. Scotch	" }		0 3 10	0 3 1	0 3 9	0 2 6	2 11 0	0 3 0	0 2 7	32	
Steel, blister	cwt.	2 4 0	2 4 0	2 4 0	2 4 0	2 16 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	.	13
Do. shear	"	3 10 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	4 0 0	3 10 0	3 5 0	3 5 0	7	

(CONTINUED.)

STATEMENT OF BRITISH STAPLE ARTICLES.—(CONTINUED.)

From the London Mercantile } Price Current, First Week in January.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	Fall from 1836.	Rise from 1836.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	P'ct.	P'ct.
Sugar, refined—										
Fine double loaf . . . cwt.	5 16 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 16 0	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 8 0	5 0 0	13	
Fine crushed, on board . . . "	2 10 0	2 14 0	2 15 0	2 12 0	2 8 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	24	
Ordinary lumps "	4 1 0	3 19 6	4 2 0	3 14 0	3 10 6	3 2 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	25	
Do. on boards "	1 19 0	2 0 6	2 3 0	1 14 6	1 11 0	1 7 6	1 6 0	1 6 0	33	
Tallow, rough fat stone	0 2 7½	0 2 9¼	0 2 6½	0 2 6	0 2 2	0 2 9½	0 2 9½	0 2 10½		9
Town cwt.	2 7 0	2 10 0	2 6 0	2 5 0	2 0 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 11 6		9
Melted Stuff "	1 13 0	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 13 0	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 18 0		15
Rough "	1 2 0	1 3 0	1 2 0	1 3 0	1 0 0		1 2 0	1 4 0		9
(Exclusive of Duty.)										
Candles, Mould 12 lbs.	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 0	0 8 0	0 8 6	0 9 0	0 8 6	10	
Do. Store "	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 7 6	0 7 0	0 7 6	0 7 6	0 7 0	12	
Tin, Blocks cwt	4 9 0	4 1 0	3 16 0	3 14 0	3 13 0	3 17 9	3 12 6	3 12 6	18	
Do. Bars "	4 11 6	4 3 6	3 18 6	3 16 6	3 15 6	3 19 6	3 14 6	3 14 6	18	
Do. Plates box	2 5 0	2 2 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	1 15 0	1 13 0	1 10 0	33	
Turpentine, Spirits, Town-drawn &c.	2 19 0	3 6 0	3 3 0	3 2 0	2 18 0	3 4 0	2 16 0	2 11 0	13	
Wax, Bees "	13 10 0	13 0 0	13 0 0	11 0 0		7 10 0	7 10 0	8 5 0	38	
FROM REPORT ON BANK CHARTER.										
Cheese, Cheshire "	3 5 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0		33	
	3 8 0	3 18 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	3 10 0			2
Meat, Beef "	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 4 0	0 3 6	0 3 10	0 3 8	0 3 6		22	
	0 5 0	0 4 8	0 4 8	0 4 8	0 4 4	0 4 4	0 4 4		13	
Do. Mutton "	0 4 5	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 4 0		8	
	0 5 0	0 4 8	0 4 8	0 5 4	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 5 0			
FROM PRIVATE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.										
Cotton Twist, No. 20 "	0 0 11½	0 0 11	0 0 9	0 0 9½	0 0 10	0 0 9½	0 0 8½	0 0 9½	19	
Ditto 40 "	0 1 0½	0 1 0½	0 1 0½	0 1 0	0 1 0½	0 0 11½	0 0 11½	0 1 0	4	
Ditto 60 "	0 1 10	0 1 5½	0 1 4½	0 1 6	0 1 7½	0 1 6	0 1 5½	0 1 6½	17	
Ditto 80 "	0 2 2	0 1 8½	0 1 7½	0 1 9	0 1 10	0 1 9	0 1 7½	0 1 8	23	
Oatmeal ton	16 16 0	24 0 0	16 0 0	16 16 0	15 4 0	16 0 0	16 0 0	12 16 0	23	
Split Peas bushel	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 9 0	0 8 0	0 7 6	0 8 6	0 7 6	0 7 6	25	
CHEMICAL PREPARATIONS.										
Tartaric Acid lb.	0 4 0	0 3 6	0 2 10	0 2 6	0 2 4	0 2 3	0 2 2	0 2 0	50	
Citric "	0 16 0	0 15 0	0 12 0	0 9 0	0 9 0	0 9 0	0 9 0	0 8 6	46	
Oxalic "	0 2 9	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 3	0 2 3	0 2 6	0 2 4	0 2 3	18	
Muriatic "	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 1½	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	66	
Acetic "	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 0	0 1 0	14	
Carb. of Ammonia "	0 1 0	0 0 10	0 0 10	0 0 9½	0 0 8	0 0 9	0 0 7½	0 0 6½	45	
Carb. of Soda "	0 3 6	0 2 6	0 1 8	0 1 1	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	80	
Sugar of Lead "	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 0 8	0 0 7	0 0 7	40	
Prussiat of Potash "	0 4 0	0 3 6	0 3 0	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 9	0 2 9	0 2 9	31	
Sal Rochelle "	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 4	0 1 0	0 0 11	0 0 11	38	
Sulphate of Zinc cwt.	1 18 0	1 18 0	1 16 0	1 12 0	1 5 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	44	

PRICES (EXCLUSIVE OF DUTY) OF WEST INDIA AND SPANISH MAIN PRODUCE.

Anatto, Flag lb.	0 2 4	0 2 3	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 0 7	0 0 6	78	
Brazilletto ton	10 3 4	7 3 4	6 3 4	6 3 4	6 17 0	6 17 0	6 17 0	13 17 0		23
Cochineal, Black lb.	1 0 0	0 18 0	0 13 6	0 12 0	0 11 5	0 9 0	0 8 4	0 8 2	57	
Cocoa, West India "	3 0 0	2 16 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 13 0		1 15 0		41	
Grenada, fine red "	4 6 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	3 3 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	2 5 0	3 14 0	13	
Coffee, cwt.—										
Ordinary Dom. and St. Lucie	3 2 0	2 12 0	2 7 0	1 19 0	1 17 0	1 18 0	4 1 0	3 10 0		12
Good and fine middling	4 15 0	4 8 0	3 18 0			2 18 0	4 11 0	4 2 0	13	
Jamaica ordinary "	2 15 0	2 9 0	1 17 0	1 16 0	1 13 0	1 16 0	4 2 0	3 8 0		13
Good, fine, and middling	4 18 0	4 14 0	4 6 0	2 18 0	3 17 0		4 18 0	4 13 0	5	
Cotton, common W. I. lb.	0 0 9½	0 0 8½	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 6½	0 0 7½	0 0 6½	0 0 7½	18	
Arrow Root "	0 1 11	0 1 11	0 2 5	0 2 3	0 1 9	0 1 3	0 1 3	0 1 3	34	
Cassia Fistula cwt.			6 6 8	5 6 8	5 6 8	2 11 8	1 16 8	1 1 8	83	
Fustic ton	10 17 0	9 4 6	10 15 6	10 5 6	8 15 6	9 4 6	7 16 6	9 0 6	17	
Sarsaparilla, Honduras lb.	0 1 6	0 1 9	0 3 0	0 2 3	0 1 3	0 1 9	0 2 0	0 1 8		11
Vera Cruz "			0 2 0		0 0 9	0 0 6	0 0 8	0 0 8	66	
Tamarinds cwt.	3 1 4	3 1 4	2 11 4	4 1 4	4 1 4	3 19 4	4 1 4	3 16 4		24
Ginger, cwt.—										
Jamaica, fine scraped "	14 8 6	7 8 6	7 8 6	9 8 6	7 13 6	9 8 6	9 8 6	14 2 6	2	
Barbadoes "	6 18 6	2 11 6	2 2 6	1 16 6	1 8 6	1 18 6	2 3 6	3 13 6	47	
Hides, Salted lb.	0 0 7¼	0 0 4¾	0 0 4¾	0 0 5¾	0 0 5¾	0 0 6	0 0 5¾	0 0 6¼	13	
Indigo, Caracco Flores "	0 13 0	0 11 6	0 11 0	0 9 6	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 6 0	53	
Copper and low ordinary	0 6 9	0 4 9	0 3 9	0 4 0	0 2 6	0 2 4	0 2 0	0 2 2	67	
Lignum Vitæ ton	14 8 8	9 10 0	9 10 0	6 10 0	5 10 0	5 5 0	5 16 0	6 0 0	58	
Logwood, Jamaica, picked "	7 5 0	7 0 0	6 10 0	7 0	6 5 0	6 10 0	6 5 0	6 3 0	15	

(CONTINUED.)

PRICES (EXCLUSIVE OF DUTY) OF WEST INDIA AND SPANISH MAIN PRODUCE.—(CONTINUED.)

From the London Mercantile Price Current, First Week in January.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	Fall from 1826.	Rise from 1826.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	Pct.	Pct.
Molasses	1 2 0	1 1 0	0 18 0	0 14 0	0 13 0	0 13 0	0 14 0	1 1 0	4	
Nicaragua Wood, ton.—										
Large and Solid . . .	25 5 0	21 5 0	15 5 0	13 5 0	13 5 0	14 5 0	15 15 0	18 0 0	28	
Small	17 5 0	12 5 0	9 5 0	7 5 0	8 5 0	7 15 0	12 5 0	14 15 0	11	
Pimento lb.	0 0 9½	0 0 10	0 0 9	0 0 8½	0 0 6	0 0 5	0 0 6	0 0 5½	46	
Rum, per gallon (per Sykes's Hydrometer)—										
Jamaica 12 to 14 ct. .	0 2 10	0 3 1	0 3 5	0 3 4	0 2 3	0 2 2	0 2 0	0 2 3	20	
ditto 15 to 18 " . .	0 3 6	0 3 10	0 4 6	0 4 2	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 2 4	0 2 10	19	
ditto 28 to 30 " . .	0 3 8	0 4 3	0 4 9	0 4 6	0 3 8	0 3 8	0 3 2	0 3 4	9	
Strongest Jamaica . . cwt.	0 3 0	0 3 8	0 3 9	0 4 0	0 3 0	0 2 6	0 2 1	0 2 9	8	
Demerara	0 2 6	0 0 10	0 0 7½	0 0 7½	0 0 6½	0 0 8½	0 0 8½	0 1 0	60	
Tobacco, St. Domingo Leaf										
Sugar, B. P. Muscovado—										
Jamaica, fine	2 8 0	2 5 0	2 3 0	2 4 0	2 0 0	1 15 0	1 12 0	1 15 0	27	
Good brown	1 19 0	1 12 0	1 15 0	1 10 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	1 3 0	1 8 6	26	
Havannah, fine white .	2 10 0	2 5 0	2 9 0	2 10 0	2 9 0	1 18 0	1 13 0	1 15 0	30	
ditto yellow	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 17 0	1 18 0	1 9 0	1 5 0	1 6 0	1 6 0	27	

PRICES (EXCLUSIVE OF DUTY) OF EAST INDIA PRODUCE.

Arrack, Batavia	gai.	0 4 6	0 7 6			0 5 0	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 4 3	5
Coffee, Mocha	cwt.	5 10 0	6 0 0	5 10 0	7 0 0	6 10 0	6 7 0	6 10 0	4 0 0	27
Cotton, Surat	lb.	0 0 6½	0 0 5½	0 0 5	0 0 4¾	0 0 5	0 0 5¾	0 0 5	0 0 5½	10
Do. Bourbon		0 1 1	0 0 10	0 0 11	0 0 9½	0 0 8½	0 0 9½	0 0 9	0 0 10	22
Aloes, Spatica, dry . .	cwt.	18 0 0	18 0 0	20 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	16 5 0	16 0 0	14 0 0	22
Aniseeds, star		3 15 0	3 15 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	5 10 0	4 5 0	3 10 0	3 8 0	10
Borax, refined		3 0 0	2 2 0	2 5 0	2 15 0	3 8 0	3 0 0	3 6 0		10
Do. unrefined		2 15 0	1 18 0	2 5 0		4 4 0	3 0 0	3 0 0		9
Camphire, China . . .		9 0 0	9 0 0	8 5 0	7 5 0	5 10 0	4 14 0	15 0 0	6 0 0	33
Cardamoms, Ceylon . .	lb.	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 2	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 10	83
Do. Malabar		0 4 0	0 6 3	0 16 0	0 9 6	0 6 0	0 5 6	0 4 6	0 3 2	20
Castor Oil		0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 2 0	0 1 3	0 1 4	0 1 0	0 1 4	14
China root	cwt.	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 0 0	0 15 6	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 6 0	1 16 0	20
Cochineal	lb.	0 3 6	0 3 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 9	0 1 3	0 1 3	0 1 8	52
Coculus Indicus . . .	cwt.	5 0 0	3 5 0	3 0 0	1 13 0	1 10 0	1 0 0	1 3 0	1 0 0	80
Columbo root		9 0 0	5 0 0	8 0 0	8 0 0	12 0 0	5 15 0	4 0 0	3 5 0	63
Cubebs		10 0 0	7 7 0	9 9 0	6 5 0	3 0 0	4 5 0	5 10 0	3 5 0	67
Dragon's Blood		25 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	17 10 0	24 0 0	27 0 0	27 0 0	20 0 0	20
Galls, blue		6 15 0	5 0 0	3 15 0	4 0 0	3 15 0	3 10 0	3 12 0	3 11 0	47
Do. white		6 0 0	4 0 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	3 6 0	3 10 0	3 8 0	43
Gum Ammoniac		12 0 0	12 0 0	10 0 0	6 0 0	5 10 0	5 10 0	7 0 0	7 0 0	41
Do. Animi, half-scraped		5 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 6 0	
Do. do. clean		9 0 0	9 0 0	9 0 0	9 0 0	12 10 0	12 5 0	12 0 0	10 10 0	26
Do. Arabic, fine . . .		4 5 0	3 0 0	3 10 0	3 5 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	2 18 0	3 0 0	16
Do. do. brown drop . .		2 10 0	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 18 0			24
Do. Assafetida		6 0 0	3 15 0	3 15 0	3 15 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	4 0 0	8 0 6	33
Gum Benjamin, 2d. . .		1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	
Gambogium, picked . .		16 10 0	20 0 0	26 0 0	28 0 0	22 0 0	24 0 0	19 0 0	16 10 0	
Kino		16 0 0	14 0 0	14 0 0	13 0 0	12 0 0	14 0 0	12 0 0	12 0 0	25
Lac Lake	lb.	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 6	0 1 4	0 1 0	50
Dye D T		0 5 6	0 4 6	0 3 9	0 3 6	0 3 6	0 3 4	0 2 4	0 2 3	59
Other fine sorts . . .		0 5 0	0 4 0	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 2 6	0 2 0	0 1 5	0 1 3	75
Seed	cwt.	0 18 0	0 18 0	1 19 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	3 12 0	3 10 0	3 5 0	261
Shell, dark		3 15 0	3 0 0	4 0 0	4 5 0	5 5 0	6 10 0	5 5 0	6 0 0	60
orange		5 0 0	4 5 0	4 10 0	5 5 0	5 15 0	8 10 0	7 10 0	7 7 0	47
Stick		3 5 0	3 5 0	4 4 0	4 4 0	4 4 0	4 0 0	2 15 0	2 13 0	18
Myrrh		15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	16 10 0	16 0 0	16 0 0	11 10 0	23
Olibanum		4 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	5 10 0	4 10 0	2 16 0	5 0 0	3 12 0	10
Orpiment		5 5 0	5 5 0	7 0 0	3 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	3 0 0	42
Munjeet		1 10 0	1 5 0	1 0 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 15 0	1 1 0	1 6 0	13
Musk, China	oz.	0 15 0	0 15 0	1 6 0	1 15 0	2 5 0	2 10 0	3 15 0	1 10 0	100
Nux Vomica	cwt.	0 14 0	0 14 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	1 10 0	1 5 0	1 1 0	50
Oil of Cassia	oz.	0 0 6	0 0 5	0 0 4½	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 9	0 0 7	16
Do. Cajaputa		0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6½	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 1 0	0 5 0	0 0 9	50
Do. Cinnamon		0 8 6	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 17 0	0 17 0	0 14 0	0 16 0	0 8 0	5
Do. Cloves		0 1 6	0 1 9	0 1 6	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 1 6	0 0 9	50
Do. Mace, expressed .		0 0 6	0 0 2½	0 0 2½	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2½	0 0 4	0 0 2½	58
Do. Nutmegs		0 3 2	0 3 2	0 2 9	0 3 3	0 3 0	0 1 8	0 2 0	0 1 4	57
Rhubarb, common . .	lb.	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 3 6	0 3 0		0 1 10	38
Dutch trimmed . . .		0 5 6		0 5 6	0 5 6	0 4 6	0 4 0		0 3 4	39
Safflower	cwt.	9 0 0	8 0 0	8 10 0	8 10 0	6 0 0	9 0 0	10 10 0	9 10 0	5
Sago, pearl		3 15 0	2 10 0	1 10 0	1 12 0	1 13 0	2 0 0	1 16 0	2 14 0	28
Sal Ammoniac		3 15 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	2 18 0	3 5 0	3 10 0		3 3 0	16
Senna	lb.	0 2 6	0 1 9	0 1 9	0 2 0	0 1 8	0 2 3	0 2 2	0 1 11	23

(CONTINUED.)

PRICES (EXCLUSIVE OF DUTY) OF EAST INDIA PRODUCE.—(CONTINUED.)

From the London Mercantile Price Current, First Week in January, }	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	Fall from 1826.	Rise from 1826.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	P'ct.	P'ct.
Terra Japonica . . . cwt.	2 15 0	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 5 0	2 0 0	1 8 0	2 0 0	27	
Turmeric, Bengal . . . "	1 15 0	1 0 0	1 10 0	1 3 0	0 17 0	0 17 0	0 14 0	0 15 0	57	
Do. Java "	2 5 0	1 10 0	1 13 0	1 8 0	1 3 0	0 18 0	0 18 0	0 19 0	57	
Do. China "	4 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 16 0	1 10 0	1 5 0	1 8 0	1 2 0	72	
Vermilion lb.	0 3 9	0 4 0	0 4 0	0 2 11	0 3 2	0 3 3	0 3 2	0 3 3	13	
Indigo, purple "	0 12 7	0 11 6	0 12 0	0 9 0	0 7 9		0 6 0	0 5 9	54	
Ord. and very low "	0 5 6	0 5 6	0 5 0	0 4 3	0 3 3	0 2 9	0 2 3	0 2 9	50	
Mother of Pearl shells:—										
China cwt.	6 10 0	4 10 0	4 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	4 10 0	4 15 0	4 4 0	35	
Scott's "	3 10 0		2 15 0	3 15 0	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 3 0	2 0 0	42	
Nankeen, yellow piece	0 4 9	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 8	0 4 3	0 4 2	0 2 10	0 2 5	48	
Do. white "	0 3 6	0 3 10	0 3 10		0 2 10	0 2 6	0 2 2	0 3 6		
Rattans 100	0 5 0		0 8 6	0 7 0	0 3 6	0 9 0	0 4 0	0 3 0	40	
Rice, Patna cwt.	1 7 0	1 1 0	1 0 0	1 5 0	1 0 0	1 1 0	1 0 0	1 4 0	11	
Do. Bengal, white "	1 1 0	0 19 0	0 14 0	0 18 0	0 13 0	0 16 0	0 16 6	0 16 0	23	
Do. do. cargo "	0 16 0	0 13 0	0 10 0	0 13 0	0 8 0	0 10 6		0 12 0	25	
Saltpetre, rough "	1 3 6	1 3 6	1 5 0	1 4 6	1 6 0	2 0 0	1 19 0	1 17 0		57
Do. British refined "	1 9 0	1 9 0	1 11 0	1 11 0	1 11 0	2 4 0	2 3 0	2 1 0		41
Silk, Bengal skein "	0 14 0	1 9 8	1 0 0	1 3 11	0 17 4	0 18 0	0 16 3			16
Do. Organzine "	1 9 0	0 5 6	0 5 0	1 6 0	1 1 6	0 19 0	0 19 0	0 19 0	34	
Spices, Cassia buds "	12 0 0	9 5 0	5 10 0	5 5 0	4 4 0	4 6 0	4 3 0	3 15 0	68	
Cassia Lignea "	6 10 0	6 6 0	5 6 0	4 12 0	3 10 0	3 5 0	4 18 0	3 18 0	40	
Cinnamon, 1st quality "	0 7 8	0 7 11	0 6 9	0 7 5	0 8 6	0 10 0	0 9 6	0 8 10		15
Ordinary, Ceylon "	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 3	0 3 0	0 3 10	0 4 9	0 5 6	0 4 6		80
Cloves, Bourbon "	0 2 2	0 2 6	0 1 4	0 1 3	0 1 3	0 1 2	0 1 0	0 0 11	57	
Do. Amboyna "	0 3 3	0 3 0	0 2 9	0 2 7	0 2 6	0 2 2	0 2 0	0 1 7	51	
Ginger, Bengal "	1 10 0	0 16 0	1 0 0	0 17 0	0 13 0	1 4 0	1 14 0	2 6 0		53
Do. Malabar "	3 0 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	0 17 0	0 13 0	1 5 0	1 15 0	2 6 0	23	
Mace lb.	0 5 2	0 6 0	0 5 7	0 6 5	0 5 6	0 6 0	0 5 8	0 6 4		22
Nutmegs, ungarbled Co.'s "	0 3 6	0 4 1	0 3 8	0 3 5	0 3 4	3 10 0	0 3 3	0 4 3		21
Pepper, black heavy "	0 0 5½	0 0 5	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 4	0 0 4½	0 0 4½	26	
Do. do. light "	0 0 5	0 0 4½	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	25	
Sugar:—										
Bengal, fine white cwt.	1 19 0	1 18 0	1 17 0	1 18 0	1 15 0	1 13 0	1 9 0	1 10 0	23	
Low "	1 16 0	1 14 0	1 12 0	1 13 0	1 9 0	1 6 0	1 2 0	1 4 0	33	
Mauritius "	1 19 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	1 18 0	1 12 0	1 13 0	1 10 0	1 12 0	18	
China and Siam "	1 17 0	1 18 0	1 18 0	1 15 0		1 4 6	1 6 0	1 5 0	32	
Tea, Bohea lb.	0 2 3	0 1 7½	0 1 7½	0 1 8	0 1 7	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	11	
Congou, common "	0 2 6½	0 2 2½	0 2 2½	0 2 3½	0 2 1½	0 2 1½	0 2 2½	0 2 1½	17	
Tin, Banca cwt.	4 5 0	4 2 0	3 13 0	3 12 0	3 10 0	3 2 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	29	
Tortoiseshell "	2 9 0	2 9 0	2 19 0	2 14 0	2 10 0	2 19 0	2 16 0	3 0 0		22
Wood, Sanders Red ton	12 10 0	9 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	11 10 0	15 0 0	15 0 0	18 0 0		44
Ebony, black "	23 0 0	24 0 0		17 0 0	9 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	7 0 0	69	
Sapan "	24 0 0	24 0 0		12 0 0	10 0 0	11 0 0	11 0 0	22 0 0	8	
Wax, Bees cwt.		8 0 0	6 0 0	8 10 0	6 5 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 10 0	31	

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the NUMBER and OCCUPATION of FAMILIES in *England, Wales, and Scotland*, in the Years 1811, 1821, and 1831, according to the POPULATION RETURNS of those Years respectively; also the Proportions expressed in Centesimal Parts.

	At the end of May in each year.	Total Families.	Employed in Agriculture.	Employed in Trade, Manufacture, &c.	All other Families.	EXPRESSED IN CENTESIMAL PARTS.				
						Year.	Total.	Agriculture.	Trade, &c.	Others.
ENGLAND	1811	2,012,391	697,353	923,588	391,450	1811	100	34.7	45.9	19.4
	1821	2,346,717	773,732	1,118,295	454,690	1821	100	33.0	47.6	19.4
	1831	2,745,336	761,348	1,182,912	801,076	1831	100	27.7	43.1	29.2
WALES	1811	129,755	72,846	36,044	20,866	1811	100	56.2	27.7	16.1
	1821	146,706	74,225	41,680	30,801	1821	100	50.6	28.5	20.9
	1831	166,538	73,195	44,702	48,641	1831	100	43.9	26.9	29.2
SCOTLAND	1811	402,068	125,799	169,417	106,852	1811	100	31.3	42.1	26.6
	1821	447,960	130,699	190,264	126,997	1821	100	29.2	42.5	28.3
	1831	502,301	126,591	207,259	168,451	1831	100	25.2	41.3	33.5

The two preceding Tables are extracted from the Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture.

THE COMPANION TO THE NEWSPAPER.

TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY.

No. 12.

DECEMBER 1, 1833.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Trades' Unions	177	Statistical Tables	190
A Table of the Prices of Imported Articles for the last Five Years	185	House of Commons' Offices and Fees	190
Electoral Franchise of England and Wales	186	Abstracts of Parliamentary Returns	192
Report on the Vaccine Board	189		

TRADES' UNIONS.

Up to the year 1824, the law of England made it a crime for workmen to combine even in the most peaceable manner for the purpose of obtaining a rise or preventing a fall of their wages. But in that year, this most unjust and oppressive restriction was done away with by parliament; and the law, finally settled by an act, passed the following year, the 6 Geo. IV. chap. 129., now throws no impediment in the way of the union of a body of workmen for the above-named purpose, any more than it does in the way of the association of persons of any other class, for objects not inconsistent with the rights of their neighbours.

The old law was not more barbarous and tyrannical in its spirit, than it was useless, and even positively mischievous in its operation. It did not, in point of fact, prevent the thing which it prohibited. Trades' unions were formed and maintained, if not in the face of its provisions, yet in spite of them. It had only the power to impress a dark and skulking character upon the proceedings of these combinations, not to break them up. And, certainly, they were not rendered less dangerous by being thus put under the ban of the law, and driven, to a certain extent, out of the way of public observation. It is difficult to say, whether an unjust law is the greater nuisance when it attains its object, or when it fails in attaining it. In the present case, the consequence was, that the unionists, having the mark of criminals set upon them, and exasperated by what they felt to be oppression, were only made more determined and reckless in their conduct, by the law which continually pursued them, without being able to hunt them down.

We do not, therefore, call for the re-enactment of the old combination laws. We want no new law against combinations. We are quite satisfied that the legislature cannot in fairness, or with any good effect, attempt to impose any restriction whatever upon the right of workmen to endeavour, whether individually or through the medium of associations, to obtain the highest price for their labour which they can. We will go farther. Although we think that there are many of the regulations of the unions which go far beyond the legitimate object of making a stand for a certain rate of wages, and amount to a most unwarrantable interference on the part of the workmen with matters, the arrangement of which belongs not to them, but to their employers, we would have no new legislative provision directed even against this evil. We do not hold that such a law would be unjust; but we hold that it would be inexpedient. If we could prevent bodies of workmen from combining to limit the number of apprentices which masters should be allowed to take, or to force them to exclude machinery from their manufactories, or to control them in any other way in the general management of their business or their capital, we certainly would do so, on the same principle in which we would put down any other association for purposes manifestly unfair, oppressive, or threatening danger to the public weal. But we believe that, in the present case, any such attempt would be worse than useless. The law might prevent any written or printed regulation which was opposed to its requirements; but it would not be able to reach a secret understanding among the members of the union, however objectionable. It might say, for instance, that no society of workmen should be allowed to exist, one of whose rules or articles of agreement went to resist the introduction of machinery into the trade to which they belonged;

but, how could it prevent the men from striking in every instance in which machinery was introduced, if they did not commit themselves by giving any reason for the proceeding at all? The case is exactly parallel to another which has frequently, and of late more especially, given rise in the public mind to a great deal of honest, but, in some respects, not very wise indignation, that of the power which a landlord has to turn out a tenant at will, and its exercise by him for the punishment of those of his tenantry who may have voted at an election, or on any other occasion, in a way he did not like. How can a landlord be prevented from thus acting if he chooses? He may turn off his tenant without assigning any reason for so doing whatever, just as the tenant may throw up his house or his farm, without being obliged to account for his conduct to any body, whenever the terms of the bargain between them permit. The only way in which the law could interfere here, would be by saying that the tenant's vote *against* his landlord should operate in all cases as a positive bar upon the exercise of his rights by the latter, or, in other words, that simply by giving such a vote, a tenant should be entitled to retain his holding, in circumstances in which he would have had no such right if he had not so voted. And this certainly would be to provide a very short and effectual mode of enabling tenants to set their landlords at defiance in all circumstances whatever. It would, in fact, be neither more nor less than at once to transfer the whole property of the land from the latter to the former.

This right of landlords, in truth, is a right inherent in and inseparable from the right of property itself. The latter cannot exist if you extinguish the former. Just so is it with regard to the right of a body of workmen to make what is called a strike whenever they please, or for any reason, good or bad, upon which they may choose to act. This right cannot be touched or restricted in the least degree, without an infringement, or rather, indeed, the absolute destruction of their right of property in their labour itself. The one is really a part of the other.

All this we cordially admit, and we should oppose as warmly as the workmen themselves could do, any attempt of the masters to put down trades' unions by an extension of the powers of the law. The law does already as much as it ought to do, and we hope will never try to do more.

But it does not follow that, because we admit the right, we must in all cases approve the exercise of it. The right may be unquestionable, and its exercise may be as foolish or as unfair as any thing which it is possible to conceive. We are no admirers of the good feeling or the good sense of landlords who dispossess tenants otherwise unobjectionable, merely for voting conscientiously on a particular side in an election contest. We consider this conduct to be tyranny, and only would not cry out for a law to prevent it, because it is plain that no law could be framed to have that effect. But we would do our best to rouse a force of public opinion which should everywhere frown it down; which should make landlords shrink back from pursuing it through very shame, and the terror of the universal scorn of their countrymen. We would, also, endeavour to convince landlords themselves that, by such proceedings, they injured the very cause they intended to support.

In like manner, adverse as we are to the enactment of any new law for putting down trades' unions, we altogether deplore, not some of the proceedings merely, but the existence at all of such associations. We deplore their existence as pregnant with injury to the welfare of the country in general, with which, of course, their members are bound up as well as the rest of us, and on special and separate grounds, as most injurious to the true interests of that class of the population, among whom they prevail. It is but fair to acknowledge, that we probably owe the commencement of combinations among labourers to combi-

nations among their employers. According to what was anciently the law in most countries, and to what is still the law in some, the magistrates were empowered to fix the prices of all commodities, and, among the rest, the price of labour, that is, wages. The main object of this regulation, there can be no doubt, was the protection of purchasers, not of sellers. In the case of labour, for instance, the intention was to protect the purchaser, that is the employer, from what should be deemed an extravagant demand on the part of the disposers of the commodity, that is, of the workmen. That this was the object, may be inferred from the power of fixing the rate having been always placed in the hands of the purchasers of labour exclusively. It may also be inferred, from the fact, that the thing which was practically fixed by these assizes always was the maximum, or greatest amount of wages, and not the minimum, or least amount, that was allowed to be given. From the nature of the case, it is evident, that no law made by the consumers merely, could have any effect in establishing a minimum either of wages or of prices. Supposing the law were to say, that the price of the quartern loaf should be tenpence, it might enable a consumer to compel a dealer to let him have a loaf for that money; but, if the dealer, not being able to obtain so much, was willing to dispose of his loaf for less, how was the law to interfere to prevent him from doing so? In point of fact, it never did so interfere; and in this direction, at least, the assize was perfectly powerless. But there was a method by which something could be done to establish a minimum of prices and wages. It promised to be probably as effectual in doing this as the assize of the magistrates was in fixing a maximum. That method was the union of those who had any article to dispose of, and their agreement among themselves not to sell it under a certain rate. Among other classes of dealers, the workmen of any craft, who are dealers in a particular description of labour, might combine on this principle. In fact, they did so combine, and formed what we now call Trades' Unions. Nor will we say, that so long as they had to contend with a maximum of wages fixed by their employers, they were not in the right to meet the pressure thus brought to bear upon them, inefficient and irregular in its operation as it was, by the similar pressure in the opposite direction of a minimum fixed by themselves.

But this was altogether a most vicious state of things. To attempt to fix either prices or wages in any other way than by a free bargain between the purchaser and the seller, or the employer and the labourer, is nothing else than to fight against a law of nature. For some time the attempt may be attended with a degree of apparent success; but it must fail in the long run. And even while it seems to succeed, the success is obtained at the expense of much more than it is worth.

It is curious to observe the zig-zag course that popular ignorance has taken upon this subject. Formerly, the outcry used to be against the high prices exacted for their commodities by producers and dealers. We had riots to compel the farmers to sell their corn cheaper. Now, the working classes have got it into their heads that all their distress arises from prices being too low. The Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on manufactures, commerce, and shipping, which has just been printed, contains the evidence of several labouring men from different parts of the country, who all agree in inveighing against what they call the unnatural competition of the manufacturers and dealers in *underselling* each other. They wish this to be put a stop to by the legislature, when, they say, all would be well.

If the persons who hold either the former or the latter of these opinions, and, opposed as they are to each other, we dare say there are many persons who hold both, would consider for a moment the circumstances which manifestly occasion that which they complain of in either case, they would probably see at once the folly of calling for the interference of the law, to put down either high prices or low prices. It is always good to try to find out what an evil or inconvenience really arises from, before setting to work to remove it. If we did not do this, we might fall to legislating against the heat of the dog-days, or the cold of winter, as if these were evils which laws could cure. The reader, perhaps, deems this an extravagant illustration. But we believe, the keeping back of their goods by dealers at one time, and their underselling each other at another, are both brought about by causes which lie quite as far out

of the reach of legislation, as either the burning suns of Midsummer, or the snows and frosts of January.

In fact, the real case and the case supposed are not only similar, but they are sometimes precisely the same. Can laws control the weather? Can they prevent unpropitious seasons? Yet thence come scanty harvests, scarcity, rising prices, and the withholding of corn from the markets. It is plain, that no laws can turn the scarcity into plenty. Would the attempt to keep the prices down by law, while the scarcity continued, be more practicable? These two links of the chain of consequences are as inseparable as the two preceding. It is the high prices alone that disarm the calamity, in so far as it can be disarmed. Were it not for the high prices, the dearth would be a famine. By means of these, the consumption of each individual in the community is in a certain degree reduced; and thus the diminished quantity of food is made to meet the undiminished number of mouths. Were the law, on the contrary, to step in and say, that the price should continue the same as usual, the effect would be, that many people would be left to starve. The distribution of the article, too, would be effected by a mere scramble, the largest quantities falling to the share of the luckiest and the strongest. Such a law, in fact, would be nothing less than a proclamation that all law was at an end, and that universal plunder might begin.

Even if self-interest were out of the question, dealers, in demanding the highest prices they could get for their commodities, would only be doing an act of duty, and a most important service to the community. The highest price which they can get, be it observed, is the highest price at which they can dispose of the whole quantity they have on hand. We say it is best for the general interest, as well as for their own, that they should refuse to sell at a lower price than this. If I have a bushel of flour to dispose of, and two men come to me, one of whom offers me twelve shillings for it, while the other will only give ten, who best *deserves* to have it? He, surely, who is willing to purchase it at the greatest sacrifice. Suppose that they are both poor men, who, in a time of scarcity, want this food to give to their hungry children. It is plain that the man who offers twelve shillings is willing either to give more of his labour than the other, or to deny himself more of some other necessary or enjoyment, in order to obtain this sustenance for his family. Of the two, therefore, he may be fairly presumed to need it the most. Would it be either justice or charity, any more than it would be an act of common sense, to let the other have the flour, and to send him away to starve? Yet this is really what those persons may be considered to demand, who clamour at such seasons against the holding out of dealers for higher prices, and would have them to be compelled by law to bring their stores to market whether they would or no.

What is true of corn or flour is true of all other commodities. Whenever there is a deficiency in the supply as compared with the demand, the other consequences enumerated above, flow from this by a succession which is perfectly inevitable. In this way cloth, or shoes, or hats, or any other article, may rise in price, and frequently have done so, by a tendency which no human law could control, any more than it could control the principle of gravitation itself.

Now, as rising prices are produced by a deficiency in the supply as compared with the demand, so falling prices, and what is complained of as the competition of dealers or manufacturers to undersell each other, are occasioned by the opposite state of things. But in this case, as in the former, the holder of any commodity still demands the highest price that he can get. Indeed, it is quite plain, that no man would ever take a low price for his goods if he could get a high one. The witnesses before the late committee speak as if they conceived the manufacturers to undersell each other out of mere sport or malice, and even to their own hurt. No wonder that they should call such a competition unnatural. But it must be evident to them upon the least reflection, that this notion cannot be well founded. The underseller, they may be assured, only accepts of the low price for his goods, because he finds that he cannot dispose of them for a higher. For what other reason should he possibly accept of it?

James Orr, a silk-gauze weaver from Paisley, who was examined before the Committee, gives an account of an attempt which appears to have been lately made in the

town and Glasgow, to establish a fixed rate of wages in his department of industry. "The silk-gauze weavers," he says, "with the concurrence of their employers, made out a scale of wages that only came into operation on the 1st of July last; now we have only thirteen silk-gauze manufacturers in Glasgow and Paisley, nine in Paisley, four in Glasgow, and they all thought it worth while to abide by these prices, and they were ready to agree." Well, what was the issue of this wise project, this conspiracy on the part of the weavers and their masters against the public? "But," continues the witness, "one instance in Glasgow is likely to defeat the efforts of the weavers, and interfere with the other manufacturers, who have said that they will not agree, unless that warehouse which I allude to, will pay their prices, which are about 17 per cent., I believe, above the scale of that house."

James Orr and his friends would have the law to interfere here, and to compel this dissenting manufacturer to pay the same wages as the others. But, unless the law were also to compel him to remain in business, and to continue to employ his present number of hands, which would be rather hard, it is plain that it would be of no service to the general body of the weavers of Glasgow and Paisley. If he really can find men to work for him at the rate of wages which he pays, this is a demonstration that, but for his manufactory, all those weavers whom he employs would have had no employment at all. The rest might have had their high wages as long as the compact among the men and the masters lasted, but these would have been left to starve. The compact, however, could not have been adhered to in such circumstances; and it would have been the grossest injustice to have adhered to it. The case would have been this. With employment, we will say, for only 1200 weavers, there would have been a body of 1300, 1200 of whom demanded a certain rate of wages, while the remaining 100 were willing to work for about four-fifths of the same sum. What conduct would reason and justice recommend to the manufacturers in deciding between these conflicting claims? Most undoubtedly to give employment to the 100, whose willingness to work for the lower rate shows that their necessities are the more pinching, and to discharge an equivalent number of the others. To continue the compact would be as unfair as it would be absurd.

It is not really the thirteenth manufacturer who brings down wages in this case, but it is the excess of workmen beyond the number that can find employment at the higher rate. This is a state of things which no law can cure, nor any compact between masters and men, nor any combination of either. None of these expedients can compel the public to purchase the quantity of goods which all these workmen would make in a year at such a price as to afford them the higher rate of wages. This is the radical difficulty, which there is no overcoming. That the whole quantity of goods may be taken off by the public, they must be offered at a reduction of price. This was, no doubt, what the manufacturer did, or proposed to do, who in the present case refused to become a party to the agreement entered into by the others. Had it not been because he was doing this, it would not have mattered to the others what wages he paid his men.

But the advocates of this scheme of a regulated rate of wages, want the legislature to give the charge and direction of the matter to a board or committee, who should vary the rate from time to time according to the change of circumstances, and whose decision should be binding upon all the masters in the trade. Every trade, we presume, would require to have its separate committee. It is proposed that these tribunals should be composed of equal numbers of masters and of operatives. But what purpose would be answered by such a contrivance as this? It might do much mischief: it could do no good whatever. The committee might fix the price at which the masters should be allowed to sell; but they could not compel the public to buy at that price. Yet, unless they could do this, as we have just shown, they could do absolutely nothing to remedy the evil.

Can those combinations of the workmen called trades' unions do more? The object which these associations propose to themselves is, apparently, to keep up wages by limiting the supply. Let us consider how this plan is likely to answer.

The wages of the men who produce any particular article must, of course, be paid out of the price obtained for the

article in the market. Part of that price goes to defray the cost of the raw material, the wear and tear of machinery, and the interest of capital; a second part forms the profit of the manufacturer; and a third part goes for wages. Of course, we are not here speaking of equal parts. It is obvious, that neither the amount of the first, nor that of the second of these parts into which the price is divided, can be either made smaller or greater by any thing which the union has it in its power to do. The first is simply the repayment of something which the manufacturer has given out before he has set his men to work at all. The second is regulated by the general rate of profit in other branches of trade, and cannot, for any considerable time, remain either below that or above it. From these two parts, the men can get nothing in any circumstances, or by any management whatever; for, if they were not to go wholly to the masters, the article would not be produced at all. There remains, then, the last of the three parts only to be raised in amount by the operations of the union.

Now, there is no doubt that the price of a *certain quantity* of almost any article whatever may be raised by limiting the supply of it in the market. If, for instance, under a system of free competition the price of shoes is eight shillings the pair, it might probably be raised to twelve shillings by such a combination among the makers as should prevent more than half the present quantity of the article from being offered for sale. But how would the general body of shoemakers be benefited by this? The change would at once throw one-half of those now employed out of work. This is a part of the effect which the unionists are apt to overlook; but it is very material when we are considering the operation of a plan which is proposed as a remedy for low wages, resulting from the only cause that can produce permanently low wages—the excessive numbers of the workmen. The object aimed at by the unions, even if they should succeed in completely attaining it, would only make the excess in the numbers of the workmen greater than ever. It is plain that if that object be to raise prices by diminishing the amount of production, it must have this effect.

But let us examine the mode of proceeding adopted by the combinations a little more closely.

The common plan is for the members of the union to enter into a mutual agreement that no one of them shall work at a lower rate of wages than that fixed by the vote of a majority of the whole body. A labourer's weapon of self-protection, and defence against oppression, is his right to refuse to give his labour for less than what he conceives to be his value. It is his duty to endeavour to obtain for it the highest price which it will bring. For this purpose he may sometimes find it expedient to withdraw himself for a time from the labour-market altogether, and rather to remain without employment than to work for what he considers to be inadequate wages. The savings of a time of prosperity cannot be put to a better use than to enable him to make a stand in this manner against the downfall of wages in a season of depression. Nor can there be any objection to workmen contributing to form a common fund for the support in such seasons of those of their body who may be individually willing thus to retire and to relieve the market. Here the deranged balance between the supply of labour and the demand for it is naturally readjusted, or rather may be said to readjust itself, by means of something which follows as the direct consequence of the derangement. The demand for a certain article diminishes, and the inevitable effect is that fewer labourers come to be employed in the manufacture of it. Or, a mode is discovered of producing it with less labour, and the same result takes place. Or, there is a temporary glut of the commodity in the market, and the manufacturers contract their operations till it has been removed. In each case the disease may be said to work its own cure. The cause cannot take place without producing the effect, nor can the effect take place without the presence of the cause. It is the same thing in the case in which the labourer rather chooses to live for a time upon his savings than to carry his labour to a market, where temporary causes have occasioned a great depression in the price of that most important commodity. If the causes of the depression be temporary merely, this is the very plan pointed out by nature for hastening their disappearance. We call it the plan pointed out by nature, because it is a plan which never can be resorted to except in circumstances which demand and justify, and indeed we may almost say force, its adoption.

It is important, however, to observe that it is only when the causes of the depression are really temporary that such an expedient will be of any avail. If the falling off in the demand for the produce of any particular trade or manufacture be permanent and incurable, there is no other resource for the workmen any more than for their employers, except the transference of themselves to a new branch of industry.

But the artificial system of the Trades Unions is something of altogether a different character from the natural process that has just been described. Under the operation of this system there is no adjustment of the deranged balance of the supply and the demand. The descending scale is not made to mount to the level of the other by having the requisite part of its weight taken out of it, but it is emptied at once. The balance is not restored, but more completely deranged than ever. Again, the mechanism is not self-acting, as in the other case, and in that way restricted from ever operating with more powerful effect than is justified by the circumstances. Its movements are quite independent of the circumstances by which they ought to be regulated, and may be of the most violent description when no proper cause exists for any movement at all. Here, in other words, we have not the withdrawal of a certain quantity of labour from the market merely when a pressure takes place, and of a quantity always proportional to the pressure, followed by the natural relief; but we have the supply of labour suddenly suspended altogether, without any reference to the state of the demand, and when there is no security that it will produce any relief whatever.

All experience goes to show that, instead of relief, the effect of these strikes, where they have produced any permanent effect, has only been to injure, sometimes to ruin the trade in which they have taken place. For a good many years past no place has been more agitated by combinations and strikes among the different descriptions of workmen than the town of Sheffield. Since 1810 the artisans in every branch of the cutlery trade carried on in that town have been either permanently or occasionally in a state of combination for the purpose of raising or upholding wages. Since 1824 these confederacies have enjoyed the utmost freedom in conducting their operations, and all the advantages from the toleration of the law which their warmest promoters could claim. Sometimes the workmen have had the concurrence of their masters, and even of the general body of their fellow-townsmen, in their schemes to better their condition by this expedient. Yet what has been the result of all their efforts? It appears that at this moment, although the wages of those men who are employed are not remarkably low, they are in almost every branch very far below what they have been, and what the unions have tried to raise them to, and that great numbers of the men can find no employment. This at least was the case a few months ago. Mr. Milner, one of the witnesses examined before the committee on manufactures, describes the general condition of the labouring population of that town as then distressing in the extreme. This witness appeared as a delegate from the committee of one of the associations in Sheffield, called the Freemen's Society, consisting of about 300 members, principally journeymen, and had himself repeatedly taken an active part in organizing combinations, and directing their proceedings; but he distinctly declares it to be his opinion that the rate of wages in the different trades has upon the whole been precisely the same as if there had been no combinations at all, "with the exception of just the times when those combinations existed." He enters into a statement of facts which proves this to be the case. In 1810 certain rates of wages were agreed upon by both the men and their employers. These wages were kept up till 1814, and after that they even rose; till in 1818, the speculation which had been going on for some time experienced a sudden stop, and then they came down to a point below what they had ever been at before. This crisis showed the true power, that is, the utter powerlessness, of either a combination among the men, or an agreement between them and their employers. The same thing was still more decisively demonstrated two years later. In 1820 an attempt was again made by both parties to support the prices of 1810. The authorities and the people of most influence in the town even took the matter up, and a public meeting was held in promotion of the object. Well, the wages of 1810 were again paid. But for how long did they continue to be paid? For three or four months only; after which,

with the exception of a partial revival in 1829, they continued to fall lower and lower till the end of 1831, when, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts of the combinations, which had been for some time renewed, they had reached a point of depression beyond the farthest to which they had ever before descended.

If the combinations had any effect at all here it was doubtless to accelerate that declension which it was the aim of their members to prevent. The partial loss of the foreign market, to which it has in part been owing, could not, it is evident, have been prevented by the operations of the unionists, while it may very possibly have been thereby hastened. An ill-advised strike of the English workmen in any particular branch may, without at all benefiting themselves, have in some cases given a powerful impetus to the exertions of their rivals in other countries. "I remember," says Mr. Jackson, another witness from Sheffield, who was examined by the committee on manufactures, "after a journey to the Continent in 1826, I had obtained considerable orders for what are called the billet webs (a particular description of saw); we could at that time compete both with the German and the French manufacturers; but on arriving at home, business was good, and the workmen refused to manufacture these articles excepting by a certain process, which being more expensive rendered us altogether unable to supply the French market with that article. Since that the French manufacturers have so much improved, that competition is out of the question." In point of fact, the hardware manufactures both of France, of Prussia, and of Belgium are at this moment fast advancing, at least in respect to some descriptions of articles, upon our own. Mr. Jackson, who had paid several visits to these countries between 1825 and 1830, states that he found their manufactures gradually improving, and competing more and more with those of England, every journey. And we are actually already in part supplied with some of the finer articles of cutlery by France.

But it is not only in foreign countries that the workmen of Sheffield have called up a formidable rivalry against themselves by these combinations. They are driving certain branches of the hardware trade from that town to other parts of England. The trade in plated goods, for example, has already in great part migrated to Birmingham, where the wages are not much more than one-half what a combination among the workmen compels the Sheffield masters to pay. In this instance the combination has indeed kept up the rate of wages; but it has done so only in the way we have indicated above as that in which alone such a result is attainable; half the hands are not employed at all.

Something similar to what is taking place with regard to the plated-goods trade of Sheffield, had very nearly happened a few years ago with the great carpet manufacture of Kidderminster. The history of the strike in 1828 by the workmen in this trade reads an instructive lesson on the subject of combinations. The prices of carpets having been reduced in the market by the competition of the manufacturers in Scotland and Yorkshire, where the wages were about one-sixth lower than in Kidderminster, it became necessary for the manufacturers of the latter place to bring down the wages of their workmen to the same point. An announcement to that effect was accordingly made. Upon this, acting under the direction of the committee of their union, the weavers to the number of about 2000, men and boys, all struck and left their work. The strike took place on the 25th of March. We have before us four copies of answers to some queries respecting the history of the affair, the first two received from two of the manufacturers, the third from a clerk in one of the establishments, and the fourth from a workman, an elderly and very respectable man, of superior steadiness and intelligence. These different statements perfectly agree in all the main facts. The object of one of the questions is to ascertain what were the opinions of the men as to the cause that had occasioned the reduction of wages. The answer of the workman to this question is, that the opinion of the greater part of the men was, that the masters wished to get excessive profits, but the sensible part thought the masters were obliged to lower the wages from the depression in the markets. Those who took the latter view, however, were compelled, we see, to give way to the majority opposed to them. To the question, What was the conduct of the men during the turn-out? the answer of their fellow-workman is, that they behaved exceedingly well. In so far as respects abstinence from all actual violence, they appear

to have deserved this praise. The clerk states that they were peaceable, but that they showed angry feelings. Misled as they were, their sufferings and those of their families were enough to have excused a great deal more than this; and it must be allowed to be infinitely to their credit that they conducted themselves as they did. They were obliged, says the set of answers we have received from one of themselves, to sell their furniture and expend their savings, and the suffering was extreme after a short time. Even with all their sacrifices they were not able to hold out on their own resources alone. They were supported, it is stated, by subscriptions from different parts of the country, which were distributed by the committee of the union,—the allowance to a man with a family of three or four children being eighteen pence a week. We add the following particulars from the answers of the workman. A general meeting of the men was held weekly, at which the committee laid before them the state of their affairs. Discipline was enforced by strict orders issued by the committee, which sat constantly, and by a watchful superintendence both on their part and on that of other individuals. It is acknowledged that those who were inclined to work at the reduced wages were certainly not allowed by the others to do so; and for this purpose intimidation seems to have been employed in such a manner as to be perfectly effectual. A great deal of pains was taken to exasperate the men against the masters by a person whose station ought to have taught him better, named Price, who was constantly publishing inflammatory and libellous hand-bills and pamphlets. This interference, it is stated, was not approved of by the more reflecting of the men, who considered that it only served to widen the breach. Price was at last indicted for one of these effusions, and punished for it by a year's imprisonment. It is thought that had it not been for the scandalous exertions of this individual, the turn-out would not have lasted half so long as it did.

The men, however, were at last obliged to give in. They returned to their work about the middle of August, having been twenty-one weeks idle. To the question, what induced them ultimately to return? the answer from one of their own number is, absolute want and starvation, joined to the resolution of a few men who went to work in spite of the general feeling against them, as they found holding out any longer hopeless. The only concession obtained from the masters was an allowance of twenty shillings to every single man, and thirty shillings to every man with a family—a poor compensation for the five months' wages they had lost.

Let us now turn to the consequences left behind it by this useless struggle. As to the masters, one of the two whose answers we have, merely states, that they made no profits during the continuance of the strike. The other says that they lost considerably. They must, of course, have been put to a good deal of expense from having been obliged to keep up part of their establishments all the while. But both they and the weavers, and the inhabitants of Kidderminster generally, have sustained the greatest loss in the partial transference of the trade to other places, which took place during its suspension. The clerk, indeed, in his answers says, that it is presumed the trade has been preserved to the town; and one of the manufacturers gives it as his opinion that it has not seriously suffered. The other, however, affirms that the effect upon the trade has been very bad; and such is also the account of the workman, who adds that employment has never since been so regular as it was before. Upon the habits and interests of the men themselves all the accounts agree, that the effects of their five months of idleness have been exceedingly detrimental. Their demoralization, says their fellow-workman, has been very great, particularly that of the youth; the carefulness of all of them has been much lessened. Many of the retailers in the town, he also says, were ruined at the time, and they have all of them suffered since, because the men have not now so much money as they used to have to spend. Substantially the same statement is given in the other three sets of answers.

In the case of the ship-building trade of Dublin, the combination of the workmen has been attended with still more disastrous consequences. There are also some other features in this case, which materially distinguish it from the last. About seven years ago the ship-carpenters of the port of Dublin formed one combination, and the sawyers another. The professed object of these unions was to uphold a

high rate of wages, not only by what may be called the direct method of striking when a reduction was attempted, but also indirectly by limiting the numbers of the workmen. With this latter view, masters were to be prevented from taking more apprentices than were calculated to be merely necessary to keep up the existing number of hands. If the managers of this project could have also compelled the masters to give them work, they might as individuals have benefited themselves by their tyrannical proceedings, though it is perfectly obvious that the monopoly they would have established went directly to injure, not only the public generally, but the labouring classes in particular. It was an attempt by this small number of persons to confine to themselves advantages, the right to share in which fairly belonged to the whole community. Their scheme, however, has been as unsuccessful as it was in spirit dishonest and oppressive. One of the witnesses examined before the late committee on manufactures states, that although there was at one time a good deal of ship-building carried on at Dublin, and although no place is better adapted for that branch of trade, the combinations among the workmen have now driven it almost wholly away to other ports. At present, he states, there is no ship-building whatever at Dublin. It is impossible that the result should have been different. The wages for which the sawyers of Dublin stand out are at the rate of 4s. 2d. for the same work which is done at Liverpool for 2s. and 2s. 6d. But they will not make much by continuing to demand this rate, if they can get no person to give it.

We have said that the operations of these Dublin unions have been distinguished by various characteristics not generally exhibited elsewhere. The following passage from the examination of Mr. Astle, the witness to whom we have just alluded, will further explain what we mean: "If you had a ship to repair, and were to bring the whole number of men that you wanted to repair that ship, how would they be able to prevent it?—No person would do it unless they had military protection; when one ship-carpenter endeavoured to break through the combination by taking an extra number of apprentices, one of them was murdered at noon-day, and although 1000*l.* reward was offered, we never discovered one tittle of evidence of the perpetrator of the murder. When did that happen?—About seven years ago, at the last sawyers' combination. I was one of the parties that took it up at considerable personal risk to bring them to justice, and it cost us 1000*l.*, and I believe it cost the government 1500*l.*; it is attended with considerable personal risk, and very few people are inclined to embark in it; they would rather carry their business elsewhere. So that, in fact, the ship-building trade has left Dublin in consequence of the combination?—In consequence of the high rate of wages, which is owing to the combination, and not only the high rate of wages, but the bad value of what you get compared with the rate paid; they always turn out when a ship is in a state not to be removed." At the present moment it appears, by the newspapers, that the lightermen of the port of Waterford are imitating this worthy example. It has been found necessary, it appears, within these few weeks, to station a government six-gun steamer off the quay of that city, for the protection of the ship-trade there against the violence of this body of unionists.

This is a part of the question relating to combinations, upon which we hold it necessary to say very little. Persons who imagine that in any state of society, in which either law or liberty exists, they can be permitted to prevent their fellow-workmen by force from disposing of their labour at any rate they themselves choose, must be far beyond the reach of reasoning. It is but fair to allow that in this part of the kingdom the trades-unions have not in many cases been guilty of any such gross interference with the rights of others as this. They have resorted to intimidation, and that certainly liberally enough, as well as with sufficient success; but they have for the most part refrained from actual violence. In Scotland, however, as well as in Ireland, many very frightful excesses were committed by the united workmen on the first repeal of the combination laws in 1824. Strange as such a delusion must appear to people of any sense or reflection, the notion actually seems to have been taken up by these misguided men, that the legislature, by removing the prohibition against their peaceable combination, had left them free from all restrictions whatever, and at liberty to do any thing they chose. "In the evidence of the police-officer of Dublin," says the Report of a Com-

mittee of the House of Commons which sat upon this subject in 1825, "it is stated that within the last few months, not less than sixty or seventy cases have occurred of violence committed in the streets—that thirty or forty persons have had their skulls fractured, a great number have been assaulted and beaten, and two persons have died of the wounds inflicted upon them." The circumstances attending these outrages are affirmed to have proved them almost beyond question to have been connected with the combinations. In Scotland, the combined colliers and cotton-spinners conducted themselves with equal disregard of all law. "Warnings, threats, assaults, and the infliction of the most cruel injuries, by throwing vitriol, deeply concerted attempts to assassinate, and, as far as intention went, the perpetration of actual assassination, for which conviction has been obtained," are enumerated by the committee as having been among the means employed to effect their objects by these misled and reckless men. "The degree," it is added, "to which this system has been carried cannot be more forcibly conveyed by your committee than by mentioning the fact, that they have been deterred in some instances from pressing inquiries, lest they should lead to some suspicion of the quarters from whence information had been derived, and place in jeopardy the lives of the individuals on whom the suspicion of having given it might fall."

We refer to these facts at present, chiefly by way of warning to those who, with the best intentions, enter into such combinations, of the serious lengths to which they may be imperceptibly led. They may begin with the most determined resolution to respect the laws, but there is great danger that, if the turn-out last long, their growing privations and sufferings may at last drive them to excesses the farthest possible from their original contemplation. It is impossible, indeed, for large bodies of men to remain for a considerable time in idleness without disorders ensuing. We derive the following information from a most intelligent gentleman, now a large manufacturer, but who was formerly a workman:—"On the 1st of January, 1829, a turn-out of power-loom weavers and spinners took place at Stockport, by which twenty-two mills, and about 10,000 workmen were thrown idle for six months. In April, 1829, 1000 fine mule-spinners in Manchester turned out, rejecting rates of wages, by which each man had it in his power to earn from thirty shillings to thirty-five shillings per week, clear of all deductions, and throwing twenty-one mills and 10,000 persons idle for six months. In December, 1830, about 3000 coarse-spinners at Ashton and Stayley Bridge turned out, when receiving wages by which each man could earn from twenty-eight shillings to thirty shillings clear per week, and threw fifty-two mills and 30,000 persons idle for six weeks. *On all of these occasions the men utterly failed in attaining their objects.* Much misery and distress were brought upon thousands of industrious people, who were willing to work, but durst not, for moderate wages, and great outrages on persons and property were committed. On the last-mentioned occasion, it was found necessary to bring a body of 1000 troops to the place to preserve order. And these are only a few of the many examples that might be given of similar disturbances, in which some of the work-people have gone on from less to more, setting the law at defiance, till they have become guilty of flagrant crimes. Some years ago, at the conclusion of a turn-out in Yorkshire, fourteen persons were hanged on two succeeding days at York Castle, all of them for crimes connected with the turn-out. And yet these very men at the outset, so far from considering their measures blameable, probably deemed their conduct in a high degree meritorious, and looked upon the sufferings to which it exposed them as honourable."

To the list of perfectly unsuccessful combinations, we have now to add that of the working builders in Liverpool and Manchester. When the strike took place some months ago, this seemed to be a very formidable confederacy. "As far as I understand it," says Mr. Steward, architect and surveyor, in Liverpool, in his evidence before the committee on manufactures, "they have issued certain manifestoes, avowing that they have united all over England, Ireland, and Scotland, and they have attempted to state, that no person should work by contract without submitting that contract to their associations, called unions, and that you shall not dismiss any man without their consent and authority, under certain circumstances." At the time when this strike took place, the witness states, wages were as high as they had

been at any period within his recollection, except for a short time in 1825, while the price of provisions and all other expenses had greatly fallen since the war. "In our own concern at this moment," he adds, "we have nearly 20,000 worth of building ready to put men to, that the men have never operated upon beyond the mere excavation of one of the foundations, and if they had waited a little, we should have been in the midst of the work; but now, having declared themselves, our friends say, we will wait your pleasure; let it stand." The men at this time had been off nearly a fortnight, but not an individual of them had made any overtures, "and they signify to us," says Mr. Steward, "that we must send to the union a written compliance with their terms, that we must enter into such engagements as they shall point out, and must pay to every man that has been off work four shillings for every day that he has been idle." "As we were in this situation," continues the witness, "not wishing to upset a decent set of men in the town, we have endeavoured to get only a few others at present; and we have a respectable clerk in the office, and he said that he was sure that men might be got from Edinburgh, and he has written to me a letter, in which he says, 'I received a letter this morning from Edinburgh, and I find my friends have had to contend with what I certainly did not anticipate; it appears that the whole of our proceedings, as regards the men, are known to the workmen there, and I have no doubt but that every town of importance has been written to with a view to prevent men from coming here; so that, from an apprehension of being molested, many that otherwise would be glad to be employed by us are prevented doing so; there are, however, four on their passage, who I expect will be here to-morrow evening.'"

Yet this extensive organization has been quite as ineffectual to attain the end aimed at, as if the union had been confined to a single locality. Within these few days, we observe it stated in the newspapers, that in Manchester the men have returned to their work at the old wages; and there can be no doubt that, if the same result has not already taken place in Liverpool, it cannot possibly be much longer deferred.

Indeed, if all the workmen, without exception, in any particular business throughout the kingdom, were to enter into the closest compact which it is possible to frame, not to work under a certain rate of wages, and if they were all to hold firm to their agreement, not for a few weeks or months, but for years, they would only at last drive that particular branch of industry from this to some other country. This would be a calamity which we should all feel; but the largest part of it would fall to the share of the operatives themselves, by whom it had been occasioned. Nor let it be imagined that there is any one, even of our greatest and apparently most firmly-established trades or manufactures of which we are in such complete possession, that there is no danger of our being deprived of it by the enterprise of rival nations. On the contrary, of those which now give their sole employment to many hundreds of thousands of our labouring population, there are some which it will evidently require our very greatest efforts to retain. We have already mentioned the growing competition which our hardware manufacture has for some time past experienced in the foreign market, from the rising establishments of the continent. It appears, that the wages of labour in England are generally three times higher than those paid throughout the continent, and it is distinctly stated, that at the great cutlery establishment of Molsheim, near Strasburg, the wages of the operative saw-manufacturers are actually less than one-twelfth of those of the same description of workmen in Sheffield. Work, which in Sheffield costs fifteen shillings, or sometimes even twenty shillings, is done at Molsheim for one shilling and twopence. Again, we have seen what has been the fate of the shipbuilding business in those ports where combinations among the workmen exist. This is another trade, which at this moment we should find no inconsiderable difficulty in keeping, even were these combinations not to come in aid of other causes which are already driving it abroad. The expenses both of building, equipping, and of navigating ships, are considerably greater in England than either in Sweden, in Denmark, in Norway, or in Prussia; and, in point of fact, a good many British ships have of late gone to foreign ports for repair. There is no reason why our capitalists in that business should not have their vessels also built abroad; and they will do so, we may be assured, if the charges at home are kept up

greatly above the level of those elsewhere, either by combinations or in any other way. One of the most intelligent witnesses examined by the late committee on manufactures, and one who is far from being disposed to admit the inferiority of England in other departments, allows that, in shipbuilding, the Americans are at present fully twenty years before us. In what was anciently the greatest manufacture of this country, that of woollens, foreign nations are in like manner beginning to supplant us. The woollen manufacture of the Netherlands, in particular, is already a formidable rival to our own, and is competing with us most successfully in certain foreign markets. In the Grecian Archipiciago, for instance, according to the evidence of an extensive wool-broker examined before the late committee, "the whole of the trade is at present getting into the hands of the Netherlands manufacturers." The manufacture of the coarser descriptions of goods is also rapidly on the advance in Prussia, Saxony, and Russia. But it is in the cotton trade, now by far the greatest carried on in this country, that we are at this moment most seriously pressed upon from all sides by foreign competition. The Americans especially, who grow the raw material in their own country, and whose machinery is almost all driven by the cheap power of water, have advantages over us in this manufacture, against which it will require our most strenuous exertions to enable us to bear up. The people of the United States are already on a par with us, if not a-head of us, in all that part of the business which belongs to mechanical ingenuity and dexterity. They cannot make the machinery so cheaply as it can be made here, but they make it quite as well. "Of all the improvements of great importance that have been made for the last two years," says Mr. Kirkman Finlay, in his evidence before the Committee on Manufactures, "the invention has been in America." Another witness admits, that in all the coarser descriptions of cotton goods for their own domestic consumption, the American manufacturers, even without the protection of the tariff, can now perfectly well bear the competition of England. They even export these coarse goods, which go by the name of domestics, and which one witness describes as adapted "for every purpose that almost any body can require," in large quantities to various foreign countries. They are sold extensively in Turkey, in South America, and even in British India, where they compete with those of English manufacture in Calcutta itself. They are also in demand in the West Indies. Nay, it is doubtful whether they have not of late found their way to England. Mr. Bates, of the house of Baring and Brothers, says in his evidence, that although he has not as yet heard of these American goods having been actually sold in London, such a circumstance has been spoken of as very likely to happen. All this prosperity, and, indeed, the cotton manufacture of America altogether, may be said to have sprung up within the last twenty years. But the Americans are not our only rivals. At the conclusion of the war in 1814, there was no considerable cotton manufacture any where except in this country. Now, as is stated by Mr. Finlay in his evidence, there is scarcely any part of the Continent in which a great manufacture of cotton is not carried on. The French now export cotton goods of a particular description in considerable quantities to various distant parts of the world; and especially to Brazil and other countries in South America. We used formerly to supply cotton goods to Switzerland for re-exportation to France; if Switzerland still carries on that trade with France, she now manufactures what she sends thither herself. In Austria, in Prussia, in Saxony, in Hungary, in the Tyrol, and even in Russia, the manufacture has also taken root and is extending itself. Mr. Milne, cotton-spinner of Crompton, near Oldham, states in his evidence before the late committee, that very good cotton-yarn is now spun at the mills of the Pacha in Egypt; and that it has of late met that sent from this country in the market of Bombay. And the skill and enterprise with which many of the foreign establishments are conducted are placed in a strong light in the following passages from the evidence of Mr. W. R. Greg. Speaking of the manufactories of Austria and Hungary, many of which he had recently visited and minutely inspected, that gentleman says, "They had all the newest inventions. Even in the remotest parts of Germany, they obtain them as soon as we do in England. In one of the largest establishments on the continent, on the frontiers of Hungary and Austria, belonging to different Austrian noblemen,

among others the Prince Esterhazy, and managed by an individual who learned the spinning trade in England, and commenced business at the same time with some of our largest and wealthiest manufacturers; they had 50,000 spindles. * * With respect to the new machinery, I can state a remarkable fact; that a new machine lately came from America, known by the name of Darnforth's Throstle, which, when I left England, was only just beginning to be known; and I do not suppose twenty of them had been put up in England; and when I saw the mill of Baron Bouton, almost forty miles from Vienna, there was that machine actually going there, and I brought home some of the yarn which it made, which was nearly equal to our own; and he made it, not from having seen the machine, but from having heard of the principle. This shows that they are not men to be despised in the race of competition."

The trade thus circumstanced, the operatives of Scotland are at this moment doing their utmost still further to embarrass and endanger. Mr. William Graham, cotton-spinner, Glasgow, in his evidence before the committee on manufactures, states, that in that city the spinners only used to combine; but that, lately, the dressers have followed their example, and still more recently, the female workers have, under the direction of the men, formed themselves into unions for the purpose of raising their wages to an equality with those of the men. The wages which all these classes of operatives are receiving, are considerably higher than those paid in Lancashire: the same work which in that county is done for three shillings and sixpence costing the manufacturer, it is affirmed, four shillings and elevenpence in Glasgow. The gains of the men in the latter place are stated to run from thirty-five shillings to forty-two shillings a week. In these circumstances, Mr. Graham and his partners had been driven, much against their inclination, to introduce self-acting mules into their manufactory, by which they had been enabled to dismiss all their spinners. The piecers, two of whom were under each spinner, give all the attention which the mules require for a trifling addition to their weekly wages. "If we can," says Mr. Graham, "we will turn out even the women, to introduce those mules." He considers, and apparently with ample reason, that he has been forced upon the adoption of this expedient by circumstances which left him no choice. "Before adopting the self-acting mule," he says, "I had the plans drawn, and I called a deputation of the men in, and explained it to them, and I said, 'You drive us either to take machines, or you drive us to bankruptcy, or to stop our works; here is an order going off to Manchester for self-acting mules; we do not wish to introduce them, and we will be the last house to introduce them, if you will take the same wages that they have in Lancashire;' and they said, 'It is of no use, we are determined not to reduce our wages.'" The witness is asked, have the spinners taken any steps to prevent you using them? To which he answers, "No. I think the precaution I took of warning them, and the offer I made, have prevented them taking any steps, or expressing any disapprobation. I said to one of them one day, 'You see what you have brought upon yourselves;' he said, 'I am sorry for it; but you are rather hurrying us; you are coming too fast upon us; it is hard to do it so rapidly.'" We are sorry to find from other passages in Mr. Graham's evidence, that these Scotch unionists have not yet altogether abandoned their old habit of resorting to actual violence in order to compel their fellow-workmen to leave their employment, when their threats fail to have that effect. They are described as setting a watch upon the streets to prevent men entering the obnoxious manufactory; and they "will abuse any body that comes," says Mr. Graham, "in the most shocking manner, even to taking their lives if it were necessary." "Within a week before I left Glasgow," he adds, "they beat a person, and he came back to the work frightened and alarmed, and he was obliged to go out." One of these Glasgow spinners went over some time ago to America, with the object of introducing unions among the workmen of that country; but he came back without having met with any success in his mission. The works were so scattered, that he found it impossible, he said, to bring the men together.

This wild scheme, however, of a union among the labouring classes all over the world, is understood to be at present seriously entertained by some of the popular leaders. Its impracticability, at least on the principle contemplated, is

sufficiently evident. The failure of the attempt made by the Glasgow emissary in America, may serve for an example of the difficulties which stand in the way of extension of such a combination even to countries where the government, the laws, and the state of society would seem to offer the greatest facilities to the attainment of that object. But this is not all. A union of the workmen of all countries, even if it could be accomplished, would not answer the end for which it is proposed, unless it were to be the means of bringing wages everywhere to the same level. But does any person, who considers for a moment the different circumstances in which different countries are placed, believe this to be possible? Could any combination raise the wages of the sawmakers of Molsheim, for instance, to the level of those of Sheffield? The difference of prices generally in the two countries would forbid this ever being done. And this difference of prices depends, in part at least, upon peculiarities, not only in the social state of the two countries, but even in their geographical position; their climate, their natural productions, and those other physical points which are altogether independent of human control. In fact, to say that prices shall be the same over all the world, (and without that wages cannot be the same,) is just as absurd, as it would be to say, that in any particular country bad land should let as high as good land, and land ever so distant from the markets as high as that in their immediate neighbourhood. The existing inequalities here are what no advance in civilization will probably ever be able altogether to destroy.

The only case in which a combination of workmen can succeed for any considerable time in maintaining a high standard of wages, is when they have both established a complete monopoly in their own hands of a particular business, and when their number is so limited, that the public demand for the article which they produce gives them all full employment. It is in this way, that the operatives belonging to the saw-trade in Sheffield have continued to secure their high rate of wages. From peculiar circumstances connected with their trade, they have been enabled, for some years past, to preserve a close monopoly of it to a certain limited number of hands. This trade employs only between 600 and 700 individuals, and is entirely confined to Sheffield. New hands, therefore, in case of a strike cannot be obtained from other places; nor could they be easily or soon provided elsewhere, as before any person can work at the trade, he must have served an apprenticeship, and he cannot become a good workman till after many years' practice. In all these respects, the trade presents a complete contrast to most others, in which combinations have been attempted—and especially to the several branches of the cotton manufacture. The saw-makers of Sheffield, with the view of preventing any increase of their numbers, have availed themselves of the advantages of their position to exclude all, except the sons of journeymen, from entering the trade; but they are not so powerful, it would appear, as to be always able to enforce the observance of this regulation. In the evidence reported by the Committee on Manufactures, Mr. Jackson is asked, If any employer were to try to break through this rule, would he on that account be deprived of the services of all his workmen? to which he replies, "In the beginning of last year, and also of this year, our workmen in the saw-trade turned out for nearly one month at each period, in consequence of our taking an apprentice that was not the son of a journeyman. In consequence of having many orders on hand at that time, we at last conformed to the dictation of the workmen, but subsequently there being a falling off in trade, we took the apprentice, and still have him in our manufactory."

This practice, we would remark by the by, adopted by the workmen belonging to a particular trade, of excluding all other persons from entering it, appears to us to be one which the general body of the labouring population will hardly encourage by their approval, if they take the view they ought to do either of their interests or their rights. In a free country, the advantages of every different branch of industry ought to be open to all; and these attempts, by certain classes, to appropriate to themselves particular tracts of the common domain, would seem to be nothing else than wrongs and insults offered to the rest of the community. They are attempts which the independent spirit of the people may fairly be expected to discountenance and put down, as soon as attention shall have been properly awakened to their true character and tendency. They have already

begun to operate with great severity in some directions. By far the most distressed class of our operatives for some time past have been the hand-loom weavers, both in the cotton, the silk, and the linen manufactures. The natural resource of every description of artisans, when the trade to which they have been bred happens to be depressed, is to transfer themselves to some other of easy acquirement, which is more fortunately circumstanced. The transition from one branch of mechanical industry to another is often a mere step, and the change might be made with the greatest ease, were there no restrictive laws or customs to bar the way. It is confessed that these hand-loom weavers would make the best of all power-loom weavers and dressers, from the experience and knowledge they have acquired in their original occupation, and the manufacturers say they would prefer them to all others. But the unions, in many cases, will not permit them to be introduced into the mills. In other trades, these unions will not allow even their children to be employed. The evidence of the hand-loom weavers who were examined by the Committee on Manufactures contains many complaints on this head.—Thus, Richard Needham, hand-loom weaver, from Great Bolton, after having given a deplorable account of the situation of himself and his fellow-workmen, is asked, "Are the fathers of families bringing up their children to hand-loom weaving?" to which his reply is, "They are obliged to do so; all the other trades combine together to prevent weavers' children coming into their trade, and if a master was to take a weaver's child an apprentice, they would turn out against him." What is this but persecution, and cruel persecution, in spirit and in effect?

The circumstances we have mentioned might probably enable the operative saw-makers of Sheffield to retain their monopoly for some time to come, were it not for the risk it runs of being broken up by competition from abroad. But if the wages of workmen in this trade are so much lower in Alsace, there would seem to be no reason why we should not import our saws from that country instead of having them manufactured at home. Even if the Sheffield monopoly, however, should remain undisturbed, it may be questionable whether the gains of the workmen are really greater than they would be were the trade perfectly open. Their union is stated to have cost them a great deal of money. The expense which trades are put to in this way, including what they lose when they make a strike, forms, in all cases, a serious deduction from any temporary profits which their combination may occasionally bring them. "The workmen," observes Mr. Jackson, in his evidence before the late committee, "does not benefit, strictly speaking, by combination; though he gets high wages, he has sometimes to pay 20 per cent. out of his wages for keeping up the combination, besides an occasional levy of one pound; and besides, to obtain this advantage, it frequently happens that they are out of employment for several months; so that I have frequently said to the workmen that I defy them to prove that any steady, industrious man ever benefited by it; that is to say, that the cost of obtaining this advance is greater than the advantage ultimately realized." And again, being asked, "Have the combinations you have mentioned had the tendency of raising the price of the article generally?" the same witness replies; "My opinion is, that they have a tendency ultimately to reduce it: an augmentation of wages has taken place; if trade has been remarkably brisk, and the demand made by the workmen has mostly been for an exorbitant price, the price has generally been maintained for a very short time, for a month perhaps, to execute the orders on hand, but the price of goods was in consequence so far augmented as to stop the demand in our foreign markets, and, a subsequent reaction taking place, it has been ascertained that after a turn out of workmen and a consequent augmentation in the price of goods, every third season or every third half-year (as the American order's come usually twice a year) the price has fallen much below the previous level, and when workmen have attempted to gain exorbitant wages for their labour, it has ended in the sequel by bringing the rate of their labour to a less standard than that from which they previously started."

We believe that these observations will be completely borne out by experience; and we earnestly commend them to the consideration of the working classes. Another of the witnesses examined by the committee, who, though now a manufacturer, had been himself for many years a workman, says, speaking of combinations, "I believe if the workmen

were better informed on these subjects, much good might result from it. I have frequently thought that it would be very useful if some cheap method were resorted to of disseminating information on this subject among the workmen." We have endeavoured to supply this desideratum, and both by a statement of general principles and an induction of facts to furnish the materials for a right judgment on a question, the wrong side of which is by no means without its plausibilities, though we do not think they are such as after full consideration ought to deceive any mind of ordinary intelligence or acuteness. Let one very simple and incontrovertible truth be kept in view, and the whole matter is clear. *No operations of the unions can increase consumption.* In other words, they cannot give more employment to the body of workmen than they had before. On the contrary, if they raise the nominal rate of wages, they will infallibly diminish consumption. They will reduce the quantity of employment. They can never therefore remedy a state of things in which the distress of the workmen is occasioned by the want of sufficient employment for their whole number. They can never weaken, though they may strengthen, the source and cause of this evil, which, as we have said before, is always the excessive numbers of the workmen, as compared with the public demand for their services.

The amount at which wages naturally settle down, is always that at which the greatest possible quantity of employment is given to the general body of the workmen. Any thing the effect of which is permanently to disturb this level (except indeed it be a monopoly secured to a certain limited number of producers) cannot benefit, but must injure the interests of the general body of workmen. The aggregate sum going to them in the shape of wages will be less than it would otherwise be. The gains of those who are employed may be greater for the time; but either these persons will have less constant employment than they otherwise would have, or the number will be greater than it otherwise would be of those who have no employment at all.

If the wages of all classes of workmen were to be thus

raised above their natural level, the advantage would be counterbalanced also in another way. Every thing would be only so much the dearer. The higher wages of the mason would raise the rent of houses; those of the cabinet-maker would raise the price of furniture; those of the journeyman baker would raise the price of bread; those of the cotton-spinner, the wool-comber, and the other descriptions of artisans employed in the fabrication of clothing would render that in a corresponding degree more expensive; and so with every other article. The rise of wages would be merely nominal.

In short, and to conclude, there is no possible way of permanently raising the price of unskilled labour except by a diminution of the number of that portion of the general population which consists of unskilled labourers. And this will be brought about only by the increase of Capital and the Diffusion of Knowledge. The more capitalists and the more educated persons, the smaller will be the number of those having little more but the strength of their sinews whereby to gain their subsistence. The working classes therefore have an interest in the increase of capital and the diffusion of knowledge, even apart from each man's chance of acquiring a portion of the one or other of these possessions himself. By means of the growth and spread of capital and knowledge in the community generally, the pressure arising from their own excessive numbers will be relieved. By the emigration, as it were, of some of them to the wealthy and educated classes, the rest who remain in the class of workmen will fare the better. And as for machinery, against which so many prejudices exist, it is not only the instrument by which the growth of capital is mainly facilitated and quickened, but it is in all probability that by which the final and complete emancipation of the working classes is to be wrought. When machinery is brought into use to the utmost extent, there will be no unskilled labourers, and all the social evils now experienced from the existence of a large part of the population in that condition—evils which we fear are in some degree inseparable from that state of things—will be done away.

COMPARATIVE PRICES OF IMPORTED ARTICLES.

The following Table, extracted from the Report of the Committee on Manufactures, presents the Prices of some of the most considerable Imported articles for the last Five Years, about the 1st of May in each Year.

	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.
Tea, Bohea, common and middling, per lb.	<i>b.</i> 1/5½ a' 1/9	1/6½ a' 1/10	1/8 a' 1/8½	2/ a' 2/0½	1/9½ a' 1/10
— Congou, ditto, per lb.	<i>b.</i> 2/2 a' 2/9	2/2½ a' 2/10.	1/10 a' 2/7	2/1 a' 2/7	2/ a' 2/7
Coffee, Jamaica, middling, per cwt.	<i>b.</i> 52/ a' 61/	47/ a' 61/	58/ a' 62/	86/ a' 91/	91/ a' 93/
— St. Domingo, ditto	<i>b.</i> 35/ a' 38/	31/ a' 33/	40/ a' 42/	56/ a' 59/	55/ a' 57/
Cocoa, West India, common, ditto	<i>b.</i> 28/ a' 40/	25/ a' 34/	26/ a' 34/	28/ a' 35/	50/ a' 56/
Rum, Leewards, proof, per imperial gallon	<i>b.</i> 2/1 a' 2/2	1/10 a' 1/11	1/8 a' 1/9	1/7 a' 1/8	1/9 a' 1/8½
Cassia Lignea, per cwt.	<i>b.</i> 84/ a' 95/	62/ a' 70/	62/ a' 76/	93/ a' 100/	70/ a' 72/
Cloves, Bourbon, per lb.	<i>b.</i> 1/1 a' 1/3	9/ a' 11/	9/ a' 11/	10/ a' 11/	11/ a' 1/3
Nutmegs, unsorted, per lb.	<i>b.</i> 3/2 a' 3/4	3/ a' 3/9	3/8 a' 4/2	3/ a' 3/2	4/10 a' 5/
Mace, seconds, per lb.	<i>b.</i> 4/ a' 4/6	4/3 a' 5/	4/4 a' 4/6	4/3 a' 4/10	5/4 a' 5/9
Pepper, per lb.	<i>b.</i> 3½ a' 3½	3½ a' 3½	3½ a' 3½	3½ a' 4½	3½ a' 4
Ginger, East India, per cwt.	<i>b.</i> 15/6 a' 16/	20/	26/	36/	37/
Tobacco, per lb.	<i>b.</i> 5/ a' 5½	4½ a' 5/	4½ a' 4½	4½ a' 4½	5½ a' 6/
Cotton, Surat, per lb.	<i>d. p.</i> 3/8 a' 4½	4½ a' 5/	4 a' 4½	4½ a' 4½	4½ a' 5/
— Bowed, ditto	<i>d. p.</i> 5/8 a' 6/	6½ a' 6½	5½ a' 6½	5½ a' 6½	1/6 a' 6½
Tallow, Russian, per cwt.	<i>d. p.</i> 38/3 a' 38/6	34/3 a' 34/6	43/6	43/	44/
Wool, German, the lowest sorts of Silesia and Saxony {					
— flocks, and good Australia flocks, per lb.	<i>d. p.</i> 1/8	1/10	1/11	2/1	2/6
— Middling sorts, per lb.	<i>d. p.</i> 2/	2/4	2/4	2/7	3/1
Silk, Italian, Bergam, and Milan 4/5 Cocoons, per lb.	<i>b.</i> 17/ a' 19/	17/ a' 18/	17/ a' 18	16/ a' 18/	18/ a' 20/
— Persian, per lb.	<i>b.</i> 8/	9/6	10/	10/	9/9
— Tatler China, ditto	<i>b.</i> 18/6	16/	16/	14/6	15/
— Taysam China, ditto	<i>b.</i> 14/6	13/6	13/	12/3	13/6
Flax, per ton	<i>d. p.</i> 38£	40£	50£	42£	42£
Saltpetre, per cwt.	<i>b.</i> 23/ a' 25/	33/ a' 37/	36/ a' 41/	30/ a' 35/	30/ a' 37/
Indigo, consuming qualities, per lb.	<i>b.</i> 4/6 a' 6/6	3/3 a' 5/	3/3 a' 4/6	3/ a' 4/	3/6 a' 4/6
Barilla, Teneriffe, per ton	<i>d. p.</i> 6£ 5s.	6£ 15s.	7£ 15s.	7£	9£
— Sicily, ditto	<i>d. p.</i> 8£	8£	12£	10£ 12s. 6d.	10£ 10s.
— Spanish, ditto	<i>d. p.</i> 12£ 10s.	8£ 15s.	11£	9£	11£ 10s.
Brimstone, ditto	<i>b.</i> 4£ 10s. a' 6£	4£ 5s. a' 5£ 5s.	5£ 10s. a' 8£	8£ a' 9£	14£
Madder Roots, Turkey, per cwt.	<i>d. p.</i> 40/ a' 46/	50/ a' 90/	49/ a' 55/	50/ a' 62/	60/
Olive Oil, per ton	<i>d. p.</i> 47£ a' 54£	47£ a' 55£	40£ a' 50£	44£ a' 54£	58£
Palm Oil, per cwt.	<i>d. p.</i> 27/6	25/	28/	33/	33/
Opium, per lb.	<i>b.</i> 17/ a' 17/6	13/9 a' 14/	15/6 a' 16	14/ a' 15/	15/ a' 15 6

* *b.* Means quoted in Bond. *d. p.* Duty Paid.

ELECTORAL FRANCHISE OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

IN the following Tables is given some curious information relating to the electoral franchise, and its exercise. The first contains a list of all the cities and boroughs in England and Wales, sending members to parliament, with their total population, the total number of ten-pound houses, and the number of those registered; the number of registered free-men; the number of persons polled wherever there was a contest; and the expenses, in every instance, of the returning officer. The second contains a list of counties, their total population, and the population exclusive of that of the represented towns, with the number of registered voters, and the number polled wherever the election was contested.

	Population.	£10 Houses.	Registered £10 Houses.	Registered Freemen.	Polled.	Expenses of the Returning Officer.
Abingdon	5,259	451	300	.	201	no charges
Andover	4,966	322	229	17	no contest	
Arundel *	2,805	254	351	.	.	£10 10 0
Ashburton *	4,165	342	146	52	.	5 0 0
Ashton-under-Lyne	33,597	610	433	.	383	72 17 6
Aylesbury	4,907	314*	1,654	.	1,269	143 8 7
Banbury *	5,906	365	329	.	.	109 10 6
Barnstaple	6,840	607	459	261	684	100 4 0
Bath	50,802	7,314	2,853	.	2,329	248 8 6
Beaumaris, &c.	2,946	.	329	.	.	
Bedford	6,959	493	975	597	961	249 8 10
Berwick	8,920	582	269	436	653	172 4 7
Beverley	8,302	507	146	865	972	50 10 0
Bewdley *	4,132	484	312	25	.	
Birmingham *	146,986	6,532	4,309	.	.	46 16 0
Blackburn	27,091	623	626	.	607	127 2 10
Bodmin	5,223	311	222	30	222	10 6 0
Bolton-le-Moors	43,396	1,612	1,040	.	.	210 15 6
Boston	12,818	1,000	885	372	788	103 7 0
Bradford	43,537	1,033	1,139	.	967	65 9 6
Brecon	5,026	350	242	.	224	116 13 0
Bridgnorth *	6,284	339	746	.	.	11 19 0
Bridgewater *	7,087	611	484	.	.	no charges
Bridport	4,242	342	111	322†	400	43 2 0
Brighton	41,994	2,763	1,649	.	1,434	426 4 3
Bristol	103,886	9,785	5,000†	5,309	6,333	874 16 9
Buckingham	7,418	367	300	.	270	30 19 8
Bury	19,140	765	535	.	459	126 13 6
Bury St. Edmunds	11,436	719	550	30	521	8 3 0
Calne *	4,876	519	176	15	.	
Cambridge	20,917	1,160	1,420	79	1,247	134 7 6
Canterbury	15,314	667	302	1,209	.	82 7 6
Cardiff, &c.	6,187	827	687	.	533	104 16 2
Cardigan, &c.	2,795	672	466	564	none	none
Carlisle	20,006	893	571	406	649	41 15 0
Carmarthen, &c.	9,995	936	404	280	597	78 8 0
Carnarvon, &c.	7,642	774	544	311	773	
Chatham	24,670	1,174	677	.	572	76 10 1
Cheltenham *	22,942	2,100	919	.	.	27 18 0
Chester	21,363	1,800	649	1,379	1,574	87 5 0
Chichester	8,270	680	503	349§	771	32 15 0
Chippenham	5,270	312	112	96	183	34 2 0
Christchurch *	6,077	363	206	.	.	23 11 10
Cirencester *	5,420	329	604	.	.	64 11 6
Clithero	8,915	359	288	18	281	28 10 0
Cockermouth	6,022	356	305	.	255	30 5 11
Colchester	16,167	500	623	476	991	77 16 0
Coventry	27,070	1,500	529	2,756	1,989	189 9 4
Cricklade *	1,642	.	1,534	.	.	51 3 0
Dartmouth	4,597	422	221	22	.	none
Denbigh, &c.	3,786	743	350	781	.	none
Derby	23,607	1,684	1,012	372	1,136	66 6 0
Devizes	4,562	409	292	23	276	116 9 0
Devonport	44,454	2,500	1,777	.	1,477	344 0 0
Dorchester	3,033	333	322	.	no contest	
Dover	11,924	1,743	367	1,284	1,396	156 11 8
Droitwich	6,493	311	236	7	.	none
Dudley	23,043	800	670	.	540	61 12 10
Durham	10,125	448	314	492	768	70 11 9
Evesham	3,991	330	195	164	332	67 16 0
Exeter	28,201	3,016	2,366	586	2,092	232 0 0
Eye	7,015	330	200	53	.	37 4 0
Finsbury	22,086	23,266	10,309	.	7,314	463 15 11
Flint, &c.	2,216	709	303	976	.	7 3 10
Frome	12,240	450	322	.	263	64 10 0
Gateshead	20,601	750	454	.	.	12 19 4½
Gloucester	11,933	760	802	725	1,197	48 12 0
Grantham	7,448	475	202	496	650	24 4 7
Greenwich	64,336	6,142	2,714	.	2,391	215 0 0
Great Grimsby	6,836	338	303	353	455	4 4 0
Guilford	3,813	431	269	73	303	25 18 8½
Halifax	34,437	1,300	531	.	492	105 0 0
Harwich	4,297	202	188	16	186	41 12 0
Hastings	10,097	1,125	554	20	473	93 11 11
Haverfordwest, &c.	3,915	584	539	184	.	none
Helston	10,845	225	281	60	.	none
Hereford	10,280	617	459	461	.	126 18 2
Hertford	5,247	273	700	.	671	140 9 0
Honiton	3,509	318	511¶	.	503	47 8 0
Horsham	5,105	365	257	.	188	26 1 0
Huddersfield	19,035	140	608	.	415	39 17 5

* Towns only. † Including freeholders. ‡ Scot and Lot. § Including Scot and Lot voter || Freemen not distinguished
¶ Scot and Lot, 31; Potwallopers, 450.

	Population.	£10 Houses.	Registered £10 Houses.	Registered Freemen.	Polled.	Expenses of the Returning Officer.
Hull	54,110	3,133	2,350	1,513	3,305	327 4 2
Huntingdon	5,413	206	384	..	287	30 16 3
Ilythe	8,919	537	418	51	424	37 1 3
Ipswich	20,454	1,800	875	344	953	78 16 0
Kendal	11,577	682	327	..	..	none
Kidderminster	20,865	500	290	..	332	39 3 6
Knarsborough	6,894	369	278	..	260	50 0 0
Lambeth	160,613	16,405	4,763	..	3,220	227 13 11
Lancaster	12,613	658	261	848	..	none
Launceston	5,414	327	243	..	223	..
Leeds	123,393	6,683	above 4060	..	..	161 14 0
Leicester	39,433	1,900	1,200	1,569	2,795	147 0 0
Leominster	5,249	195	756	23	no contest	14 3 6
Lewes	8,592	832	188	690*	..	65 9 0
Lichfield	6,499	420	563	298	563	136 17 6
Lincoln	12,634	652	461	582	878	64 4 6
Liskeard	4,042	315	211	7	no contest	13 6 6
Liverpool	165,175	17,427	7,655	3,628	8,551	358 4 0
London (City)	132,803	14,568	9,057	9,527	11,500	522 1 7
Ludlow	5,253	514	300	59	339	none
Lyme Regis	3,345	300	212	..	183	20 2 0
Lymington	5,472	..	219	..	219	112 7 2
Lynn Regis	13,370	660	583	253	no contest	none
Macclesfield	23,129	1,000	718	..	588	53 16 6
Maidstone	15,387	1,417	652	456	873	29 4 0
Maldon	4,895	..	716†	..	671†	75 5 9
Malmesbury	6,136	351	278	13	no contest	20 5 0
Malton	6,802	397	375	292*	no contest	none
Manchester	187,002	12,723	6,726	..	..	729 2 6
Marlborough	4,186	299	no return	..	..	..
Marlow	6,175	349	95	362*	..	39 13 2
Marylebone	240,294	21,630	8,901	..	6,076	338 1 2
Merthyr Tydvil	22,088	830	502	..	no contest	..
Midhurst	3,819	339	252	..	no contest	none
Monmouth, &c.	4,916	1,140	..	..	..	102 13 0
Montgomery, &c.	..	740	657	66	656	216 0 2
Morpeth	6,856	446	190	131	no contest	..
Newark	9,557	510	1,575	..	1,518	95 8 6
Newcastle-under-Lyne	8,192	360	973§	..	941	84 17 7
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	53,613	2,916	2,286	1,619	2,850	422 3 10
Newport	3,385	445	405	15	365	75 13 8
Northallerton	4,839	294	232	..	209	29 12 8
Northampton	15,351	1,087	2,497	..	2,406	325 0 4
Norwich	61,110	2,316	1,043	3,195*	3,817	794 5 2
Nottingham	50,680	2,950	2,187	3,033	3,322	152 16 0
Oldham	50,513	1,128	1,131	..	818	165 9 0
Oxford	20,434	2,389	904	1,408	2,139	not settled
Pembroke, &c.	6,511	682	341	967	no contest	none
Penryn and Falmouth	3,521	796	875	..	717	72 12 0
Peterborough	5,553	396	285	488¶	no contest	none
Petersfield	5,892	305	234	..	205	7 5 0
Plymouth	31,080	2,271	1,376	115	no contest	none ††
Pontefract	9,305	519	418	538¶	no contest	41 18 6
Poole	8,216	298	301	111	360	75 9 8
Portsmouth	50,389	463	1,280	15	983	88 13 7
Preston	33,871	1,277	826	5,526**	5,538	444 12 8
Radnor, &c.	..	455	253	276	no contest	..
Reading	15,595	1,050	1,001	..	..	..
Reigate	3,397	276	152	..	101	8 17 0
Retford	2,491	..	2,174	138	1,980	150 0 8
Richmond	7,243	301	273	..	no contest	none
Ripon	5,735	403	299	42	330	145 11 1
Rochdale	41,308	1,014	687	..	632	72 19 8
Rochester	12,791	1,124	550	423	650	100 10 6
Rye and Winchelsea	8,538	328	382	40	290	38 8 6
Salford	50,810	1,244	1,497	..	1,220	153 16 6
Salisbury	9,876	627	539	37	531	133 3 6
Sandwich	12,183	796	487	429	847	54 4 0
Scarborough	8,760	508	429	3	385	65 7 1
Shaftesbury	8,698	145	296	338	328	62 15 2
Sheffield	91,692	4,353	3,508	..	3,056	273 3 10‡
Shoreham	1,503	..	1,925††	..	1,154	173 9 7
Shrewsbury	21,227	1,651	823	891	1,314	37 16 0
Southampton	19,324	1,284	1,403¶¶	..	1,046	83 18 3
South Shields	18,756	1,400	475	..	419	55 14 7
Southwark	134,117	9,923	4,775	..	2,810	441 9 10
Stafford	6,998	468	193	983	1,049	9 0 0
St. Albans	4,772	286	264	{ 118 } 275	637	109 2 4
St. Ives	7,115	302	130	454	509	16 16 0
Stamford	7,062	460	851	..	766	206 14 0
Stockport	29,456	842§§	1,012	..	955	229 0 9
Stoke-upon-Trent	52,090	1,450	1,349	..	1,245	160 5 9
Stroud	41,719	1,600	1,247	..	1,156	148 2 6
Sudbury	4,677	301	59	450	474	52 12 0

* Old Scot and Lot voters. † Including freemen. ‡ Scot and Lot. Of these 113 only were householders. § Including freemen.
 || Including Scot and Lot voters. ¶ Scot and Lot voters. ** Inhabitant voters. †† The town clerk demands as his fee 105%
 ‡‡ Including freeholders and Scot and Lot voters. §§ Township of Stockport only. |||| Scot and Lot voters.
 ¶¶ 104 householders not distinguished.

	Population.	£10 Houses.	Registered £10 Houses.	Registered Freemen.	Polled.	Expenses of the Returning Officer.
Sunderland	40,735	2,500	1,378		1,132	248 8 0
Swansea, &c.	13,256	1,200	826	481	no contest	
Tamworth	3,917	528	162	424*	no contest	
Tavistock	5,602	380	247		193	31 1 10
Taunton	11,139	848	588	361+	no contest	31 6 0
Tewksbury	5,780	262	295	91	364	51 4 0
Thetford	3,462	203	124	22	no contest	none
Thirsk	4,558	315	254		no contest	11 12 6
Tiverton	9,766	643	443	19		58 16 6
Totness	3,442	316	175	42	179	11 4 2
Tower Hamlets	367,864	23,187	9,906		7,320	617 7 4
Truro	11,417	237	388	17	386	209 18 6
Tynemouth and North Shields	23,206	1,150	760		590	170 3 0
Wakefield	24,538	1,001	722		no contest	15 12 6
Wallingford	5,931	278+	287	166*	367	43 3 0
Walsall	15,066	300	597		535	75 13 0
Wareham	5,207		218	{ 152* }	315	39 2 2
Warrington	18,184	973	456	{ 17 }	379	39 14 6
Warwick	9,109	500	1,340§		1,248	106 13 0
Wells	6,649	383	195	163	318	10 10 0
Wenlock	3,481	450	489	202	635	54 2 10
Westbury	7,324	318	185		no contest	none
Westminster	202,891	17,681	11,576§			362 5 0
Weymouth	7,655	490	368	{ 20 }		34 19 10
Whitby	10,399	443	422	{ 43 }	356	107 0 7
Whitehaven	15,716	863	458		384	31 8 4
Wigan	20,774	900	423	60	341	23 0 0
Wilton	9,758	299	197	17	no contest	41 9 6
Winchester	9,212	807	465	66		36 6 6
Windsor	5,650	778	507		461	4 15 0
Wolverhampton	67,514	2,405	1,700		1,463	153 19 0
Woodstock	7,026	373	241	76	no contest	none
Worcester	18,610	2,000	854	1,512	18,610	42 5 8
Wycombe, Chipping	6,299	446	270	28	264	164 8 0
Yarmouth	21,115	1,113	643	1,040	1,555	198 11 0
York	25,359	2,141	531	2,342	2,655	555 13 4

In addition to the charges made by the returning officer, the town-clerk has also, in numerous instances, sent in an account which, in the majority of cases, has been properly disallowed ; in others, unwisely paid.

Counties.	Population.	Population exclusive of the population of unrepresented towns.	Registered.	Polled.	Counties.	Population.	Population exclusive of the population of unrepresented towns.	Registered.	Polled.
Bedford	95,383	88,424	3,966	3,484	Nottingham, N. }			{ 2,889	2,548
Berks	145,289	112,854	5,582	4,863	„ S. }	225,320	162,592	{ 3,170	
Bucks	146,529	121,730	5,306	4,189	Oxford	151,726	118,360	{ 4,721	
Cambridge	143,955	123,038		5,923	Rutland	19,385	19,385	{ 1,296	
Chester, N. }		{ 118,420	5,103		Salop, N. }			{ 4,682	4,297
„ S. }	334,410	{ 120,990	5,130		„ S. }	222,503	186,258	{ 12,791	661
Cornwall, E. }		{ 114,919	4,462		Somerset, E. }			{ 8,996	7,694
„ W. }	302,440	{ 147,255	3,353		„ W. }	403,908	315,271	{ 7,884	5,812
Cumberland, W. }		{ 70,337	3,848	3,266	Stafford, N. }			{ 8,756	7,886
„ E. }	169,681	{ 55,535	4,035		„ S. }	410,485	{ 129,745	{ 3,107	
Derby, S. }		{ 115,743	5,541	4,789	Suffolk, E. }			{ 4,265	3,326
„ N. }	237,170	{ 103,804	4,370	3,677	„ W. }	296,304	{ 112,211	{ 3,326	2,920
Devon, S. }		{ 187,205	7,453	6,660	Surrey, E. }			{ 107,472	3,150
„ N. }	494,168	{ 157,901	5,368		„ W. }	486,326	{ 81,229	{ 2,912	2,527
Dorset	159,252	118,856	5,632		Sussex, E. }			{ 107,703	3,437
Durham, N. }		{ 77,114	4,267	3,841	„ W. }	272,328	{ 51,454	{ 2,365	
„ S. }	253,827	{ 78,506	4,336	3,994	Warwick, N. }			{ 83,194	3,740
Essex, N. }		{ 146,747	5,163	4,513	„ S. }	336,988	{ 71,994	{ 2,550	
„ S. }	317,233	{ 145,131	4,488	3,592	Westmorland	55,041	43,464	{ 4,392	3,584
Gloucestershire, E. }		{ 86,164	6,437	5,752	Wight, Isle of			{ 1,167	824
„ W. }	386,904	{ 152,822	6,521	5,940	Wilts, N. }			{ 3,514	
Hants, N. }		{ 96,623	2,424	1,810	„ S. }	239,181	185,551	{ 2,540	
„ S. }	314,313	{ 82,462	3,143	2,746	Worcester, W. }			{ 8,122	†† 2,617
Hereford	110,976	95,447			„ E. }	211,356	134,222	{ 5,161	4,319
Hertford	143,341	133,322	4,245	3,845	York, N. Riding	226,235	160,796	{ 9,539	8,487
Huntingdon	53,149	47,736			„ E. Riding	168,646	106,234	{ 5,559	
Kent, W. }		{ 313,631	{ 6,678	5,562	„ W. Riding	976,415	607,048	{ 18,056	
„ E. }	479,155		{ 7,026	6,144					
Lancaster, N. }		{ 6,593			WALES.				
„ S. }	1,336,854	624,465	{ 10,039	8,453	Anglesey	48,325	45,379	{ 1,187	
Leicester, N. }		{ 3,658	3,063		Brecon	48,325	43,299	{ 1,668	
„ S. }	197,003	157,570	{ 4,125		Cardigan	64,780	61,985	{ 1,184	
Lincoln	317,244	270,446	{ 9,134¶	8,338	Carmarthen	100,655	90,660	{ 3,887	3,503
Middlesex	1,358,541	188,603	{ 7,956**		Carnarvon	65,753	58,111	{ 1,688	
Monmouth	98,130	93,214	6,939	5,132	Denbigh	83,167	79,381	{ 3,401	3,050
Norfolk, E. }		{ 3,738			Flint	60,012	57,796	{ 1,271	
„ W. }	390,054	290,997	{ 7,041	6,229	Glamorgan	126,612	85,086	{ 3,680	
Northampton, N. }		{ 4,396			Merioneth	35,609	35,609	{ 580	
„ S. }	179,276	158,372	{ 3,363	3,063	Montgomery	66,485	65,297	{ 2,523	
Northumberland, N. }		{ 4,425			Pembroke	81,424	70,998	{ 3,700	
„ S. }	222,912	130,317	{ 2,322		Radnor	24,651	24,179	{ 1,046	
			{ 5,192	4,606					

* Scot and Lot voters. † Potwallopers. ‡ Town only. § Scot and Lot voters included. || Freeholders. ¶ Lindsey.
** Kesteven and Holland. †† Second election.

REPORT ON THE VACCINE BOARD.

THE practice of vaccination was introduced about the commencement of the present century ; but it was not till 1808 that the maintenance and diffusion of its benefits was taken up as a matter of public concern. In that year, the National Vaccine Institution, now in Percy Street, was established by parliament, and placed under the management of a board, consisting of the president and four censors of the College of Physicians, and the master and two governors of the College of Surgeons. The objects were, that the practice of vaccination should be carried on in London under the immediate superintendence of this board; and that the vaccine lymph should also be distributed under their direction to every part of the empire.

The establishment, having been supported by annual parliamentary grants, has subsisted to the present time, though the constitution of the board has undergone some modification, the number of its members having been reduced in 1826 to five; and in 1832 to three, who are the president and senior censor of the College of Physicians, and the president of the College of Surgeons. The annual grant, also, which was originally 3000*l.*, is now only 2200*l.* Of late, the expediency of continuing the institution at all has begun to be questioned, on the ground that vaccination is now so completely established in this country, and the public mind so entirely made up as to the value of the discovery, that the provision of the means necessary for securing and spreading its benefits may be safely left to the exertions of individuals. In these circumstances, a select committee was last session appointed by the House of Commons to examine the subject. Their report, accompanied with minutes of evidence, has been lately printed, and is interesting as presenting the most authentic view that has been laid before the public of the present state of the practice of vaccination, and of the facts that have been ascertained with regard to its protective value.

The present objects of the board are stated by the committee to be, "to observe the effects of vaccination in preventing the recurrence and spread of small-pox; to investigate cases of reputed small-pox recurring after reputed vaccination, and of cow-pox when attended with inflammation, or any eruptive disorder, or when, in any other respect, anomalous in character; to preserve, by immediately superintending the practice of vaccination in London, an authentic form of the vaccine disease, on a scale commensurate to the demands for lymph; to furnish a supply of lymph instantly on application; to inquire into the circumstances under which lymph has been obtained in cases of its failing to produce the cow-pox; to establish among medical practitioners an approved mode of vaccinating, and generally to discountenance the practice of variolous inoculation, and to encourage the practice of vaccination."

The only permanent officers appointed by the board are a registrar and an inspector, each receiving a salary of 200*l.* a year. The members of the board have salaries of 100*l.* a year each. There are twelve vaccinators stationed in different parts of the metropolis, two of whom receive salaries of 150*l.*, two of 100*l.*, and eight of 50*l.* a year.

But besides the national establishment, there are in London two private institutions for promoting vaccination; the Small-Pox Hospital at King's Cross, St. Pancras, and the London Vaccine Institution, or Jennerian Society. The income of the former is about 1100*l.* a year, three-fourths of which are derived from dividends on invested capital, and the remainder from the contributions of the public. The income of the latter is about 900*l.* per ann. derived entirely from contributions.

In 1832, the number of persons vaccinated by the national establishment was 14,190; by the hospital at King's Cross, 3701; and by the London Vaccine Institution, 5641; making 23,532 in all. "To the total number vaccinated at these institutions," says the report, "must be added the number privately vaccinated, to obtain the total vaccinated in London. The number of registered births in the metropolitan parishes, on the average of the years 1830, 1831, and 1832, was about 35,000. If from this number we deduct the number of infants who die within a few months after birth, the remainder will probably afford a result not very far exceeding the sum of those who at the vaccine institutions and in private undergo vaccination." In other words, nearly all the children born in London, and who survive for more than a few months, are probably vaccinated.

The next point to which the report adverts, is the question as to the real amount of the protective power of vaccination. The doctrine that vaccination is an absolutely infallible preventive of small-pox is now abandoned; cases, it is admitted, do occasionally occur, in which it is followed by small-pox; and the latter disease, though generally of a greatly mitigated character in these circumstances, is still sometimes fatal. For a long time it was attempted to be made out, that, in all these cases, the reputed vaccination must, either from bad lymph, or the imperfect performance of the operation, have been no vaccination at all. But this notion is now generally given up. It is allowed that, from causes which cannot be detected, the operation sometimes fails to produce its usual effect, even when performed with good lymph, and with, at least, the ordinary skill and care. The facts, however, which are here stated, show that, although the proportion of these failures has not yet been exactly ascertained, it must be extremely inconsiderable.

In London and its vicinity, comprehending a district the population of which, in 1831, was 1,180,075, it appears that the proportion of deaths from small-pox in every 1000 deaths was from 1770 to 1780, on an average, every year 102; from 1780 to 1790, 88; from 1790 to 1800, 92; from 1800 to 1810, 73; from 1810 to 1820, 43; from 1820 to 1830, 35; and from 1830 to 1832, inclusive, only 26. That is to say, "that the proportionate mortality from small-pox, which before 1800, when vaccination began, was about one in every ten deaths, is now reduced to about three in every 100 deaths, and is therefore, only between one-third and one-fourth of what it was prior to the introduction of vaccination." Judging by the London bills of mortality, we should be led to conclude that no diminution whatever in the number of deaths from small-pox was effected by the practice of inoculation. The average proportion in 1000 deaths, of deaths by small-pox from 1710 to 1720, the period when inoculation was introduced, was 89 annually; and from 1750 to 1760, it was 94. Indeed, on comparing more distant periods, it would seem that the mortality of the disease had greatly increased, though it is not to be presumed that the increase was actually occasioned by the practice of inoculation; for in the nine years from 1701 to 1710, the annual proportion was only 49 deaths from small-pox in the whole number of 1000 deaths; and we have seen above that in the period from 1770 to 1780 it had risen to 102, or more than double.

There are not of course the same means of ascertaining the proportion either of persons having undergone vaccination, who are afterwards attacked by small-pox, or of those to whom in these circumstances the disease proves fatal. In returns from the vaccinators, founded on their own experience, the number of patients vaccinated who were subsequently affected by modified small-pox, is stated variously at from 7 to 70 in the 10,000. "Considering," the committee remark, "how many cases of small-pox after vaccination must escape the notice of the vaccinator, it is probable that the real proportion of such cases is greater than the greatest proportion stated in any one of the returns in question." At the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, where the boys and girls usually remain till they are fourteen years of age, the proportion is 100 in 10,000, or one in 100. The proportion of deaths, however, is much smaller, small-pox after vaccination being usually a comparatively very mild disease. While of 1166 patients admitted into the Small-Pox Hospital, who had not undergone vaccination, 494 died, or forty-two in the 100; of 619 cases treated there in which the disease had occurred after reputed vaccination, only forty proved fatal, or no more than six in the 100. "The mortality of six per cent.," observe the committee, "must far exceed the average mortality in small-pox after vaccination, since it is only in the worst cases of the disease, and not in the mild and modified form in which it usually appears after vaccination, that the patient would be thought to require hospital assistance. Were it assumed as a basis on which to calculate, that out of every 100 persons vaccinated one is attacked by small-pox, and that out of every 100 such cases five were fatal, it would follow that out of every 10,000 persons vaccinated, five only, or out of every 2,000 persons vaccinated, one only, would die of small-pox; but the real proportion is probably much less than this." It appears that out of 83,647 vaccinations, by the stationary vaccinators of the national establishment, only two cases came under their notice in which small-pox afterwards occurred attended with a fatal result; and in one of these it was doubtful whether the disease was really small-pox.

These statements must be considered as very highly satisfactory, placing as they do the efficacy of vaccination as a preservative in nearly all cases beyond controversy or doubt. The committee, upon the whole, are of opinion that it would not be advisable to discontinue the national establishment, the services of which they consider particularly valuable and important as maintaining a constant supply of lymph. But they recommend that, the number of members remaining as at present, all physicians and surgeons should be eligible as such—that those appointed should give their services gratuitously—that some of the present regulations should undergo revision—and that it should be considered whether the number and locality of the vaccinators' stations might not advantageously admit of some alteration. The reforms which they propose would reduce the annual expense of the establishment to about 1605*l*. It is also recommended that the hospital at King's Cross and the London Vaccine Institution should, as well as the National Institution, be allowed the privilege of receiving letters applying for lymph, and of transmitting lymph, post-free.

STATISTICAL TABLES.

ANOTHER volume, or part, of the Tables of the Revenue, Population, Commerce, &c., of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies, compiled by the Board of Trade, has just appeared. It contains the accounts belonging to the year 1832, and is the first of those collections of the statistics of each year, which will henceforth be regularly published, and to which the former volume, embracing the period from 1820 to 1831 inclusive, may be considered as introductory. The present volume contains 147 tables, comprehending the subjects of finance, exports and imports, taxes, the post-office, shipping, crime, emigration, population, poor's-rates, friendly societies, savings-banks, prices, wages, colonial statistics, and a great variety of others.

Such a body of information with regard to the existing state of the empire has not only never before been presented in a single volume, but could not till now have been obtained from any sources which were accessible to the public. In fact, much of the information that is here given did not exist at all before. Even the immense and unwieldy mass of the parliamentary papers of each session never afforded anything like so complete a view of the actual condition of all our most important public interests as we have here. Many of the tables contained in the present volume have been compiled from returns prepared expressly for the work; and a good deal of information has also been obtained from private sources, which none of the public departments could have supplied.

We hope we may anticipate, from the following strong recommendation of the editor in his preface, that it is the intention of government to institute still more effectual means for collecting the details that are necessary to make these annual expositions as complete as they ought to be:—

"There are many subjects which it will be necessary to include in these volumes, before they can be considered complete as a collection of statistics. As to some of these subjects, it will be hardly possible to embrace them without the assistance of Parliament in creating the necessary machinery. This remark applies with peculiar force to the subject of population. The several inquiries made on this important question have hitherto been set on foot at the considerable interval of ten years, a circumstance alone sufficient to cause discrepancies and errors, since the inquiries must in many, it might be said in most, cases be conducted each time by a different set of functionaries, who will be without experience to guide them in a matter which peculiarly calls for a systematic method of proceeding. The arrangement of the returns made under the Population Acts has, it is true, been confided to a gentleman, whose talents and tastes eminently qualify him for the execution of the task; but it must be manifestly impossible for any intelligence to remedy errors and incongruities which have been allowed to accompany any subject from its inception, and a course very different from that hitherto pursued will be necessary before the perfecting of this leading branch of statistical research can be satisfactorily accomplished.

"The Commissioners appointed for inquiring into the administration and operation of the poor-laws have set on foot many inquiries that bear upon the moral and physical condition of the people, and so soon as the answers to those inquiries shall have been collected together and arranged, the information they contain will be made available to our purpose. A like expectation may be entertained with reference to the labours of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of children employed in factories, a body of information having been obtained by those gentlemen, which will throw much light upon the general circumstances of a numerous class of our fellow-subjects.

"It appears highly desirable, and even necessary, to the proper understanding of the common interests and condition of the country, that its government should be possessed of accurate information as to the actual and comparative produce of the soil, together with many other points of rural economy scarcely less important; and a great deal of anxious consideration has been given in order to arrange some plan for systematically acquiring that information. The difficulties which stand in the way of accomplishing this most desirable object have, however, been found so great, that no progress has hitherto been made with regard to it. There exists no class of public functionaries in this country qualified to institute such an inquiry, and it can hardly be hoped that private individuals will be found in every part of the kingdom willing to undergo the labour necessary for its satisfactory performance. It is of so much consequence, however, to acquire information upon this class of subjects, that the most strenuous efforts should be made for the purpose, and no exertions which I can give shall be wanting to that end; but further experience has confirmed me in the opinion which I formerly took occasion to offer to your lordships, that such a work requires a considerable time for its accomplishment, and that it is necessary to awaken the public mind to a just appreciation of the advantages of possessing accurate and extensive statistical knowledge, in order to our obtaining the co-operation of men of experience and intelligence, without which it is vain to expect any considerable portion of success.

"It is gratifying to know that this effect, which was only expected to follow the publication of several of our compilations, has already commenced; that the volume presented to Parliament during the last session has excited a very great degree of interest, particularly among commercial men; and that associations are in the course of being formed, the labours of which will come importantly in aid of the exertions of this department."

HOUSE OF COMMONS' OFFICES AND FEES.

A SELECT committee was last session appointed by the House of Commons to take into consideration the fees, salaries, and emoluments received by the officers and public servants of the House; and their Report has been lately printed with the minutes of the evidence taken before them. In proceeding to give an abstract of this document, we shall in the first place collect from it the particulars of the actual establishment of the House.

THE SPEAKER.—The present amount of the salary of the Speaker was fixed in 1790, and is 6000*l*. This includes compensation for all former fees and allowances. The Speaker has also an official residence, together with coals and candles; the cost of which amounts to about 500*l*. a-year. And on every new election, he receives 1000*l*. by way of outfit, and 1,400*l*. to purchase plate.

THE SPEAKER'S SECRETARY.—The total emoluments of this officer, including 250*l*. as salary of the office, which he also holds, of Secretary to the commissioners for regulating the offices of the House of Commons, and 200*l*. in lieu of an official house, amounted, in 1832, to 993*l*. 14*s*. 4*d*.

THE CHAPLAIN TO THE SPEAKER.—The chaplain receives no salary or fees while he serves; but after a service of three years he is generally preferred by the crown, on an address of the House, to a prebendal stall either at Westminster, Canterbury, Windsor, or Christchurch.

THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—This officer, whose proper designation is the Under Clerk of the Parliaments, and who holds his office by patent from the crown, had formerly very large emoluments, derived principally from fees. The office was regulated in 1800, for nine years preceding which the emoluments had amounted on an average to 8250*l*. annually. In 1792 they amounted to 10,912*l*. The new arrangement did not take effect till the expiration of Mr. Hatsell's patent in 1820; up to which time, it is stated in a return appended to the report, that that gentleman and his deputy, who did the whole business, had at least 10,000*l*. a-year to be divided between them, and the deputy clerk had consequently a salary of at least 5000*l*. a-year. At present the annual emoluments of the chief-clerk amount to 3,500*l*.; and he has also a house which he states to be worth at least 500*l*. more. The chief-clerk has the appointment of the other two clerks who officiate at the table, and of all the clerks in the different offices, as well as of the Librarian and the Short-hand writer.

THE CLERKS ASSISTANT.—The first of the two clerks assistant has a salary of 2,500*l*. a-year, and an official residence. The second has a salary of 2000*l*., without a house.

THE CLERK OF THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES has a salary of 100*l*.; and as clerk of elections, he received fees in 1832 to the amount of 155*l*. 4*s*. 5*d*.

THE CLERK OF THE FEES, who is also agent to the treasury for the management of revenue and other public bills, derives from both appointments emoluments to the annual amount of 1,388*l.* 5*s.* He has also four clerks, who receive, first clerk, 732*l.* 2*s.*; second clerk, 447*l.* 18*s.*; third clerk, 268*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; and fourth clerk, 263*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*

THE CLERK OF THE JOURNALS AND PAPERS.—The present emoluments of this officer are 1,662*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*; those of his first clerk, 1,081*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.*; of his second clerk, 1,070*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*; of his third clerk, 1,066*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*; of his fourth clerk, 490*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*; of his fifth clerk, 442*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; of his sixth clerk, 113*l.* 2*s.*; and of an extra clerk, 154*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*

COMMITTEE CLERKS.—There are at present three principal committee clerks, whose offices are sinecures, and a fourth office of the same kind is vacant. Of these principal committee clerks, the emoluments of one, who is also engrossing clerk, were last year 1,196*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*; of another, 1,044*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*; and of the third, 1,168*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* There appears also to be eight acting clerks, whose emoluments, omitting shillings and pence, are as follows: of the first, 984*l.*; of the second, 1,007*l.*, including 200*l.* for receiving and abstracting poor returns; of the third, 990*l.*; of the fourth, 726*l.*; of the fifth, 209*l.*; of the sixth, 227*l.*; of the seventh, 253*l.*; and of the eighth, 166*l.* It is stated in the report, that in this office, and also in that of the engrossing clerks, a system of charging gratuities in addition to the fees prescribed by the table of fees, and without any authority, has long been practised. We do not know whether or not the sums mentioned above include the extra emoluments thus obtained.

CLERKS OF THE PRIVATE BILL OFFICE.—Of these there are a principal clerk receiving 791*l.* a-year; a second clerk receiving 397*l.*; a third clerk receiving 311*l.*; and an extra clerk receiving 204*l.* The emoluments of all these officers are derived from fees.

CLERKS OF THE ENGROSSING OFFICE.—Of these there are a first clerk with 800*l.* a-year; a second clerk with 500*l.*; and an extra clerk with 150*l.* The gratuities are particularly mentioned as included in these sums.

THE LIBRARIAN has a salary of 500*l.* a-year; and the sub-librarian a salary of 150*l.*

THE SHORT-HAND WRITER.—The payments to the shorthand writer, it is stated, are not only for his personal labour and that of his establishment, but a large proportion of the amount received by him goes to his numerous deputies, whose services are required in consequence of the number of committees sitting at the same time. His emoluments are derived from various sources, and the items vary greatly in amount in different years. For attendance in the House, in committees of the whole House, and in public committees, in the session of 1829, he received 574*l.* 14*s.*; in that of 1830, 1987*l.* 19*s.*; in that of 1830-1, 533*l.* 1*s.*; in that of 1831, 1082*l.* 8*s.*; and in that of 1831-2, 5114*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* These sums are paid by the Treasury. From individuals he also received in the session of 1831-2, for attendance in committees on private bills and on election petitions, and for reporting speeches in these committees, about 1465*l.* Some of the items making up the last sum, however, had been much greater in former years. For instance, while the receipts for attendance in committees on election petitions, and reporting speeches in the same, were in 1831-2 only 76*l.* 19*s.*, they were in the session of 1830-1, 1961*l.* 14*s.*

The remaining offices form what is called the establishment of the **SERGEANT-AT-ARMS**, by whom all the appointments are made, and who is himself appointed by letters patent under the great seal, for life. He has a salary of 2000*l.* a-year, and 300*l.* more as an allowance for a house. The deputy sergeant has a salary of 800*l.*, and 200*l.* as allowance for a house.

THE DELIVERER OF VOTES AND PRINTED PAPERS has annual emoluments to the amount of 1824*l.* 14*s.*, chiefly derived from fees; and his deputy has a salary of 600*l.* a-year. There are also in the Vote Office three clerks and ten office porters, to whom there appears to be paid the sum of 1094*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, including a retired allowance to a late assistant.

THE DEPUTY HOUSEKEEPER'S emoluments amount to 641*l.* 19*s.*, out of which he pays to an assistant and to other persons employed in the care of the House 212*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*; leaving 429*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

THE DOOR-KEEPERS.—Of these there are two, the first receiving 892*l.* 14*s.*, of which last year 631*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* was de-

rived from gratuities; and the second, 808*l.* 4*s.*, including last year gratuities to the amount of 584*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* There is also a lower door-keeper, whose emoluments were 558*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*, including 360*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* of gratuities.

THE MESSENGERS.—The emoluments of two of the four messengers were last year 587*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*, and of the other two 585*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* each. Each derived 350*l.* of his income from gratuities. There are also two supernumerary messengers, having each 111*l.* 1*s.*

The other attendants with their respective emoluments are, a messenger to the library at 151*l.* 11*s.*; an extra door-keeper at 101*l.* 11*s.*; a person having the care of the ventilators and stove at 105*l.*; two night watchmen, and two day porters, each at 37*l.* 10*s.*; a fire-lighter at 50*l.*; and an assistant fire-lighter at 45*l.* The total amount of emoluments in the department of the sergeant-at-arms is stated at 13,202*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*

Besides what they receive in money, a great many of the officers both in the department of the chief clerk, and in that of the sergeant-at-arms, are entitled to stationary, sets of the journals, votes, and printed papers, &c. The first door-keeper has, besides, fifty copies of the private acts.

Many of these officers appear to the committee to be too highly paid, and they propose that when existing interests shall have expired, the emoluments of those who are so circumstanced shall be subjected to a greater or less reduction.

The salary of the speaker they recommend should be reduced to 5,000*l.*, together with the official residence free from taxes; and without any other allowance than 1,000*l.* by way of outfit on his first election only. They propose that in lieu of the present allowance for plate, a sum not exceeding 6,000*l.* should be expended in the purchase of a service of plate for the use of the speaker for the time being, which shall remain the property of the public, and be attached to his official residence. The speaker's secretary they propose should be paid by a salary of 500*l.* a-year, and his chaplain by a sum of 200*l.* for every session.

Under the arrangement recommended, if adopted, the chief clerk will have 2,000*l.* a-year with a house; the clerk assistant, 1,500*l.*; and the second clerk assistant, 1,000*l.* a-year. Reductions will also be made in the emoluments of most of the other clerks. The sergeant-at-arms will have a salary of 1,500*l.*, without a house. On the whole, the reductions which it is proposed to make will produce, it is calculated, an annual saving of about 18,500*l.* The annual expense will be brought down from near 50,000*l.* to not much more than 30,000*l.*

From a paper which is printed in the Appendix to the Report, it appears that, in the session of 1832, the fees paid on private bills to the different officers of the House of Commons, amounted in all to 14,516*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.* The number of bills on which this sum was paid, was 153. The committee propose to reduce most of these fees very considerably; but we cannot here detail the particular heads into which these deductions are distributed.

ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS.

Diplomatic Charges.—The charges of the several diplomatic missions, during the year ending 5th of January, 1832, were as follows:—France, 11,878*l.*; Russia, 9,818*l.*; Austria, 11,285*l.*; Netherlands, 5,847*l.*; Ottoman Porte, 5,893*l.*; Spain, 7,300*l.*; Prussia, 7,484*l.*; Portugal, 2,000*l.*; Brazil, 4,497*l.*; Two Sicilies, 7,501*l.*; United States, 4,658*l.*; Sweden, 4,500*l.*; Denmark, 4,500*l.*; Bavaria, 4,689*l.*; Sardinia, 4,725*l.*; Tuscany, 3,096*l.*; Wurtemberg, 2,700*l.*; Saxony, 2,191*l.*; Frankfort, 3,500*l.*; Swiss Cantons, 3,397*l.*; Greece, 2,600*l.*; Belgium, 500*l.*; Columbia, 4,900*l.*; Mexico, 2,654*l.*; Buenos Ayres, 3,218*l.*; Albania, 1,000*l.*—Total, 126,394*l.* In 1830 the total was 152,952*l.*; and 134,056*l.* in 1831. But this amount is more nearly trebled than doubled by the following additional heads of charge, which, however, include the consular establishments, the details of which we have given separately. Extraordinary and incidental expenses of every kind . . . £13,041
Outfit and equipage . . . 16,570
Dragomans attached to the Embassy at the Porte, (formerly paid by the Levant Company) . . . 9,100
Special Missions . . . 15,668
Commissions under treaties with foreign powers . . . 21,619
Consular establishment . . . 80,763
Pensions to retired ministers . . . 51,852
Superannuation allowances to consuls . . . 6,639

Grand total of diplomatic and consular charges . . . £335,646

In 1830, the amount was 361,454*l.*, and 325,618*l.* in 1831. The following table exhibits—1. the number of British consuls and vice-consuls in foreign countries;—2. the amount received by them in salaries and fees;—3. the number of vessels, under the British flag, which arrived and departed in the year 1832, so far as reported;—and 4. the number of the vice-consuls appointed by the consuls, and not paid by his Majesty's government.

Countries.	Consuls.	Salaries, &c.	Vessels.	Vice-Consuls.
Russia . . .	7	£2,914	1,409	5
Sweden . . .	2	554	39	12
Norway . . .	2	361	52	12
Denmark . . .	2	800	3,330	6
Prussia . . .	4	618	315	1
Germany . . .	6	2,858	930	6
Holland . . .	2	1,018	1,056	5
Belgium . . .	2	1,034	536	3
France . . .	12	4,792	660	29
Spain . . .	12	4,646	143	54
Portugal, &c. .	9	3,240	573	20
Italy . . .	16	5,409	713	37
Greece . . .	4	2,595	20	13
Turkey . . .	10	5,227	185	7
Syria . . .	5	1,330	..	..
Egypt . . .	4	2,091	..	5
United States .	10	6,075	1,079	15
Mexico . . .	4	2,727	37	..
Hayti . . .	3	1,987	70	1
Guatemala . .	1	1,202	..	..
Colombia . . .	6	5,410	75	2
Brazil . . .	6	3,964	425	4
Monte Video . .	1	1,000	30	..
Buenos Ayres .	1	800	47	..
Chili . . .	4	4,284	51	..
Peru . . .	3	3,721	..	..
Sandwich Islands	1	200	27	..

The salaries of the consuls at several ports are not exhibited in the returns; and at some the number of vessels is not reported. But another paper states the expense of the consular establishment to have been 98,957*l.* in 1830; 92,221*l.* in 1831; and 80,763*l.* in 1832, exclusive of 6,639*l.* in superannuation allowances to retired consuls. Of the consuls appointed and paid by government all except twenty-four are known to be British subjects; and forty-two are not allowed to trade. Of the vice-consuls, appointed by the consuls, only fifty-six are British subjects.

The number of officers promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel unattached, from the year 1815 to July 1st, 1833, has been—with purchase 192, without purchase 72, total 264. The same in the corps of cavalry, infantry, artillery, and engineers;—with purchase, cavalry 33, infantry 88; without purchase, cavalry 18, infantry 91, artillery 77, engineers 18, total 3421. The same in the several corps of footguards;—with purchase 54; without purchase 20, total 74. Grand total 680.

The total cost of the Coast Guard Service and Revenue Cruisers in the year 1832, is thus stated. ENGLAND:—Coast Guard 246,980*l.*, Revenue Cruisers 120,412*l.*, total 367,392*l.* IRELAND:—Coast Guard 116,047*l.*, Revenue Cruisers 9860*l.*, total 125,907*l.* SCOTLAND:—Coast Guard 19,467*l.*, Revenue Cruisers 15,622*l.*, total 35,087*l.* Grand total 528,337*l.*

The amount of the droits of the crown and perquisites of Admiralty, received from the commencement of the present reign to May, 1833, has been 1024*l.* Expenditure 867*l.* Balance available on this account 157*l.*

The number of commissions of lunacy issued in 1830 was 39; in 1831, 46; in 1832, 29; in 1833, (six months,) 19. The amount received in fees by the Secretary of Lunatics to the Lord Chancellor in the several years, was 2141*l.* in 1830; 2321*l.* in 1831; 2066*l.* in 1832; and 1482*l.* in the first six months of 1833. Of these sums, about 1023*l.* has been annually disbursed in the expenses of the office, and the remainder has formed the net income of the secretary.

The official value of goods warehoused, in the port of London, in the years 1831 and 1832, was 19,974,531*l.* in 1831, and 18,588,211*l.* in 1832.

The following statement exhibits the number of gallons of foreign wines and spirits brought into the stocks of the

dealers and retailers in England, distinguishing London from the country, in the year 1832.

WINES:—			
Country	French.	Not French.	Cape.
London	36,235	1,744,508	143,098
	119,851	1,903,896	153,331
Totals	156,086	3,647,604	296,429

SPIRITS:—				
Country	Brandy.	Rum.	Geneva.	Shrub, Arrack, &c.
London	857,986	1,817,557	6164	1847
	547,572	946,566	6140	7286
Totals	1,405,558	2,764,123	12,304	9133

The stocks on hand of the dealers and retailers, on January 5th, 1833, were as under:—

WINES:—			
Country	French.	Not French.	Cape.
London	118,059	2,885,111	184,490
	246,545	2,079,366	84,062
Totals	364,604	4,964,477	268,552

SPIRITS:—				
Country	Brandy.	Rum.	Geneva.	Shrub, Arrack, &c.
London	356,024	906,998	14,323	59,384
	128,610	272,104	6283	30,201
Totals	484,634	1,179,102	20,602	90,035

The quantity of wheat and other corn, and of wheat-flour, imported into the United Kingdom from the North American Colonies, in the year 1832, amounted to 104,515 qrs.: of this quantity 89,748 qrs. was in wheat, and 13,951 qrs. in wheat, meal, and flour. This amount is greater than in any preceding year since 1813, except in 1831, when it amounted to 226,386 qrs.

The amount paid, during the last session, on account of the under-mentioned select committees of the House of Commons, was 5550*l.* The number of witnesses 367, and the average expense of each witness 15*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The following was the expense of each committee, with the number of witnesses called by each. Committee on the Borough of Hertford 21*l.*, witnesses 3. On the Borough of Stafford 480*l.*, witnesses 34. On the Borough of Warwick 775*l.*, witnesses 85. On the Borough of Carrickfergus 1057*l.*, witnesses 34. On the Borough of Liverpool 1099*l.*, witnesses 52. On Municipal Corporations 562*l.*, witnesses 33. On Beer Shops 114*l.*, witnesses 17. On agriculture 534*l.*, witnesses 27. On British Channel fisheries 117*l.*, witnesses 15. On the Cinque Port pilots 99*l.*, witnesses 22. On manufactures, commerce, and shipping 409*l.*, witnesses 27. On the Dublin and Kingston Canal 311*l.*, witnesses 13.

The total value of the gold coined at the Mint in the year 1830, was 2,387,881*l.*, of which 2,209,033*l.* was for private persons, and 178,842*l.* for the Bank of England. In 1831, 598,547*l.*, of which 453,523*l.* was for the Bank, and 145,024*l.* for private persons. In 1832, 3,737,065*l.*, of which 3,727,357*l.* was for the Bank of England, and 12,708*l.* for the Bank of Ireland.

LONDON:—CHARLES KNIGHT, 29, LUDGATE STREET, AND 13, PALL-MALL EAST.

Shopkeepers and Hawkers may be supplied Wholesale by the following

Booksellers:—			
London, GROOMBRIDGE, Pinner-alley, : Pater-noster-row.	Falmouth, Philip.	Hull, Stevenson.	Nottingham, Wright.
Bath, Simms.	Jersey, Carre, jun.	Leeds, Baines & Newsome.	Oxford, Slater.
Birmingham, Drake.	Lincoln, Brooke & Sons.	Liverpool, Willmer & Smith.	Plymouth, Neltoton.
Bristol, Westley & Co.	Llandoverly, D. R. & W. Rees.	Manchester, Robinson & Webb & Simms.	Portsea, Horsey, jun.
Bury St. Edmunds, Lan-kester.	Lynn, Smith.	Newcastle-upon-Tyne, — Charnley.	Sheffield, Ridge.
Canterbury, Marten.	Exeter, Baile.	Norwich, Jarrold & Son; and Wilkin & Fletcher.	Shrewsbury, Tibbatts.
Carlisle, Thurnam & Scott.			Southampton, Fletcher.
Derby, Wilkins & Son.			Lane End, Staffordshire, C. Watts.
Devonport, Byers.			Worcester, Deighton.
Douglas, Brooke & White.			Dublin, Wakeman.
			Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd.
			Aberdeen, Smith.
			New York, Jackson.

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POLITICAL RETROSPECT OF THE YEAR 1833.

*. For Table of Contents see Page 234.

I. GREAT BRITAIN.

Introduction.

WITH the year 1833 commences a new era in the history of the British empire. It may be stated as a truth now admitted by all parties, that it had become impossible much longer to maintain the precise institutions and form of government established in 1688. If these institutions were suitable then, they were not suitable now. The relative positions and circumstances of the different classes composing the nation had been materially changed. Each of the two great constituent elements of political power—property and intelligence—had come to be quite otherwise distributed. Formerly, property in large masses existed only in the hands of the lords of the soil. These, therefore, whether belonging to the peerage, or to the class of minor nobility called country gentlemen, naturally formed alone the ruling caste. Even political education, and the knowledge of public affairs at all, extended but a very little way beyond this comparatively small body of persons. The rest of the population left to these the management of the state, scarcely ever casting a regard upon a game which they did not understand, except upon extraordinary occasions when their passions were appealed to by the noise of unusually high words, or some other irregular outbreak among the players.

It would detain us too long to trace minutely the operation of the successive causes before which this state of things gradually passed away. Whatever elevated the condition of the mass of the people helped to break up the foundations on which it rested. The diffusion of education and of books, the growth of manufactures and commerce, the rise and increase of great towns, the formation of roads and bridges and canals, were all circumstances working with constant effect in the creation of new stores of wealth to counterbalance that of the landed aristocracy, and in otherwise accumulating power in the hands of those classes whose influence had heretofore been accounted almost nothing, at least in the ordinary and regular action of the political machine. But again and again, also, great victories were gained by the advancing principle of popular ascendancy, and important positions made good from which the onward struggle was renewed with new advantages. It is a hundred and forty-four years since the Revolution, and that period is divided into two exactly equal parts by the commencement of the reign of George III. The former was the season of the development and preparation of the democratic principle; the trophies of its prowess and the positive acquisitions to which we allude have all been won in the latter. In 1769 the Letters of Junius both gave the first example of perfectly free and fearless animadversion upon the conduct of public affairs; and what is still more memorable, drew every man to read politics who read at all. In 1771 the debates in the Houses of Lords and Commons began to be published in the daily newspapers as they have ever since been—the greatest Reform of Parliament, perhaps, that has been even yet achieved. Then came, opportunely, the insurrection of the Americans to animate the discussions to which the whole public were thus admitted with a bolder spirit than had probably ever breathed in them before, at least since the great social eruption in the early part of the preceding century. And scarcely had the triumph of the colonists established the principles for which they and their advocates had contended by a demonstration better than that of either

oratory or logic, when there burst forth the conflagration of the French Revolution, shaking the old system of things in every country of Europe, and illuminating with its lurid glare many a secret passage and deep recess in the political fabric of each, into which, till then, no light had ever entered.

All this the reign of George III. witnessed. What a different power must public opinion have been in England at the close from what it was at the commencement of that period of sixty years! The generation which in half that space had sprung up from infancy to manhood had not undergone a greater metamorphosis. Yet the old institutions of the country remained apparently entire. It was, and must of necessity have been, a mere outside show of stability which they retained. None of the pillars of the building had fallen down, nor any of the joints actually given way; but the general loosening and decay that had taken place was evidenced nevertheless by many signs. Various causes, however, during the latter half of this period, and especially the war with France,—the intense interest which it excited, as well as the occupation which it gave to all the resources of the country, during its progress, and the temporary support which it lent to the conservative principle by its successful issue,—contributed to prevent the hand of innovation from yet beginning its work. Besides, there is more than there would appear to be at first sight in the peculiar character of each reign; the accession of a new king has usually in this country, when certain changes had been long desired or contemplated, opened a clearer and nearer prospect of their accomplishment. The ten years forming the reign of George IV. may be described as the period of transition from the old constitution to the new. In the course of this reign, the ancient system first visibly gave way in some of its parts, which were accordingly removed. Its integrity was abandoned as a principle, and whatever strength and support it had hitherto possessed in the natural veneration of men for that which has stood for ages unviolated and unchanged, was gone. It was now chiefly upheld by the accidental circumstances of the moment. Its stability rested, in great part, on the lives of individuals. The death of the Duke of York in the beginning of 1827, and the consequently altered prospect of the succession to the throne, materially loosened and weakened it. The removal of the Earl of Liverpool from the head of affairs a few weeks after, gave it another shock. Had a general election taken place at any time after this, the coming catastrophe might probably have arrived even sooner than it did. As it was, the Unitarian Marriage Bill, the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, and Catholic Emancipation, were all forced by public opinion through both Houses. The events of 1830—the death of George IV., the revolutions of Paris and Brussels, and the general election, then no longer to be deferred—brought matters to a crisis. The waters had rushed at the same time from many heights into one channel, and stood in a swelling heap behind the ancient flood-gate, making it creak and rive beneath their pressure. There wanted but the first wave to burst it.

That was supplied by the memorable declaration of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, on the 2nd of November, the first day of the meeting of the new parliament, that, while he remained in power, there should be no reform. Within three weeks after, Lord Grey was minister, and reform of parliament was announced as a cabinet measure. The first Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons on the 1st of March, 1831; and was read a second time by a majority of one on the 22nd of the same month. On the 20th of April, General Gas-

coigne carried his amendment on the clause of the ministerial proposition reducing the numbers of the House, by a majority of eight. Two days after, the parliament was dissolved in a speech delivered by his majesty, in which he stated, that the appeal about to be made to the people had been resolved upon, expressly with the view of ascertaining their sense as to the proposed alteration in the representation. The general election took place in May, and the new parliament met on the 14th of June. On the 24th, the second Reform Bill was introduced; and on the 4th of July, after a debate of three nights, the second reading was carried by a majority of 136, the motion having been supported by 367 members, and opposed by 231. At half-past six on the morning of the 8th of October, after a debate of five nights, this bill was thrown out on the second reading in the House of Lords, by a majority of 199 to 158. On the 20th, parliament was prorogued, and was not again called together till the 6th of December. The year, however, which had already been so busy and eventful, did not close till the great measure, in the discussion of which so much of it had been spent, was once more before the legislature.

The third Reform Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on the 12th of December, and read a second time by a majority of exactly two to one, on the 17th. Having, however, been detained nearly two months in committee, it did not leave the Commons till the 19th of March, 1832, when the third reading was carried by a majority of 355 to 239. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 14th of April, after a debate of four days, it was read a second time in the House of Lords, by a majority of 9, the numbers being 184 in its favour, and 175 against it. On the 7th of May, however, the day on which Parliament re-assembled after the Easter recess, the motion proposed by Lord Lyndhurst—to postpone the consideration of the disfranchising clauses of the Bill till the enfranchising clauses had been discussed—was carried against ministers, by a majority of 151 to 116. On the 9th, Lord Grey announced in the Lords, and Lord Althorp in the Commons, that ministers had resigned. The week of agitation that followed must be fresh in the recollection of all our readers. On the 17th, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst communicated to the House of Lords the failure of the attempt to form a new ministry; and, on the following day, it was intimated that Lord Grey and his colleagues were again in office. Little opposition was made to the bill after this by the peers; and, on the 4th of June, it was read a third time, and passed by a majority of 106 to 22. On the 7th, it received the royal assent. The Scotch and Irish Bills and the Boundaries Bill were, in like manner, soon after enacted into laws. On the 16th of August the Parliament was prorogued, and did not again meet. It was dissolved on the 3rd of December; and the remainder of that month was occupied in the first general election under the new system of representation.

The general nature and amount of the change of which we have thus rapidly traced the progress and completion, may here be permitted to detain us for a few sentences. In its extent and importance, it would deserve to be called a revolution, if that term were not usually and properly restricted to alterations in the government of a country effected otherwise than through the ordinary forms of the constitution. It amounted to nothing less than the destruction of the principle by which the political machine had been hitherto chiefly moved and regulated, and the substitution in its place of an entirely new power. Under the system of nomination, of close corporations, and of the limited and peculiar distribution, which formerly prevailed, of the elective franchise in counties, a comparatively small body of individuals, and those belonging nearly all to one class, appointed a majority of the members of the House of Commons. As the same class was also supreme in the House of Lords, they had thus a secure preponderance in the legislature generally. This interest, accordingly, formed the grand regulator of the state. The power which the ruling body thus exercised, however, it is important to observe, was neither a dictatorship, nor a close domination. The system of representation provided effectually for the presence, in the House of Commons, of a minority of members exclusively elected by the people; and there always was such a minority. These members possessed, in all respects, the same rights and privileges with those who represented the ruling interest. The popular sentiment, therefore, always had a voice in the House. In so far as the

effect upon public opinion was concerned, that voice, carried abroad over the country and the world by the publication of the debates in the newspapers, was certain to be at least as potent as the other to which it was opposed. The popular representatives, also, though fewer in number than their opponents, had, of course, the opportunity of making what advantage they could of any superior activity or address of which they might be possessed. It is not to be denied that the minority, in this way, and by the aid of the support out-of-doors by which they were backed, carried, from time to time, many points against the oligarchic faction. They formed, besides, a constant weight and pressure of resistance bearing upon the movements of what we have called the regulating power, and most materially restraining its action. Add to these considerations, that the oligarchy did not consist exclusively of certain families, or a certain fixed number of persons, but was open to all who, by the exertion of the ordinary means of rising in society, could lift themselves up to the necessary elevation; and that, in point of fact, it was constantly receiving accessions of new members from the middle, and even from the lower classes, not only through the church, the bar, and the other professional avenues, but also by the various roads of successful enterprise in trade and manufactures. The individuals of whom it was composed, too, it is to be remembered, were largely interested in the general prosperity of the country whose affairs were under their control; and, in the case of any sacrifice of, or injury sustained by, the common weal, would themselves have been the greatest sufferers.

For this constitution, the reform of the representation has substituted another altogether different. The power of government and legislation is now entirely in the hands of the general body of the people. The principle, that it should be so, at least, has been formally recognised and adopted; and if there be any respect in which the rule has not yet been practically enforced, the exception is to be considered as merely one of temporary expediency, which will inevitably be remedied and set to rights ere long. If, for instance, there be a county or a borough, the return for which is still mainly in the hands of an individual, measures will, no doubt, be taken, in proper time, to place the representation here on the same broad basis on which it stands everywhere else. The necessity of giving the representation this perfectly popular character, in any scheme of reform which might have been proposed, can hardly be doubted by any one who admits that reform was necessary at all. If the nomination system had possessed all other recommendations, it laboured, at least, under the one fatal disadvantage of being utterly opposed to the public sentiment. This circumstance made its extinction unavoidable.

1. *Commencement of the Year, and Meeting of Parliament—Debate on the Address.*

RELIEVED from the absorbing excitement of the elections, the minds of all men were turned at the beginning of the year with eager expectation to the near opening of the first reformed parliament. In some quarters, no doubt, that event was looked forward to with real apprehension and despondency; and great pains were taken by party writers to represent it to their readers as nothing else than the sure beginning of a headlong and bloody revolution: but the general feeling was in violent contrast to these gloomy views. The hopes of the multitude, indeed, were as extravagant as the fears and evil prognostications to which we have just alluded. Upon the more reflecting classes, the manner in which the elections had passed off, and their general result, had produced a decidedly tranquillizing effect. The new machinery for taking the votes had, by the confession of all, worked better than could have been anticipated on a first trial; and nobody pretended to deny that it was a mighty improvement upon the old system. The description of persons returned, also, vindicated to most candid and dispassionate minds the scheme of a purely popular constituency from much of what had made them heretofore regard it with alarm or aversion. Among the new members there were very few mere adventurers, not a large proportion even of persons holding ultra-democratic opinions, and not many who had not a fair claim, from their station in the country, or the space they occupied in the public eye, to a seat in the legislature.

The numerical strength of the different parties in the new House was commonly calculated to stand nearly thus;—

Ministerial members, above 400; Tories or Conservatives, about 150; and the various descriptions composing what in the French Chambers would be called the *Côté Gauche*, including Radicals, Ultra-Liberals, Independents, Irish Repealers, &c., under 100. Of the whole number, about 280 had not sat in the last parliament, and few of them before at all. Of the 380 members, likewise, or thereby, who, having been in the last parliament had been also returned to this, a good many sat for new places.

We may here also take the opportunity of stating, that the ministry was at this time composed as follows:—*Lord President*, the Marquis of Lansdowne; *Lord Chancellor*, Lord Brougham; *Lord Privy Seal*, Lord Durham; *First Lord of the Treasury and Premier*, Earl Grey; *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Viscount Althorp; *Secretary of State for the Home Department*, Viscount Melbourne; *Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*, Viscount Palmerston; *Secretary of State for the Colonies*, Viscount Goderich; *President of the Board of Control*, Mr. Charles Grant; *Postmaster-General*, the Duke of Richmond; *First Lord of the Admiralty*, Sir James Graham; *Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*, Lord Holland; *Paymaster General*, Lord John Russell; *Secretary for Ireland*, Mr. Stanley. The Earl of Carlisle also had a seat in the Cabinet, without an office. The Marquis of Anglesey was *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*; Lord Hill, *Commander of the Forces*; and Sir J. C. Hobhouse, *Secretary-at-War*. Sir William Horne was *Attorney-General*, and Sir John Campbell, *Solicitor-General*.

With the exception of some meetings at which resolutions were passed in favour of the vote by ballot and the repeal of the assessed taxes, no event of public importance occurred before the arrival of the day fixed for the assembling of Parliament, Tuesday the 29th of January. On that day, immediately after the Parliament had been opened in form by the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Earl Grey, and Lord Auckland, acting as his majesty's commissioners, the Commons retired to their own House, and proceeded to the election of their Speaker. The business was commenced by a speech of considerable length from Mr. Hume, in which the honourable member urged the propriety of the majority of the House nominating a Speaker from their own party, and concluded by moving that Edward John Littleton, Esq., member for South Staffordshire, should be placed in the chair. This motion having been seconded by Mr. O'Connell, Lord Morpeth rose, and after passing a high eulogium upon the late Speaker, the Right Honourable Charles Manners Sutton, and pointing out the importance of securing the advantage of his long practice and tried ability to preside over the deliberations of the House in its altered state, proposed that he should be re-elected to his former office. The motion was seconded by Sir Francis Burdett, after whom Mr. Littleton addressed the House, and having explained that he stood in the situation of an unwilling candidate for the honour which it had been proposed to confer upon him, requested Mr. Hume to concur in what was evidently the almost unanimous feeling of the House, and to allow the election of Mr. Sutton to take place without a division. The debate, however, was continued for a considerable time longer, by speeches from Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Cobbett, and Mr. Warburton, in support of Mr. Hume's motion, and from Lord Ebrington, Mr. Tennyson, and Lord Althorp, in favour of that of Lord Morpeth. Mr. O'Connell denounced with great bitterness and vehemence the policy which he asserted to be pursued by ministers, of appointing their political opponents to offices of power and emolument, to the exclusion of their friends, and contended, that both candidates being equal in point of fitness, a reformed House of Commons should choose the Reformer for Speaker. Lord Althorp said, "I am perfectly ready to admit, and I agree with those gentlemen who say, that if I found placed before me two gentlemen equally qualified to take the chair, with one of whom I agreed in opinion generally, and from the other of whom I differed—I should most assuredly give the preference to the former. But when I found that the right honourable gentleman, the member for the University of Cambridge, was again returned as a member of this House, I felt—as I am sure every honourable gentleman must feel—the great advantages which would result from our possessing the benefit of his experience; and knowing, as we do,

how he has always performed the duties of Speaker, I think we cannot but admit that his qualifications are pre-eminent, and that he is infinitely better fitted for that high situation than any other member of the House can possibly be. I am perfectly ready to say, that looking on my honourable friend, the member for Staffordshire, as an untried man, I have every reason to believe that he is perfectly qualified for the office; but it would be impossible, for that reason, that I should compare my honourable friend, who has no experience in the office, with the right honourable gentleman, whose long experience has made him so eminently acquainted with all the duties pertaining to it; and under such circumstances, I conceive that I should have been guilty of the grossest dereliction of my duty, if I had allowed any party considerations to influence me, or to induce me to give my vote against a gentleman whose experience thus fully qualifies him to fill the situation of Speaker of the House. Certainly, therefore, I avow that I did write to the right honourable gentleman to ask whether, if he were elected Speaker, he would undertake the office; telling him that, if he would do so, he should have my support." His lordship afterwards corrected a mistake into which Mr. O'Connell had fallen, in asserting that Mr. Sutton had already received, or at least become entitled to, two quarters of the pension of 4000*l.* a-year, which by an act of the last parliament had been made payable to him from the date of his retirement from the office of Speaker. He had ceased to be Speaker, his lordship stated, not at the prorogation of parliament on the 16th of August, as Mr. O'Connell seemed to suppose, but only at its dissolution on the 3d of December. A division then took place, when Lord Morpeth's motion was carried by a majority of 241 to 31. On the motion that the right honourable gentleman should take the chair, the debate on the subject of his retiring pension was resumed; Mr. Warburton and other members contending, that the vote of such a pension to a Speaker before his final retirement was dangerous and unconstitutional. To the proposition, however, of bringing in a bill to repeal the act of the last Parliament, it was objected by Sir Francis Burdett that that act could not be undone unless with the consent of the right honourable gentleman himself, and that the pension was granted to him for what he had already done, and not in contemplation of future services. A curious discussion followed, occasioned by a remark of the Solicitor-General, who stated that the Speaker did not altogether lose his office even on the dissolution of Parliament, but for some purposes, at least, continued to hold it till the appointment of his successor. The question was then agreed to, and Mr. Sutton having been conducted to the chair, returned thanks; after which the House, on the motion of Lord Althorp, adjourned. The king's speech was delivered on the 5th by his majesty in person. It was as follows:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The period being now arrived at which the business of parliament is usually resumed, I have called you together for the discharge of the important duties with which you are intrusted.

"Never, at any time, did subjects of greater interest and magnitude call for your attention.

"I have still to lament the continuance of the civil war in Portugal, which has for some months existed between the princes of the house of Braganza. From the commencement of this contest I have abstained from all interference, except such as was required for the protection of British subjects resident in Portugal; but you may be assured that I shall not fail to avail myself of any opportunity that may be afforded me to assist in restoring peace to a country with which the interests of my dominions are so intimately connected.

"I have also to regret that my anxious endeavours to effect a definite arrangement between Holland and Belgium have hitherto been unsuccessful. I found myself at length compelled, in conjunction with the King of the French, to take measures for the execution of the treaty of the 15th of November, 1831.

"The capture of the citadel of Antwerp has, in part, accomplished that object, but the Dutch government still refusing to evacuate the rest of the territories assigned to Belgium by that treaty, the embargo which I had directed to be imposed on the Dutch commerce has been continued. Negotiations are again commenced, and you may rely on their being conducted on my part, as they have uniformly been, with the single view of ensuring to Holland and

* We quote from the *Mirror of Parliament*, and shall do so whenever we have occasion in the sequel to give the exact words employed by any member of either House.

Belgium a separate existence, on principles of mutual security and independence. The good faith and honour with which the French government has acted in these transactions, and the assurances which I continue to receive from the chief powers of Europe of their friendly disposition, give me confidence in the success of my endeavours to preserve the general peace. I have given directions that the various papers which are necessary for your information on the affairs of Holland and Belgium should be laid before you.

"The approaching termination of the charters of the Bank of England and of the East India Company will require a revision of these establishments; and I rely on your wisdom for making such provisions for the important interest connected with them as may appear, from experience and full consideration, to be best calculated to secure public credit, to improve and extend our commerce, and to promote the general prosperity and power of the British empire.

"Your attention will also be directed to the state of the church, more particularly as regards its temporalities and the maintenance of the clergy. The complaints which have arisen from the collection of tithes appear to require a change of system, which, without diminishing the means of maintaining the established clergy in respectability and usefulness, may prevent the collision of interests, and the consequent disagreements and dissatisfaction which have too frequently prevailed between the ministers of the church and their parishioners.

"It may also be necessary for you to consider what remedies may be applied for the correction of acknowledged abuses, and whether the revenues of the church may not admit of a more equitable and judicious distribution.

"In your deliberations on these important subjects, it cannot be necessary for me to impress upon you the duty of carefully attending to the security of the church established by law in these realms, and to the true interests of religion.

"In relation to Ireland, with a view of removing the causes of complaint which had been so generally felt, and which had been attended with such unfortunate consequences, an act was passed during the last session of parliament for carrying into effect a general composition for tithes. To complete that salutary work, I recommend to you, in conjunction with such other amendments of the law as may be found applicable to that part of my dominions, the adoption of a measure by which, upon the principle of a just commutation, the possessors of land may be enabled to free themselves from the burden of an annual payment.

"In the further reforms that may be necessary, you will probably find that, although the established church of Ireland is, by law, permanently united with that of England, the peculiarities of their respective circumstances will require a separate consideration. There are other subjects hardly less important to the general peace and welfare of Ireland, as affecting the administration of justice, and the local taxation of that country, to which your attention will be also required.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have directed the estimates for the service of the year to be laid before you. They will be framed with the most anxious attention to all useful economy. Notwithstanding the large reduction in the estimates of the last year, I am happy to inform you, that all the extraordinary services which the exigencies of the times required have been amply provided for. The state of the revenue, as compared with the public expenditure, has hitherto fully realized the expectations that were formed at the close of the last session.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In this part of the United Kingdom, with very few exceptions, the public peace has been preserved; and it will be your anxious but grateful duty to promote, by all practicable means, habits of industry and good order amongst the labouring classes of the community.

"On my part, I shall be ready to co-operate to the utmost of my power in obviating all just causes of complaint, and in promoting all well-considered measures of improvement. But it is my painful duty to observe, that the disturbances in Ireland, to which I adverted at the close of the last session, have greatly increased. A spirit of insubordination and violence has risen to the most fearful height, rendering life and property insecure, defying the authority

of the law, and threatening the most fatal consequences, if not promptly and effectually suppressed.

"I feel confident, that to your loyalty and patriotism I shall not resort in vain for assistance in these afflicting circumstances, and that you will be ready to adopt such measures of salutary precaution, and to intrust to me such additional powers, as may be found necessary for controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving and strengthening the legislative union between the two countries, which, with your support, and under the blessings of Divine Providence, I am determined to maintain, by all the measures in my power, as indissolubly connected with the peace, security, and welfare of my people."

In the Lords the Address in answer to the Speech, and as usual echoing its terms, was moved by the Marquis of Conyngham, and seconded by Lord Kinnaird. A debate ensued, which turned principally upon the foreign policy of the administration, the Earl of Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington condemning in strong terms the conduct that had been pursued both towards the King of Holland and the existing government of Portugal. To the charges thus brought forward, Earl Grey replied at great length, contending that in both cases the course of policy which had been adopted had been the only course open in the circumstances. As to Holland, "we were told, indeed," said his lordship, "on our accession to office, that we could not prevent war for two months; but by the gracious interposition of Providence, we have now prevented it for two years." With respect to the non-acknowledgment of Don Miguel as sovereign of Portugal, also, for which blame had been thrown upon the present ministry, he showed that that state of things had arisen through no fault of theirs. "Let me ask," he said, "what the situation of that country was when my noble colleagues and myself came into office? Don Miguel was on the throne, indeed, of Portugal, but by what means had he attained it? By a violation of all the obligations of moral duty, of his oath, and of his solemn engagements with other parties. These violations placed him on the throne in the character of a usurper, whom it was impossible for any established government to acknowledge, and with whom all diplomatic relations,—those, even, of Spain not excepted,—had ceased." When the preceding ministry, he added, to which Lord Aberdeen himself belonged, went out of office, no recognition of Don Miguel had taken place by this country. After some remarks by the Earl of Roden on the expressions in the king's Speech with reference to the church of Ireland, the Address was agreed to.

In the House of Commons the question was not so speedily settled. The Address was moved by the Earl of Ormelie, and seconded by Mr. John Marshall; but it is impossible for us within our narrow limits to attempt to follow the course of a debate, the full report of which in the *Mirror of Parliament* occupies between 150 and 160 long and closely-printed columns, and in which upwards of fifty members took part during the four sittings over which it extended. It is necessary, nevertheless, that we should notice, however briefly, the leading speeches that were made upon both sides, both in this and some of the other more remarkable contests of the session, for the sake of the illustration which they afford of the composition of the House, and of the views, the temper, and the weight of each of the parties into which it was divided.

On the present occasion, with very few exceptions, the speakers confined themselves almost entirely to the passage in the king's Speech, in which reference was made to the disturbed state of Ireland, and the intention intimated of applying to parliament for such additional powers as might be found necessary to support the course of order and the laws in that country. On the first night, immediately after Mr. Marshall had sat down, Mr. O'Connell rose, and having commenced by denouncing the Address as brutal and bloody, and as nothing else than a declaration of war against Ireland, proceeded at great length, and with extraordinary warmth, to defend and enforce that sentiment. He concluded by moving that the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the Address to his Majesty. He was replied to by Mr. Stanley, who began by saying, "I am convinced that the House will bear with me whilst I trespass upon their attention for as short a time as is possible, under the circumstances of the case; and that they will feel, in the performance of the duty which

I owe to the government of which I am a member, it is impossible that I can remain silent under the eloquent (for such I must allow it to be) and forcible invective—argument I cannot call it—of the honourable and learned member for Dublin." Alluding, then, to certain speeches delivered out-of-doors by the honourable and learned member, he was proceeding to describe him as having represented the repeal of the Union between the two countries to be the one and only mode of redressing the grievances of Ireland, as having promised the people of Ireland that before June twelvemonths there should be a parliament sitting in Dublin, and as having pledged himself that that alone could relieve them from the yoke of the Sassenach, when Mr. O'Connell interrupted him with an exclamation of No! "No!" replied Mr. Stanley, "surely the honourable and learned gentleman will not deny that every word, every syllable which he has spoken, every inflammatory harangue by which he has stirred up the passions of a too easily-excited people, whilst he fallaciously allowed the words conciliation and peace to drop from his lips, has tended to create in the people of Ireland this feeling—that as long as they are subjected to the foreign yoke there is no hope of remedy for their grievances—no alleviation of what he is pleased to call their state of slavery—no amelioration of what he designates their degraded condition—and that in repeal alone, and in the throwing off of the bonds of the Saxons, any improvement of the condition of Ireland can be hoped for." Addressing himself, then, directly to Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Stanley, with great force of manner, went on,—"We now tell him, before the representatives of the united people of Great Britain and Ireland, that his panacea is one which, with all the power of government, and with the cordial assent of the people,—without which government can do nothing,—will be resisted to the death. We tell him that, as we consider the adoption of his panacea would be the death-blow of the empire; we, who desire to see the consolidation of its strength by means of united councils and united enterprise, should be traitors to the kingdom, and to the duties which we are called upon to exercise, if, with all the means in our power, with all the resources which the empire places at our disposal, we do not oppose the proposed separation to the utmost. We call upon the honourable and learned member to meet us fairly. We affirm our proposition, and challenge him to negative it. But what does the honourable and learned member do? He rises and makes a speech, which, I must be permitted to say, was addressed less to those within, than to those without the walls of this House, containing the usual declamation relative to the indifference with which the affairs of Ireland are treated by the House, which, however, never received a more convincing refutation than by the patience with which the House has listened to the whole of the honourable and learned member's observations. The honourable and learned member has accused the government of injustice towards Ireland, has charged them with indifference to the sufferings of the people of that country, has stated a long catalogue of grievances, some of which ministers have already announced their intention of remedying; but with the question of the dissolution of the Union, with respect to which an opportunity offered of obtaining the test of public opinion by means of the representatives of England,—ay, and of the representatives of Ireland—with that question he has not ventured to grapple in the legislature of the United Kingdom, although he told the people of Ireland that they should have a parliament in College Green by next June."

Mr. Stanley next examined the principal charges which Mr. O'Connell had brought against the present government on account of their treatment of Ireland. His speech, which made a great impression on the House, certainly did not contribute to allay the heated feeling which prevailed among a portion of the members. On the following evening, the 6th, Mr. Tennyson intimated his intention of moving that the passage in the Address relating to Ireland should be amended by the omission of certain words which went to bind the House to the grant of additional powers, and to the maintenance of the Union in all circumstances; and by the substitution of others intimating a determination to investigate the causes of discontent in Ireland, with a view to the application of prompt and effectual remedies, and only promising to aid his Majesty in defending the Union against all lawless attempts to defeat it. The principal speakers this evening were Mr. Sheil and Mr. D. W. Harvey, in

opposition to the original motion, and Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Charles Grant, in its support. Sir Robert Inglis, also, declared his intention of voting with the ministers, although he complained of various omissions in the royal Speech, and protested against being considered to be pledged by his present vote to support the precise measures which might afterwards be grounded upon the Address.

On the 7th the debate was resumed by Mr. Hume, who, in a very long speech, supported Mr. Tennyson's amendment. Mr. Cobbett, also, who had made his *début* in the debate on the nomination of the Speaker, again occupied the attention of the House for some time this evening with one of his characteristic addresses. It consisted principally of a diatribe against the Irish church establishment, which the speaker denounced as the cause of all the miseries of that country. "I am," he said, "for totally and entirely abrogating, annulling, rendering prostrate, and of no effect, the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland." "Nobody," he added, "can misunderstand me, I trust." He also contended that the Irish had a much better right to rebel than Washington and the Americans had, whose resistance, however, he intimated that he did not approve of. "I never," said he, "went so far as that. I have been called Republican, Radical, Jacobin, Leveller; in the regular way of promotion I have gone through every stage; but never in my life did any man hear me praise Washington for that act of rebellion against his king." The debate was concluded for the evening by a speech from Sir Robert Peel, in which he avowed his intention of supporting the government in their measures for the suppression of disturbance in Ireland, but reprobated the foreign policy of the ministers as exemplified in the course they had pursued in regard both to Portugal and Holland. The war in the former country, he maintained, never could have existed without their sanction; and to Holland he expressed it as his conviction that England had acted the part of an enemy, while it was both her interest and duty to have stood the friend and supporter of that state.

On the following evening, the 8th, Dr. Lushington, after shortly advocating the necessity of the coercive measures proposed to be taken in regard to Ireland, replied to these observations of Sir Robert Peel, and contended that, according to the law of nations as laid down by the highest authorities, the embargo which had been lately laid on the ships of Holland in the ports of this country was perfectly justifiable. He likewise denied that Don Miguel had any better claim to be recognised as sovereign of Portugal now, than he had when the right honourable baronet himself and his friends were in office. The Irish question was also this night largely and eagerly debated by Mr. Ruthven, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. O'Dwyer, Mr. Maurice O'Connell, and Mr. Feargus O'Connor in opposition to the ministers, and by Mr. F. Shaw and others in their support. At length the House divided on Mr. O'Connell's amendment, when there appeared to be for it 40, and against it 428. A second division then took place on the amendment proposed by Mr. Tennyson, which was also lost by a large majority; the numbers being 60 for it, and 393 against it. It will be observed that even the largest of these minorities is less than, according to the calculations we have given of the numbers of the different parties in the House, would have resulted from the union of all the members of what, for the sake of brevity, we shall call the Radical party against ministers, and of all the rest of the House in their support. Counting the Radicals at 100 in all, they ought (deducting the tellers) to have mustered, on the first division, nearly to the number of 70, and on the second to that of 67. In point of fact, it is known that some members, generally considered to belong to this party, voted with ministers on both occasions. They had also the support of those calling themselves the Conservative party, it is believed without any exception. Many of the members, however, of opposite opinions, who voted with the government on these divisions, were by no means to be relied upon as constant or regular supporters.

But this protracted discussion was not yet over. The bringing up of the report of the Address, on the 11th, produced another long and animated oration from Mr. O'Connell, the most remarkable part of which was that in which he at last ventured to touch upon the question of the Union. He did not, however, go very far into the argument. "The repeal of this act," he said, "may be called the dismemberment of the empire; but I deny the fact;

and though some philosophical gentlemen may tell us that two parliaments cannot exist together, there is no proposition better founded than this,—that what once has been may be again." He denied that the Irish Parliament had ever been corrupted or overawed by England; from which declaration we may presume, that Mr. O'Connell is not one of those who attribute the carrying of this very measure of the Union in that legislature to the influence of English gold. He then proceeded to vindicate himself from the imputation of having only taken up the repeal of the Union after Catholic emancipation had been gained. His agitation for the repeal, he said, commenced on the 1st of January, 1801. He had, all along, declared that he would never be satisfied with emancipation without repeal. As for not having brought forward the question last year, it was then, for the first time, that, reform of parliament being about to be granted, he had thought that a local legislature might not be necessary for Ireland. But, he continued, "you gave an extensive reform to England and Scotland, whilst you flung a jejune, paltry, and insulting mockery of reform to Ireland." He then determined to recommence agitation. Still, deeply impressed by arguments on the subject which were addressed to him by some of his friends who differed from the views he took, he had come to England with his list of grievances, determined to give the reformed parliament a trial. "When I heard," he exclaimed, "the atrocious speech from the throne,—I will not say that it took away my breath (as an honourable member, I recollect, stated that the propounding of the Reform Bill did his),—but it actually deprived me of my intellect—of my power of thinking and reasoning calmly. Still, however, I was not to be driven from my purpose. I stated my list of evils, none of which have been denied—none have been attempted to be disproved, and not one proposed to be redressed." If he had paused before he had commenced the discussion of the repeal of the Union, it was not because he had no arguments wherewith to support his proposition. Of these arguments, however, the honourable and learned gentleman only produced one. There was nothing, he said, more atrocious in the history of mankind than the motives which led to the Union; and he quoted some passages from speeches delivered at the time by Mr. Saurin and Lord Plunket, in which it was affirmed, that the Irish legislature had no right to consent to the measure; and that, if the act were passed, it would not be binding. He then very briefly noticed the objection drawn from what happened in 1788, on the question as to the appointment of a regent. "What weight," he said, "is there in this objection? Was not the regency question a new one? It is possible that the Irish parliament might have taken a different view of the question from the English parliament; but what great embarrassment and danger would have arisen from this? The king *de facto* of England would necessarily be the king of Ireland." This is certainly a strange way of disposing of the argument. Are we to set up the *imperium in imperio*, merely that the Irish legislature may, whenever a difference breaks out, knock under to the English? and is this the manner in which the inconveniences of the arrangement are to be obviated? The honourable and learned gentleman, however, seemed to think that his reply had been a most victorious one. "I have merely alluded to this point," he added, "in order to show the miserable grounds on which it is attempted to obtain a triumph over me."

We cannot go through the able speech delivered in answer to Mr. O'Connell by Mr. Spring Rice. It embodied a number of financial statements, some of which were very curious—one especially, which shewed the amount of taxes borne by Great Britain since 1801, from which Ireland had been exempted. It had, it appeared, considerably exceeded three hundred and thirty-three millions sterling—more than half the amount of the national debt. Here was the evidence in proof of the assertion that Ireland had not had fair play from the imperial parliament. In the conclusion of his address, Mr. Spring Rice again attacked Mr. O'Connell on his conduct as to the repeal question. "It is some years back," he said, "since I endeavoured to force the honourable and learned member for Dublin into a discussion of the question of repeal. The honourable and learned gentleman must recollect that I told him, if he were sincere in his declarations, that it would be far more manly, as well as far more becoming, in him as a legislator, to discuss the question calmly, on its real merits, on the

floor of this House, rather than vaguely to declaim about it among the hurlers of Kilkenny. I told the honourable and learned gentleman, what I now emphatically repeat,—namely, that the question of the repeal of the Union is the question of separation between England and Ireland; that the question of separation involves the destruction of the British monarchy, and the setting up in its stead, in Ireland, a ferocious republic of the worst kind, of which its founders would be the very first victims."

No vote was taken upon the question that the report should be brought up; but when it was about to be read a second time, Mr. Cobbett proposed an amendment, to leave out the whole after the words "Most gracious sovereign," and to substitute another Address, which he read. It expressed regret that his majesty had not been advised to suggest to his parliament to consider of the means of lightening the burdens of the industrious classes; and in relation to the affairs of Ireland, it assured his majesty that parliament would not suffer the people of that country to be treated with injustice and cruelty, but would proceed immediately to the consideration of means for redressing the manifold grievances under which they had so long been suffering, firmly convinced that these were the real cause of the present unhappy disturbances. The honourable member threatened to speak for two hours in expounding his reasons for proposing this Address; and in spite of much interruption, he proceeded through a strange variety of topics for a considerable time. The motion was seconded by his colleague, Mr. Fielden; but on a division, only 23 members voted in its favour, while 323 voted against it. Other amendments proposed by Mr. Thomas Attwood were then negatived without a division; and the original Address was agreed to.

We may here notice, as one of the novel circumstances which marked the opening of the present parliament, the admission, for the first time, of a Quaker member, Mr. Joseph Pease, returned for the southern division of the county of Durham on his affirmation instead of the usual oath. We have given an abstract of the Report of the Select Committee, which was appointed to search the Journals for precedents bearing upon his claim, in the *Companion*, at p. 10. A bill was afterwards brought in, which passed into a law (3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 49) allowing Quakers and Moravians to make affirmation in all cases where an oath is or shall be required. By another act (3 & 4 Will IV. c. 82), the same privilege was extended to the people called Separatists.

On the 20th of February, the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord Althorp, agreed to meet every day, except Saturday, at twelve o'clock, for private business and petitions, and to sit till three, unless the business should be sooner disposed of. At this early meeting it was resolved that twenty members should form a House; and a quarter past five o'clock instead of four, as heretofore, was fixed as the hour for the House assembling in the evening. It was also resolved that a Select Committee should be appointed in future, at the commencement of each session, to classify all petitions presented to the House, and to order the printing of such of them at length, or in abstract, as appeared to them to require it. These arrangements were adhered to throughout the session.—(See *Companion*, pp. 9, 27, 60, 78, 93, 127, 138, and 172.)

2.—*Irish Affairs—Bill for the Suppression of Disturbances—Bill for the Trial of Offences—Church Reform Bill—Tithes—Grand Juries Bill—Juries Bill.*

THE first subject which parliament took up on proceeding to actual business, was the case of Ireland. The removal of the political disabilities of the Catholics had not tranquillized that unhappy country. The Emancipation Act was passed in April 1829; and before the close of the following year, not only had agitation for the extinction of tithes and the repeal of the Union become nearly as loud as that had formerly been which the recent concession had appeased, but the outrages of the peasantry and their systematic defiance of the law had again risen to such a height in various districts, as to have brought all security of life and property to an end. On the change of ministry in England in November that year, the Marquis of Anglesey, formerly the idol of the nation, had replaced the Duke of Northumberland in the vice-royalty; but his arrival produced no effect either in allaying disturbances, or in mi-

figating the violence and virulence of faction. The excesses to which the agitators proceeded, speedily compelled him to avail himself of the powers with which the law had armed him to put down these associations; and the year 1831 commenced with a contest between the two parties, one of the incidents of which was the apprehension, on the 13th of January, of Messrs. O'Connell, Lawless, Steele, Barrett, and others, on the charge of holding meetings which had been denounced as illegal by the government under the temporary statute, called the Proclamation Act, passed in March, 1829. Before this Mr. Sheil had declared, at a public meeting, that, if the Union was not repealed within two years, he was determined that he would pay neither rent, tithes, nor taxes. As the year advanced, the reign of lawless violence continued to extend its range, and to grow more terrible every day. At length, in the beginning of May, the whole of the county of Clare, and parts of certain other counties, were declared, by proclamation, subject to the provisions of the Peace Preservation Act; and a special commission was sent down to try offenders in these districts. These measures, aided by the presence of a considerably larger military force than had ever before been maintained in Ireland, had the effect of restoring for a time the supremacy of the law in those parts to which they were applied; but no general or permanent recovery of the country from its distracted state took place. In the beginning of the following February, certain parts of the county of Tipperary were again proclaimed; and soon after nearly the whole of Kilkenny and Queen's County. A special commission for the trial of criminals was also sent down to the latter; but the expedient did not succeed so well on this occasion, as it had done the preceding year in the case of the county of Clare. The inefficiency of the existing laws to preserve the peace of the country, now began to be strongly pressed upon the government from all quarters; but the utmost indisposition was still manifested by the latter to acquiesce in these representations. Meanwhile the new Tithe Act, passed in the beginning of June, by which the right of collecting that impost was transferred to the government, experienced as determined a resistance on the part of the peasantry as had been offered to the exaction when it was made by the clergy; and its application, so long as it was persevered in, occasioned a cost to the public considerably exceeding the amount of money recovered. The agitation for the repeal of the Union, too, now that the Proclamation Act had expired by the rising of parliament (for it had been limited to that date) had been renewed with increased zeal and activity; and, urged in all the forms of popular excitement, was rapidly making head against the utmost efforts of the government to discourage it and put it down.

In this state of things ministers at last felt that recourse to extraordinary measures could be no long delayed. On the 15th of February, in conformity with the intimation that had been given in his Majesty's Speech, Earl Grey laid before the House of Lords a "Bill for the more effectual Suppression of Local Disturbances and Dangerous Associations in Ireland." (See the *Companion*, p. 7, for an account of the general features of this measure, and a notice of the preceding acts upon which it was founded.) Admitting the unconstitutional character of the powers which he sought, his lordship prefaced his motion by a speech, in which he drew a striking picture of the political and social disorganization for which so strong a remedy was proposed. He began by noticing the most recent association into which the advocates of the repeal of the Union had formed themselves,—that of the Volunteers of Ireland. "Look," he said, "at the principle and organization of this society of Irish Volunteers, which is formed after the pattern of the Volunteers of 1782. My lords, the name, the period referred to, the circumstances of the association which it has assumed as its model, sufficiently indicate the designs of this new society. This organization is to extend over the whole country: there is a central association in Dublin, and there are to be sent to every parish in Ireland three 'pacifcators,' whose object it shall be to enlist and enrol the neighbouring population, farmers, and labourers, in local associations, which will be under the direction, guidance, and control of the central association. That the Volunteers are ultimately to be armed, though at present unarmed, is acknowledged; but, we are told, they are not to assume arms till the law of the land shall permit them to do so; and when will that be? When, by the influ-

ence of moral and physical force, the association shall have become superior in power to the government of the country itself. Such an association cannot be permitted to continue to exist, and diffuse itself throughout so many and such large ramifications, without a total abandonment of the security, the safety, and the power, on the maintenance of which the existence of the government depends"*. He then referred to other associations that had been longer in existence. "Large bodies of men," he said, "are collected and arrayed by signals—by the ringing of chapel-bells—by the blowing of horns—by lighting of fires—all evidently directed by a system of organization and operation in which many are connected, and conducted in such a manner as, up to the present time, to have defied all the powers of government and of the law." The state of things that prevailed in consequence, in many parts of the kingdom, he described to be little short of actual rebellion. He mentioned the whole of the province of Leinster, the counties of Cork and Tipperary in Munster, Mayo and other parts in Connaught, and even much of Ulster, as more or less disturbed. In Mayo, he stated, at the late election, "no voter who supported the candidates friendly to the Union could come safely to the poll without the protection of a large police or military force." The lawless bands who kept the country in terror did not, he affirmed, direct their aims only to public purposes—merely, for example, to the getting rid of tithes. Their object was, in many cases, the gratification of private vengeance. "They dictate," said his lordship, "what persons shall be employed and by whom; forbidding labourers to work for obnoxious masters, and preventing masters from employing such individuals as are not obedient to their orders. They enforce their commands by acts of cruelty and outrage—by spoliation—by murder—by attacks on houses in the dead of night—by dragging the inmates out of their beds—by beating them, sometimes, to such an extent that death ensues—or by inflicting on them the lesser evil of immediate death." He then adverted to the intimidation practised upon prosecutors, witnesses, jurors, and magistrates, and to various instances in which persons who had been instrumental in bringing criminals to justice, had afterwards been murdered by these associated miscreants. It had, in consequence, become impossible, in many parts of the country, to administer justice by the ordinary forms. The police were massacred if they dared to interfere to put down illegal violence, or to seize a criminal. Jurors and witnesses absented themselves from the assizes, so that trials could not proceed. His lordship quoted a letter from the Attorney-General of Ireland, dated the 24th of January, in which it was said:—"Looking at the cases that have recently come under my notice, they give decided proof of a state of complete demoralization. Of 150 cases that I have examined, there was not one in which either tithes or the property of gentlemen were concerned. It appears that the lowest and most defenceless classes of society are the objects of persecution." "The latter states," continued Earl Grey, "that the criminals on the home circuit alone, are now equal in number to what they were in the whole country two years ago; and that their crimes are not of an ordinary but of an atrocious description. It further appears, from the same communication, that assassination is the order of the day. An account is given of the number of crimes committed during the past year, and I almost fear to read to your lordships the frightful catalogue. Between the 1st of January and the end of December, 1832, the number of homicides was 242; of robberies, 1179; of burglaries, 401; of burnings, 568; of houghing cattle, 290; of serious assaults, 161; of riots, 203; of illegal rescues, 353; of illegal notices, 2094; of illegal meetings, 427; of injuries to property, 796; of attacks on houses, 723; of firing with intent to kill, 328; of robbery of arms, 117; of administering unlawful oaths, 163; of resistance to legal process, 8; of turning up land, 20; of resistance to tithes, 50; of taking forcible possession, 2; making altogether a total of 9002 crimes committed in one year; and all of these crimes of a description connected with, and growing out of, the disturbed state of the country." The amount of crime, also, he added, appeared to be on the increase. In the province of Leinster alone, during the

* To save room, we have omitted some sentences in the report of the speech, and shall take that liberty whenever we can do so without injury to the meaning of the passage.

three months of July, August, and September last, 1279 cases had occurred; but in the following three months of October, November, and December, the number had swelled to 1646.

The legislative measure which Earl Grey proposed, in order to meet this alarming state of things, and which we shall presently describe in the form in which it passed into a law, encountered scarcely any opposition in the House of Lords. It was read a second time on the 18th, and was committed the day following. In the committee some alterations were made on the original draught of the bill, the principal of which were two amendments suggested by the Duke of Wellington, providing that no court-martial, to be held under the act, should be presided over by any officer below the rank of a field-officer, and that the judgment of the court-martial should in no case be executed till it had been approved by the lord-lieutenant. The bill was read a third time on the 22nd; the only peer by whom any opposition to it was expressed being Lord Teynham, who did not, however, divide the House.

In the Commons it met, from a part of the House, with a very different reception. When it was brought up on the same evening on which it had passed the Lords, the Chancellor of the Exchequer merely moved that it should be printed; and even this proposition led to a warm conversation. Mr. O'Connell, who, in the early part of 1831, at a public meeting in Dublin, had declared that the Proclamation Act should never be renewed—that O'Gorman Mahon and himself would alone be able to prevent its renewal—and that they two would keep the House adjourned for twelve months together before it should again become a law—rose, he said, to apologise to his constituents for permitting the present despotic bill (in which the provisions of the Proclamation Act were embodied) to be in the House one night without discussing it. The first reading was moved by Lord Althorp on the 27th, when, Mr. Tennyson having moved that the bill should be read that day fortnight, a stormy debate commenced, which, after having been protracted by adjournments to five sittings, was terminated on the morning of the 6th of March, by a division of 89 members in favour of the amendment, and 466 against it. In the course of this discussion an extraordinary impression was made upon the House by the speeches delivered in support of the bill, by Mr. Stanley and Sir Robert Peel. The second reading was moved on the 8th, and gave rise to another debate, which was adjourned till the 11th. On that evening, or rather at an early hour on the following morning, the House divided on an amendment proposed by Mr. Hume, the effect of which would have been to defeat the measure; when there appeared, for the amendment 84, and against it 363. The longest and toughest battle, however, was fought in the committee, into which the House resolved itself on the 13th, after Lord Althorp had intimated, that, in consequence of the representations of many honourable members, his majesty's ministers had consented to make certain alterations in the bill—restricting the composition and the powers of the courts-martial, and also prohibiting the police, in their domiciliary visits, from entering any house, the inmates of which should appear, and answer, upon their names being called over. The bill was debated in the committee for six nights, in the course of which, many animated discussions took place, and repeated divisions, in all of which the opponents of the measure were defeated by large majorities. On one of these evenings, the 18th, Mr. Lambert, member for the county of Wexford, who had supported the general principle of the bill, moved an amendment on one of the clauses, to the effect, that it should not be lawful to apply the powers of the act to any district merely because tithes should not have been paid therein,—which, having been acquiesced in by the ministry, was carried against the Conservative party by a majority of 284 to 81*. A clause was afterwards introduced by Mr.

Stanley, exempting from the operation of the act, any meeting called by the high sheriff or lieutenant of the county, or the sheriff or other chief magistrate of the county of the city or town; and another, taking cases of libel and certain other offences out of the jurisdiction of the courts-martial, which it was afterwards agreed should be open courts. The bill was, at last, read a third time on the 29th, after another warm debate—the numbers, on the division, being 345 for, and 86 against it. On the 1st of April another debate took place in the Lords, on the amendments made by the Commons, which ended in the bill being passed in the state in which it had been brought up.

This act, which it is declared shall continue in force till the 1st of August 1834, empowers the lord-lieutenant to prohibit any meeting which he shall deem dangerous or inconsistent with the due administration of the law; and also, by proclamation, to declare any district in a state of disturbance, upon which all the inhabitants shall be required to remain in their houses between sunset and sunrise, and martial law shall supersede the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals. Domiciliary visits, by justices of the peace, are authorized in the proclaimed districts; and the making of signals by beacons, bonfires, blowing of horns, ringing of bells, &c., is prohibited. Finally, persons apprehended cannot demand to be bailed or to be brought up by writ of *habeas corpus*; but they must be released unless brought to trial within three months. The act, which consists of forty-one clauses, contains numerous provisions, explaining and modifying these, its leading enactments, in a variety of ways.

The new powers with which the Irish government was thus invested did not remain long unused. The bill received the royal assent on the 2nd of April; and on the 6th a proclamation by Lord Anglesey appeared in the *Dublin Gazette*, declaring the county of Kilkenny, the county of the city of Kilkenny, the city of Kilkenny, and the liberties of the said city, to be in such a state of disturbance and insubordination as to require the application of the provisions of the act, and warning the inhabitants to abstain from all seditious and other unlawful assemblages, processions, confederacies, meetings, and associations, and to be and remain in their respective habitations at all hours between sunset and sunrise from and after the 10th instant. In a few days after (on the 10th), another proclamation was issued prohibiting and suppressing the association called the Irish Volunteers, and every and any adjourned, renewed, or otherwise continued meeting of the said association, or of any part thereof, under any name, pretext, shift, or device whatsoever.

Another bill, entitled "A Bill to provide for the more impartial Trial of Offences in certain Cases in Ireland," was presented to the House of Lords by Earl Grey, on the 21st of February, and read, for the third time, in the House of Commons on the 21st of August, by a majority of 61 to 15. Its object was, to give to the Court of King's Bench the power, when it should think fit, of ordering trials to take place in any adjoining county or in Dublin, instead of in the county where the offence was committed. The duration of this act is limited to the same date with that of the other.

But these measures of coercion towards Ireland, devised to meet the pressing exigencies of the moment, and, therefore, made only temporary in their operation, were accompanied by another of reform, directed to remove for ever some at least of the abuses and grievances which were alleged to lie at the root of the dissatisfaction and disquiet of that portion of the empire. On the 12th of February, some days before the bill for the suppression of disturbances was brought forward in the Lords, Lord Althorp introduced into the House of Commons the plan proposed by the government for the reform of the Irish church. We have already explained the different parts of this plan, as it was originally announced. (See *The Companion*, p. 6.) The debate which followed Lord Althorp's speech, elicited an ex-

* The words thus added were afterwards generally admitted to be entirely superfluous, inasmuch as there was nothing in the act which could possibly be construed as allowing its application to a district merely because tithes were not paid therein, "I cannot possibly," observed the Lord Chancellor, when the bill was returned to the Lords, "discover anything to be said in praise of this amendment. I should not wish to have taken upon myself the responsibility of propounding it, or of being its originator; for the sake of a character of consistency and good sense, if I had been a member of the assembly in which it was propounded, I should have felt an almost invincible reluctance to give my assent to it.

It is utterly inconsistent with the clause itself. Why say 'tithes' only? Why not go a great deal further? Why not say a district shall not be proclaimed on account of a man's withholding, in a peaceable manner, his rent? Why not say on account of a man's not paying his tradesman's bills or the king's taxes? Nay, why not enumerate every one act, other than disturbance and insubordination, which a man can engage in, and then warn the lord-lieutenant not to take peaceable for hostile conduct—a non-disturbed and subordinate for a disturbed and insubordinate district?" But a pledge was given by the government, that the Suppression Act should not be employed in or for the collection of tithes.

pression of their opinions upon the subject from each subdivision, both of the Conservative and of the Reforming party. Sir Robert Inglis, speaking the sentiments of what we may call the extreme right, said, "I will give this measure my heartfelt, earnest, and persevering resistance. It is hopeless, I believe; but I have been too long accustomed to vote in minorities, and to lift up my voice in this House without success, not to be prepared for such a result; but, with the indulgence of the House, I will, as long as God gives me life, health, and strength, oppose the measure now brought forward." Sir Robert Peel, at the head of the more moderate section of the same side of the House, admitted that the time was now come, when the whole state of the Irish church must undergo an enlarged and comprehensive consideration; and although he did not much approve of some parts of the ministerial scheme, was prepared to acquiesce in other parts of it, and to give the whole his best consideration. Mr. Ruthven, again, conceived that Lord Althorp's propositions did not go nearly far enough, and moved an amendment, having for its object the institution of an inquiry into the church establishment, with the view of ultimately dividing its revenues among all the different religious sects in the country. Although no division took place, however, the great majority of the House was evidently with the ministers.

The bill was brought in and read a first time on the 11th of March; but, in consequence of an objection taken by Mr. Wynn on the 14th to the introduction of a bill imposing a tax—as this, in one of its clauses, did—except in a committee of the whole House, the order for the second reading, which stood for that day, was discharged; and the measure was proposed anew in such a committee on the 1st of April, in the form of a series of resolutions. These being agreed to, the second reading of the new bill, founded upon them, was carried on the 6th by a majority of 317 to 78. In this vote the two divisions of the Conservative party, with very few individual exceptions, were united against the ministry, who were backed, however, by the combined force, both of their own adherents and of the ultra-liberals; so that their position was precisely the reverse of that in which they had stood while carrying through the Suspension Bill, and on occasion of the votes on the Address.

The bill was committed on the 13th, and it remained in committee till the 5th of July. Of numerous discussions which took place in the interim, the most remarkable was that occasioned on the 21st of June by Mr. Stanley's proposal to leave out the clause (the 147th), by which it was enacted, that a sum of money expected to accrue from the new arrangement respecting the bishops' lands, should be applied in any manner that parliament might judge best. Some even of the members of the House of Commons, who had supported the other parts of the scheme, were opposed, it was understood, to this particular clause, on the ground of its appearing to sanction the principle of the right of the state to direct the property of the church to other than ecclesiastical uses. Without either admitting or denying this right, ministers maintained that the interpretation put upon the clause in question was unwarranted, inasmuch as the money which it gave parliament the power of applying to the general purposes of the state was not the property of the church at all, but was wholly the creation of an act of the legislature. This explanation, however, the more especially as it was controverted by many of the most ardent friends of the bill, proved insufficient to satisfy the scruples of the objectors; and it is believed that a distinct intimation was given to the ministry by a considerable number of the members of the House of Lords, that they certainly should oppose the bill if the clause were retained. At this time its passage through the Upper House was extremely doubtful in any circumstances; and as the ministers had announced their intention of standing or falling by the fate of the measure, its reception by that branch of the legislature was looked forward to with great interest and anxiety. Mr. Stanley's amendment met with the warm opposition of a party in the House, who regarded the clause which it was proposed to omit as the best recommendation of the bill; and a good many members of less extreme politics could not be brought to vote against what they had formerly supported, merely to gratify the Lords; but the motion was nevertheless carried by a majority of 280 to 148. Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Hume, and others of the same party, con-

sidered the bill to be so much injured by this alteration, that they afterwards voted against it altogether. It was read for the third time, however, on the 8th, and passed by a majority of 274 to 94.

On the following day it was read for the first time in the House of Lords. On the 17th, Lord Grey moved the second reading, when, the Earl of Roden having moved that it should be read that day six months, a debate arose, which was continued during the two following evenings. On the division with which it terminated, the numbers were, 157 in favour of the bill, and 98 against it. The Duke of Wellington and Earl Harrowby, although far from approving all the details of the measure, both voted in the majority. The bill made its way through the committee without having undergone any material alteration, although the Archbishop of Canterbury carried one amendment against ministers by a majority of 84 to 82; and on the 30th it was read for the third time, and passed, 135 peers voting in its favour, and 81 against it. It was perfectly well understood, however, that, as in the case of the bill for the Reform of Parliament, to which this branch of the legislature had submitted about a year before, other considerations had a greater share in bringing about the present decision than any cordial approval of this new reform which was entertained by the majority of their lordships. The Conservative party certainly might have thrown out the bill, if they had chosen to bring up their strength against it. But the great majorities with which it had been carried through all its stages in the other House, and the manner in which there was no doubt that its rejection would be received by the public, made them feel that it would be an act of madness to hazard that experiment. Some peers also voted for the bill on the avowed ground that, although it was not such as they approved of, the circumstances of the Irish church demanded that something should be done, and even to pass this bill was preferable to letting matters alone. On this plea the Duke of Wellington, who, on the third reading, again formed one of the majority, justified his vote. Some of his Grace's former supporters, however, his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester for one, went over on this occasion to the opposite side. Others, among the rest the Earl of Hadington, withdrew, declining to vote at all.

During the latter part of the passage of this measure through the two Houses, the public anxiety was raised to an extraordinary degree of intensity, not with regard to the fate of the measure itself, but by the prospect of a change in the government which it seemed at one time to open. The ministers, as we have mentioned, had declared that if the bill was lost they would immediately resign. From about the middle of June, when it had passed the second reading in the Commons, and speculation began to be directed to its probable reception in the other House, rumours of the intention of the Lords to throw it out arose, and assumed gradually a more distinct shape. There can be little doubt that at one time this intention had been formed by the Conservative party. Nor is it believed to have been abandoned even after they had been propitiated by the extraction from the bill, as above related, of its one peculiarly-offensive clause. On the 9th of July, the very day on which the bill was brought up from the Commons, they gave ominous evidence both of their disposition and of their power, by throwing out the Local Courts Bill on the third reading. This was on Tuesday, and during the remainder of that week it was fully believed that a crisis was at hand. On Friday, the 12th, Sir John Wrottesley, in the House of Commons, gave notice of his intention on Monday to move a call of the House for Thursday, the day following that on which the second reading of the Irish Church Bill was to take place elsewhere. When Mr. Wynn observed that he should like to hear some reason assigned for this motion, Sir John Wrottesley replied, that he would state his reason on Monday. Ere that day, however, the aspect of things had undergone a change. It is believed that it was not till Sunday night, or the following morning, that the clouds in the political sky began to shew signs of dispersion even to those who were most favourably placed for observing what was going forward. On Monday evening Sir John Wrottesley made his promised motion for a call of the House, and in the speech with which he prefaced it, stated distinctly, that his reason was the perilous position in which the bill for the reform of the Irish church stood in the House of Lords. It was

not only, he added, the principle of the Church Bill which was in danger, but the great principle of reform generally. He conceived that in these circumstances honourable members ought to have an opportunity of doing their duty to their constituents in the event of a crisis arising. "I, therefore," he concluded, "shall press my motion for a full attendance on Thursday, as a warning to honourable members to be prepared at their posts to do the duty which the country expects from them, either by receiving the wishes or commands of the king, or by tendering his majesty their humble advice, according to their views of the public exigencies." Ministers abstained from presenting themselves until other members from different sides of the House had expressed their opinions. Sir Robert Peel rose first, and deprecated, not only the motion, but all discussion of it. The debate, however, was continued by Mr. O'Connell, Colonel Evans, Mr. Denison, Lord Ebrington, and other speakers, till at length Lord Althorp came forward. He said it was certainly true that, upon the passing of the measure now in the other House, Ministers had pledged, and still did pledge, their continuance in office. But from the appearance which the motion would necessarily have of a menace, he feared that, if carried, it would only increase the difficulties of himself and his colleagues, who, in the present position of affairs, certainly had not a very easy course to pursue. "I have no doubt," he continued, "if the event contemplated should occur, we should have a full attendance without a call of the House; and therefore, certainly, on a general view of the whole case, and after consulting with my colleagues round about me, I am induced to think that it would relieve us from a situation of considerable embarrassment, if my honourable friend would consent not to press his motion." He afterwards said, in reply to some remarks of Major Beauchamp, "What does the honourable and gallant gentleman mean by saying that the storm has blown over? The honourable gentleman takes it for granted that it is blown over. The honourable and gallant gentleman may have better information on the subject than I possess, but I certainly am not aware that it is." Mr. Stanley also earnestly requested that the motion might be withdrawn. He stated that in the judgment of himself and his colleagues, and speaking on their responsibility, the withdrawal of the motion would be the most likely mode to attain, and the pressing it the most likely mode to defeat, the object in view. With these recommendations Sir John Wrottesley intimated his disposition to comply; but Mr. O'Connell insisted that the question should be put. The House accordingly divided, when there appeared for the motion 125, and against it 160. The next day, as has been already stated, the second reading of the bill was carried. Ministers, it is understood, were aware that this much would be conceded: in stating that the storm had not blown over, they referred to the strong probability which there was still thought to be that the bill might be strangled in the committee. To this danger Lord John Russell, in particular, alluded very pointedly in the above debate. "Sir," he said, "I am of opinion that the storm has not blown over. I see no reason to believe that the storm is past; and my opinion is, that if the bill which was sent up to the other House of Parliament is not to be destroyed at one blow, the probability is, that the bill will be deprived of its most valuable provisions." The public apprehension, accordingly, was by no means altogether allayed until the bill was, at last, read for the third time at the close of the month.

The act thus passed (3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 371) is entitled "An Act to alter and amend the Laws relating to the Temporalities of the Church in Ireland;" and consists of 154 clauses. Its leading provisions, however, may be shortly stated. The number of bishops is reduced from twenty-two to twelve, by the union of sees, as the present incumbents die off. After the death of the present incumbents, also, the income of the archbishopric of Armagh is to be reduced from its present amount of 14,500*l.* to 10,000*l.*, and that of all the other sees which may be worth more than 4000*l.* a year, to that sum, with the exception of the bishopric of Derry, the value of which is at present about 12,000*l.*, and which is to be reduced immediately to 8000*l.*, and eventually to 6000*l.* The leases of the bishops' lands are to be converted into perpetuities, by which it is supposed that a sum of about 1,000,000*l.* sterling (it was originally calculated at three times that amount) will be realized. The exaction of vestry cess is abolished. So is also that of first-fruits, in the stead of which there is to be imposed upon all livings

above the actual yearly value of 300*l.*, an annual tax, varying in its rate according to the value of the living. The money arising from these different sources is to be paid to a board of commissioners, consisting of the Lord Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, and four of the other bishops, together with the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, when the latter is a member of the established church; and is, under their direction, to be applied to the augmentation of small benefices, the building of churches and glebe-houses, the meeting of those expenses which have hitherto been defrayed by the vestry cess, and other purely ecclesiastical objects. It is calculated that when the scheme shall have taken full effect, the fund thus created will yield a yearly income of about 155,000*l.* The board is also to have the power of suspending the appointment of ministers to parishes in the gift of the king, or of any ecclesiastical corporation, in which no service has been performed for the space of three years.

Another act passed this session in reference to the Irish church (3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 100), entitled "An Act for the Relief of Owners of Tithes in Ireland," empowered the government to make advances, to the amount of one million in all, to such of the clergy as had not been able to recover the tithes due to them, to be repaid by five annual instalments. Such of the clergy as accepted this aid were to give up their claim to all unpaid tithes for 1830 and preceding years; and also to submit to a deduction of 25 per cent. on those of 1831 and 1832, and of 15 per cent. on those of 1833. By an act passed the preceding session (2 and 3 Will. IV. c. 119) it had already been enacted that, after the 1st of November, 1833, the tenants of land should no longer be liable to the payment of tithes, but that that burden should, in all cases, fall upon the landlord. Proceeding upon the principle of this very important and salutary change, the present act provided for the repayment of the advance to be now made to the clergy, by extending the liability of the landlords back to the year 1831, inclusive, and making them the parties from whom the five instalments were to be demanded. Of course they have, in turn, their remedy against the occupiers of the soil.

The effect of these different arrangements may be shortly described, as being, to place the church, in respect of its temporalities, altogether out of the way of collision with the mass of the population. By the abolition of the vestry-cess, and the commutation of the tithes into a land-tax, it is relieved from being dependent for any part of its support upon payments exacted from the people, but exists, like any other corporation, upon its own funds and rents. It no longer takes anything out of the pockets of any man in Ireland, whether poor or rich. It may possibly be still subject to objection, as being a useless institution, or as being kept up at too great an expense for the good it does; but it cannot now be rationally said to be in any especial sense an Irish grievance. Its existence does not cost the people of Ireland anything.

The only other legislative measures of the session relating to Ireland, which we shall notice, are the two acts which were passed on the subjects of grand juries and petty juries in that country. The first was introduced by Mr. Stanley into the House of Commons on the 19th of February. The grand jury of an Irish county, the members of which are nominated by the high sheriff of the county, is a tribunal essentially different in its powers from that which is called by the same name in England. The grand juries form, it may almost be said, so many provincial parliaments, not only, like the quarter-sessions in England, regulating the expenditure of the county funds, but, with an authority only exercised on this side of the water by the legislature itself, taxing the community at their pleasure for the payment of salaries, the support of hospitals, lunatic asylums, and other such institutions, the making and repairing of roads and bridges, and the various other objects of which they assume the superintendence. The annual revenue, of which they have thus the raising and the disposal, amounts to nearly a million sterling. The new act does not deprive grand juries of the functions which they have thus been accustomed to exercise; but it introduces into the system various alterations, which cannot fail greatly to check the mal-administration which has hitherto been so loudly complained of. The high sheriff, in the first place, is to be obliged to put upon the panel of the grand jury some one individual from each of the baronies in the county. Whenever a public work is to be executed, a

certain number of the highest rate-payers of the district are to be called upon to sit with the magistrates, and to join with them in the preliminary discussion of, and decision upon, the bills preferred. Besides these sessions for each barony or half barony, there is to be twice in the year a special sessions of all the magistrates of the county, without distinction, at which all propositions to be afterwards submitted to the grand jury are to be publicly discussed; and those of them that are negatived here, are to be considered as finally disposed of. To put an end to the jobbing that has heretofore gone on, all works are to be executed by contract; and the offer of the person who gives in the lowest tender is to be accepted. A public surveyor is to be appointed for each county; and no money is to be paid without a certificate from this scientific and responsible officer, that the work has been properly performed. The bill for consolidating and amending the laws relating to petty juries was brought into the House of Lords by Lord Plunket on the 21st of March. Its object is to take from the sheriffs the arbitrary power of selecting jurors, by establishing certain qualifications, the possession of which shall entitle persons to have their names enrolled in a jury-book, from which, in future, the juries must be struck. The qualifications are nearly the same with those established for England by Sir Robert Peel's Act, passed in 1825.

3. Abolition of Colonial Slavery.—New Act for the Government of India.

EVER since 1823, the House of Commons may be considered to have been pledged to the eventual abolition of slavery. In that year a series of resolutions was proposed by Mr. Canning, and agreed to by the House, one of which recognised the expediency of, as speedily as it could be done with safety, elevating the negroes to "the enjoyment of those franchises to which the rest of his Majesty's subjects are entitled." In 1826, the same resolutions were laid before the House of Lords, and obtained also the unanimous concurrence of that assembly. Since these declarations, however, no step had been taken by parliament to carry into effect the determination which it had thus expressed. And the colonial legislatures, in whose hands government professed an anxiety that the matter should be left, whatever partial ameliorations of the system of slavery some of them may have introduced, had certainly made no advance whatever towards its extinction.

But, in the meanwhile, in this country the exertions of the friends of abolition out-of-doors, so far from having been brought to a pause, or slackened by the state in which the question stood, had been plied with constantly-increasing energy. The consequence was, the creation of an extent and earnestness of public opinion in favour of the measure, which would most certainly have made it quite impossible for any government to have continued very much longer to let the question sleep. Both at the general election in 1830, and at that in 1831, strong evidence was given of the powerful hold which it had taken of the public mind. But it was during the election at which the present parliament was returned, that the most general and successful efforts were made to arouse and organize the popular sentiment upon this subject, and to bring its whole force to bear upon the legislature. The crisis was one eminently favourable to such an attempt. The great battle of Parliamentary Reform had been fought and won, and the time of the legislature could now be devoted to those measures of practical policy of which this was one of the greatest. The new constitution of the House of Commons had rendered it only necessary that the people should make their voice distinctly heard, in order to have it obeyed. The existing administration, too, although the abolition of slavery was not one of the express pledges which they gave upon accepting office, might be, nevertheless, considered to be bound, from the whole tenor of their previous conduct and professions, to the furtherance of that object. Accordingly, all available means were set in motion with the view of taking advantage of so auspicious an opportunity. In many cases the disposition of a candidate in reference to this single question was made the criterion by which he was accepted or rejected. Some representatives were required by their constituents to give a distinct promise that they would vote upon it in the manner that was desired. Others were mainly indebted for their election to the circumstance of

their opinions being well known, or warmly proclaimed to be on the same side. On the whole, a very large majority of the members returned were undoubtedly committed, more or less, to the views of the abolitionists; and it was evident that the first session of the new parliament could not pass without some plan being adopted for the definitive settlement of this long-agitated question. As an additional aid to the cause, petitions in favour of abolition were obtained, and poured into both Houses of Parliament from all parts of the country. In the course of the session, above 5000 such petitions were presented in the House of Commons alone, the signatures attached to which exceeded 1,300,000.

The subject, however, was one surrounded with difficulties, and those of two distinct kinds. There were, in the first place, those which belonged to it inherently, and simply as involving the problem of how a numerous population, hitherto retained in a state of slavery, could be most safely released from the restrictions to which they had been accustomed, and raised to a state of freedom. This part of the question, even if it had stood by itself, would have required much consideration, and there actually existed with regard to it great diversity and opposition of opinion. But, in the second place, there was that further embarrassment arising from the other interests besides those of the negro which were to be affected by the proposed change, and the necessity of protecting which, in any plan that might be brought forward, was enforced by the strongest considerations both of justice and expediency. The members of the House of Commons were themselves divided into a variety of conflicting parties in regard to both of these points. The party, it is true, which had heretofore been powerful enough to oppose for so many years an effectual resistance to any further interference of the legislature, was completely subjugated in the country, and almost annihilated in the House. Even in the House of Lords it was found impossible now to make any fight upon this ground. The West India proprietors, however, although no longer standing out against emancipation, still presented a formidable front, out-of-doors, if not in parliament, in the new position which they had taken up as claimants of an extravagant compensation for the loss they were to sustain from that measure. In the House of Commons ministers acknowledged that this interest was now but in a small degree represented*; but even this circumstance was urged as a reason for looking at their claims, not in a confined and niggardly, but in a liberal and comprehensive point of view. On the other hand, there was one party of abolitionists who denied that the planters had a right to any compensation whatever. Some maintained this doctrine on certain abstract principles touching what they called the rights of man; others, on the more humble ground that the substitution of free labour for slave labour in the colonies would bring upon the planters no loss to be compensated for. At the same time the majority, probably, of both these classes, were disposed, for the sake of a more easy and speedy adjustment, to come to a compromise with the claimants, and to give them something merely by way of buying off their opposition. There was, however, as was natural, a general reluctance on the part of the holders of such opinions to give any large sum; and there were possibly some individuals who were opposed to giving anything at all. Different members were very much influenced in the length to which they showed themselves disposed to go as to this point by the various degrees in which they were anxious for the attainment of the great object contemplated by the measure, or were convinced that its attainment would be hazarded by a refusal to treat with the planters upon liberal terms. Mr. Buxton, for instance, who had long been the chief advocate of abolition in parliament, and who did not recognise the right to compensation, gave offence to many of the persons with whom he had usually acted, by the readiness with which he acquiesced in the proposal of voting a very large sum of money to the planters. Mr. Baring, on the other hand, who had never been an ardent abolitionist, and who acknowledged the right of the planters to compensation, or, at least, did not deny it, protested, in very strong terms, against the amount of compensation which it was proposed to grant. In this way the shades of opinion which were to be reconciled be-

* See speech by Mr. Stanley, on the 10th of June,—*Mirror of Parliament*, p. 2202.

came exceedingly numerous. And their number and diversity were rendered still greater by the opposite views which were entertained on the other branch of the question. The abolitionists were divided into two sects,—the advocates of immediate, and the advocates of gradual, emancipation. The persons who, of late years, had taken the greatest interest in the question, and had chiefly conducted the popular agitation of it, were for the most part in favour of the former of these two plans, and they certainly carried along with them a powerful force of popular feeling. But of the professed abolitionists in the House of Commons, a large majority were disposed to make the experiment on what they deemed a more cautious plan. Such, also, were the views of the government. And, for obvious reasons, all who were either adverse to or indifferent about emancipation altogether, might be counted upon as supporters of the proposal to make it gradual rather than immediate. Among the several classes of persons, however, whose views agreed in regard to this general principle, there were great differences of opinion, not only as to the length of time that ought to be allowed to elapse before the slave should have the last link of his fetters struck off, but also as to the whole mode and character of the preparatory process through which he was to be conducted from bondage to freedom.

In these circumstances, on the 14th of May, Mr. Stanley laid before the House of Commons, in the form of a series of resolutions, the general features of the plan which his majesty's ministers had prepared, and made up their minds to recommend. We have already (see *Companion*, p. 69) detailed and explained these propositions as they were originally announced; and we shall now notice the principal alterations which they underwent before they were finally embodied into a law. The House having resolved itself into a committee to consider the resolutions, they were debated in order on that evening, on the 30th and 31st of May, and on the 3rd, 7th, 10th, 11th, and 12th of June. As the discussion proceeded, various amendments were proposed by those adverse to the ministerial plan, all of which were rejected. On the other hand, it was modified by its authors in some important respects. On the 30th of May, Mr. Stanley intimated that it had been resolved to abandon the arrangement originally contemplated by which the loan granted to the planters was to be repaid, in part at least, by the slaves, and to allow the latter to retain for their own use the entire amount of the wages they were to receive for their labour during the fourth of the day which they were to have at their own disposal. No direct repayment of the money would be demanded from the planters; but the burden would be discharged by the imposition of a small additional duty upon sugar*. On the 10th of June, the proposition with regard to this grant was further remodelled by the amount being raised from fifteen to twenty millions,—a sum, it was stated, which there was reason to hope would ensure to the whole plan the cordial co-operation of the planters and the several colonial legislatures. On this evening, Mr. O'Connell moved an amendment, recognizing the right of the negro to remuneration from the present moment for the whole of his labour; but it was negatived on a division by a majority of 324 to 42. On the 11th, several other divisions took place; the first, on a motion by Mr. Buxton, that the payment of one-half of the grant to the planters should be deferred till after the apprenticeship to which the slave was to be subjected should have expired, which was negatived by a majority of 277 to 142; the second, on a plan proposed by Mr. Rigby Wason, leaving out all mention of compensation, which 383 members opposed, and only 21 supported with their votes; the third, on an amendment of a similar character, proposed by Colonel Evans, which was also rejected by a majority of 346 to 22; and the fourth, on a proposition by Mr. Briscoe to reduce the 20,000,000*l.* to 15,000,000*l.*, on which the Ayes were 56, and the Noes 304. The reading of the first four resolutions was then carried by a majority of 286 to 77. The remaining resolution—by which parliament engaged to enable his majesty to defray any expense that might be incurred in establishing a magistracy in the colonies, and in providing for the religious and moral education of the negroes—was afterwards agreed to without a division, after the words

"on liberal and comprehensive principles" had been added to the clause, on the suggestion of Mr. Buxton. On the 25th, the resolutions were also agreed to without a division, but not without much opposition having been expressed to them in debate, by the House of Lords.

A bill for effecting the purposes to which the legislature had thus pledged itself, having been brought into the House of Commons, was read a second time on the 22nd of July, and on the 24th was taken into consideration by a committee of the whole House, in which it was also debated on the 25th, the 29th, the 30th, the 31st, and on the 5th of August. On the first of these days, however, previous to the speaker leaving the chair, Mr. Buxton moved that it should be an instruction to the committee, that they should endeavour to shorten the period of apprenticeship, and the motion was lost only by a majority of 7, the numbers being 158 against it, and 151 in its favour. In consequence of this vote, Mr. Stanley intimated, on the following evening, that government would consent to reduce the term of twelve years, originally proposed, to six years in the case of agricultural, and four in that of domestic, slaves. It was eventually arranged that the operation of this and all the other parts of the plan should commence from the 1st of August, 1834; so that the emancipation would be complete by that day of the year 1840. The corporal punishment of females it was likewise announced would be abolished from the commencement of the period of apprenticeship; and an important clause, proposed by Dr. Lushington, was acquiesced in, by which it was enacted, that all slaves who had ever with the consent of their masters been brought to any part of the United Kingdom, should be forthwith set at liberty. As the law stood, negroes having acquired their freedom by coming to this country were considered to revert to the condition of slaves if they returned to the West Indies; and there were a good many cases of persons actually suffering under the operation of this cruel principle. Various attempts were afterwards made by the friends of immediate emancipation, and by those of emancipation without compensation, to carry their objects; but they were all successfully resisted by the government. The bill was read a third time and passed on the 7th of August. It was then sent up to the House of Lords, where it was read a second time on the 12th, without a division. On its passage through the committee, however, numerous amendments were proposed by the Duke of Wellington and other noble lords of the same party, with the view of more effectually protecting the interests of the planters; and on several of them divisions took place; but they all shared the same fate with those that had been directed against the ministerial plan from the opposite quarter in the other house. On the 28th, the bill was read for the third time, and passed, without a division.

The West India question derived its interest from the high moral considerations it involved, the long and anxious struggle by which it had been brought to its present position, and the fundamental character of the change to which the condition of the negro was about to be subjected. Measured merely by the numbers to be legislated for in each case, it would have had no claim to be compared in importance with the East India question, which Parliament was next called upon to consider. The negro population of the West Indies was 800,000; the population of our oriental empire was 100,000,000. In this respect the subject was the vastest that a legislative assembly had ever had to discuss. Various circumstances, however, contributed to prevent it from being regarded, either by Parliament or the public, with an interest in any degree proportioned to its real magnitude. With settlements and colonies in every quarter of the globe, the people of this country have never generally occupied themselves much about their foreign possessions. If, as has been asserted, it be the necessary destiny of Great Britain, in right of her peculiar geographical position, to be the mother of empires, it certainly is not her nature to give herself a great deal of maternal anxiety about her rising offspring. Our sovereignty of the seas, which we have gained and hold as islanders, has scattered us over every clime, and so extended and complicated our commercial and political relations as to have forced us into collision with almost every other nation on earth; but we are yet, more perhaps than any other people, a people of home affections. It is only what goes on within the circuit of these islands, or what, taking place abroad, threatens to influence

* This additional duty has not been imposed; and it is understood that the intention of imposing it has been given up.

what is done here, in which, even as politicians, we take any deep interest. Of foreign politics, those of France and of America are alone habitually watched by us with any degree of eager attention. Between the movements of the former state and those of this country, there has, from the first co-existence of the two kingdoms, been always evinced the strongest and quickest sympathy—and never more so than when we were at war with each other. The succession of mighty political experiments of which France has in these later days been the theatre, have kept fixed upon her the observation of all the civilized world; and the free institutions, so closely resembling our own, which she has now acquired, have riveted upon her the attention of the people of this country more closely than ever. For a similar reason, we are all awake to what takes place in the republic of the United States. We see there the working of a system in many respects the same with our own; and if, in some material points, different from, or opposed to, ours, only the more interesting and the more instructive on that account. About any other country we care comparatively little. Be it even a possession of our own, it occupies the thoughts merely of individuals among us, or small classes of persons, having a peculiar connexion with it. Thus, before the war which terminated in the independence of America, what was generally known of our transatlantic colonies beyond the simple fact of their existence? The concerns of the flourishing community (for it was even then most flourishing) which occupied that great territory, excited as little attention as the affairs of Canada or Nova Scotia do now. With the exception of a few critical periods of short duration, when perhaps the fate of our dominion was believed to hang on the chances of a campaign or a battle, the case has been nearly the same even with India, the most magnificent of all our distant dependencies. Great wars have been carried on, and kingdoms conquered by our arms, in that peninsula, without the public here scarcely thinking it worth their while to read the announcement of the events. Mr. Macaulay's remark in one of his speeches last session in the House of Commons was as true as it was striking—"A broken head in Coldbath-fields excites more attention and greater interest in this House than three pitched battles in Hindostan."

Another reason for the comparative indifference with which so really great a question as the settlement of a new government for India was regarded, when it lately came before the legislature, both by the public and by Parliament, arose from the slight nature of the changes which it was proposed to make, in so far at least as political institutions were concerned. The continuance of the government in the same hands which had heretofore exercised it, was made the basis of the new arrangement. That this had been determined upon was known from the date of the publication of the correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control about the end of March.

We gave an account of the ministerial plan as disclosed in this correspondence at the conclusion of the third Number of the *Companion*, which was devoted to a history of the company, an exposition from official documents of the present political state and commercial relations of India, and an examination of the leading points connected with the question of the renewal of the company's charter. In a subsequent number (see *Companion*, p. 156) we also gave a full recital of those provisions of the new charter by which the old commercial monopoly of the company is put an end to, accompanied with a variety of statements illustrative of the important effects that might be expected to flow from that change. To these articles we refer the reader; and shall do little more here than notice, very briefly, the history of the passage of the new measure through the two Houses of Parliament.

The subject was brought before the House of Commons on the 13th of June by Mr. Charles Grant, in a long and able speech, which he concluded by proposing three resolutions founded upon the terms previously submitted to the company. The first declared that the Chinese trade should be thrown open; the second, that on the company transferring to the Crown all its assets and claims, the latter should be empowered to take upon itself the company's obligations, and to pay it a certain sum annually from the Indian revenue; and the third, that the government of India should, under certain regulations, be again entrusted to the company. A debate ensued, in the course of which the last-mentioned part of the ministerial plan was warmly opposed by Mr. Buck-

ingham; but the resolutions were finally agreed to without a division. On the 5th of July their adoption was moved in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Lansdowne. Here they were met by a vehement dissent on the part of Lord Ellenborough, on grounds for the most part directly the opposite of those on which they had been impugned in the Commons. The resolutions, however, were agreed to in the end by their Lordships also without a division. A bill founded upon them was then introduced into the House of Commons, and was read a second time on the 10th. In the committee some attempts were made to modify certain of its provisions; but they were all unsuccessful. The most strenuous opposition was made to the clause by which the archdeacons of Bombay and Madras were converted into bishops. The motion to throw it out, however, was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 85 to 47. On the 26th, the bill was read for the third time, and passed. The second reading of the bill in the Lords took place on the 2d of August; and after it had been carried through the committee, it was read for the third time on the 16th, and passed on the 19th. Various amendments were proposed in its progress through the House by Lord Ellenborough, the Duke of Wellington, and one or two other peers; but none of them were pressed to a division. The debates upon this measure in both Houses were very thinly attended.—Other acts which were passed to regulate the trade to China and India, and to provide for the collection and management of the duties on tea, were scarcely debated at all.

The following extract from the speech delivered by Mr. Grant, on the 14th of May, enumerates the leading points of the arrangement thus made with the East India Company:—"The plan," said the right honourable gentleman, "is this: that the East India Company shall surrender all their rights, privileges, and property, in the territory of India, to the government; that their commercial privileges shall be in a state of abeyance for a certain fixed period; that they shall make over all their property in this country and in India to the government; and that, in lieu of all this, they shall receive an annuity of a given amount—which annuity is to be charged upon the territory of India. It is calculated that the resources of India will be sufficient to supply this annuity, which it is proposed should be 630,000*l.* a-year, being the amount of the dividends which the proprietors at present receive; and it is further proposed that this should be redeemable at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. It is proposed that the guarantee fund shall amount to 2,000,000*l.* for securing the payment of the annuity, as well as for paying off finally the capital stock of the company; and it is also proposed that the annuity in question shall be paid for a term of forty years, at the close of which period it shall be at the option of Parliament, giving three years' notice, to redeem it at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. It is proposed that the East India Company should retain the political administration of India for a period of twenty years, at the end of which period they may, if deprived of the government of India, demand the payment of their capital; but if at that period they do not demand it, then the payment of the annuity, I have already stated, is to be continued for a term of forty years." The principal changes made in the frame of the internal government of the country consist in the institution of a fourth presidency for the upper western provinces, now included in that of Bengal, and in the conferring upon the governor-general a more efficient control than he now has over the subordinate governments. For the regulations as to the residence of Europeans in India, and their right of holding lands, see the *Companion*, p. 156.

4. New Charter to the Bank.

The question as to the renewal of the charter of the other great incorporation of the country, the Bank of England, came also this session before parliament. After a correspondence with the directors, which commenced about the beginning of April, Lord Althorp, on the 31st of May, introduced the subject in the House of Commons, by submitting eight resolutions, in which were comprised the principles of the arrangement that had been agreed upon between these gentlemen and the government. We may here notice that the state of the currency had already been discussed at great length in consequence of a motion made on the 22nd of April, by Mr. M. Attwood, the member for Whitehaven, to the effect that a select committee should be

appointed to inquire how far the distress of the country had been occasioned by the operation of our present monetary system. As this motion and the speeches by which it was supported evidently pointed to a large issue of paper as the proper remedy for the state of things which was asserted to exist, Lord Althorp met it by the amendment, "That it is the opinion of this House that any alteration in the monetary system of this country, which would have the effect of lowering the standard of value, would be highly inexpedient and dangerous." The debate lasted during that and the two following nights. By Mr. Attwood himself, and most of the speakers on his side, a great aversion was shown to admit distinctly that a depreciation of the currency was what they really aimed at, or that those who should vote for the motion would be necessarily committed to that expedient. One or two, however, spoke out plainly enough. On the third night the House divided, when the numbers were, 139 in favour of the motion, and 331 against it. Another division then took place on a second motion by Mr. Attwood, proposing simply the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the general distress, which was also lost—the Ayes being 154, and the Noes 271. Finally, the House divided on Lord Althorp's amendment, which was carried by 304 against 49.

The wild and pernicious scheme of unsettling the very foundations of the national wealth having been thus disposed of, Parliament was in a condition to enter upon the consideration of the Bank question with probably less hazard of its deliberations being embarrassed by the clamour of the currency enthusiasts, than there might otherwise have been. This party gave very little more trouble during the session. The debate on Lord Althorp's resolutions having been adjourned on the 31st of May, was not resumed till the 28th of June,—the interval having been allowed that the public might have time to examine and express their opinion respecting the plan proposed. On the latter evening, the motion, "That the first resolution should be agreed to," was met by Colonel Torrens with an amendment, proposing to postpone the subject altogether till the next session. On a division, however, the amendment was lost; the numbers being 83 for, and 316 against it. The resolution was then adopted. The other resolutions were debated on the 1st, 3rd, and 4th of July, and were eventually all adopted, with the exception of two relating to a new constitution for country banks, which were withdrawn by ministers, the session being thought to be too far advanced for carrying through that part of the plan. The bill, embodying the resolutions, was then brought in, and read a second time, without a division, though not till after a long debate, on the 2nd of August. On the 9th and 10th, it was again fully discussed in committee; and also on the 12th, when it was moved that the report should be brought up. The third reading of the bill took place on the 19th, after a motion by Mr. Cobbett, to throw it out, had been negatived by a majority of 95 to 23. In the House of Lords it underwent a good deal of discussion in committee, and on the third reading; but although the House divided on some of the clauses, the measure eventually passed (on the 26th) without any of its provisions having been altered by their lordships.

For an account of the origin of banking, and a history of the Bank of England in particular, with an analysis of the more material parts of the evidence given before the committee of the House of Commons which was appointed to inquire into the expediency of renewing the charter in the session before last, we refer the reader to the *Companion*, pp. 49-54, and 72-76. We will now state the terms on which the charter has been renewed by the late act.

The fundamental principle of the arrangement submitted to Parliament was, that the Bank should be continued in the enjoyment of its exclusive privileges as the only body entitled to issue notes payable on demand in London, and within a circle of sixty-five miles round it. Even this proposition was strongly opposed by different members, some of whom advocated the scheme of a national bank, to be managed by the government, and the profits of which should go to the public, while others were against any monopoly at all, and would have had the trade of issuing notes to be left perfectly free, like any other branch of business. But the objections that were raised to both these plans were considered conclusive by the great majority of the House; and it was determined to renew the charter of the existing establishment till the 1st of August, 1855, with this reservation, however, that it might be put an end to,

should Parliament choose, in August, 1845, by a year's previous notice being given.

The only one of the exclusive privileges of the Bank, of which it was proposed to deprive it, was that by which country banks were prohibited from drawing bills on London for any sum less than 50*l*. No opposition was made to the removal of this restriction; and accordingly it is now provided, that banks beyond the limit of sixty-five miles may make and issue bills and notes, payable on demand or otherwise, by an agent or agents in London, as well as at any other place, for any sum for which such notes may be issued; that is, for any sum not under 5*l*. But the notes must not be re-issued in London, or within the circle of sixty-five miles.

There was besides this, however, another supposed privilege of the Bank, which is declared in the present bill to be one which it neither shall possess for the future, nor ever did possess. It was generally understood that no banking company, having more than six partners, except the Bank of England, could do business in London, or within sixty-five miles of it, even as a bank of deposit. It appears that doubts had been entertained in some quarters as to the existence of this restriction, and it is even said that there have actually been, of late years, private banking companies in London having seven or eight partners. But there can be no question that the common belief was, that such a partnership would be illegal. The law advisers of the crown, however, after considering the point, came to the unhesitating conclusion, that this common notion was quite unfounded; and upon this—as the basis of the agreement with the Bank had been, that only the same exclusive privileges which it had enjoyed under the old charter should be secured to it by the new—government refused to grant it this particular monopoly, which it thus appeared it never had before possessed. A clause was accordingly introduced into the bill, and passed as part of it, expressly authorizing the establishment of banks of deposit, with any number of partners, in the metropolis and its vicinity, as well as in any other part of the kingdom.

For this proceeding the most violent outcry was raised against the government, and in particular against Lord Althorp, as having been the manager of the negotiation with the Bank, and the individual by whom the bill was taken charge of in the House of Commons. His lordship was first assailed by the remonstrances of the Directors, in a correspondence which was afterwards published. The privilege in question could not be refused to the Bank, it was here submitted, without a positive infraction of the bargain on which the bill was founded. At a meeting of proprietors, held on the 13th of August, this charge was reiterated by various speakers, in terms of extraordinary emphasis and passion; and resolutions were passed, stating that the court felt itself bound to protest against the treatment it had experienced at the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had, in the opinion of the court, most improperly and unjustly departed from the terms of his own proposition; and that this course of procedure, and the violation of the contract, would have fully justified the Bank in rejecting the arrangement *in toto*. In Parliament, also, the circumstance formed the theme of a good deal of angry remark, especially in the House of Lords, where Lord Wynford, in a long argument, attempted to controvert the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and divided the House on a motion that the twelve judges should be called in to settle the question.

As to the point of law, we shall merely say, that the law officers of the crown appear to us to be clearly in the right. We think no ordinarily intelligent and impartial person could come to any other conclusion from a perusal of Lord Wynford's own speech. But however this may be, the facts, when fairly stated, leave the Bank, in our judgment, very little reason to complain. Some of these facts seem to have been strangely overlooked in the course of the debates that took place in both Houses of Parliament. It appears to have been assumed without examination on all sides, that the original stipulation between the government and the Bank expressly recognized the disputed privilege as one of the advantages to be allowed to the Bank under the new charter. Now, this is not the case. It is true, that in the first plan submitted by Lord Althorp to the Directors, in his letter of the 1st of April, he proposes, among other things, in general terms, that no bank, consisting of more than six partners, shall be established in the metropolis or its vic-

nity. But even if the language here used should be interpreted strictly as meaning no bank of deposit, as well as no bank of issue, it would go for nothing; for these propositions are expressly rejected by the Directors, in their answer of the 12th of the same month. The real articles of agreement between the two parties are to be found in the subsequent conditions suggested by the Directors, in their letter of the 15th, as those which they would feel justified in submitting to the proprietors; and still more distinctly in the proposals made to them in return by Lord Althorp, in his letter of the 2nd of May, upon the actual acceptance of which, by the court of proprietors, his Lordship afterwards moved his resolutions in the House of Commons. Now, in what terms is the disputed article expressed in both these papers? Why, in the proposition of the Directors themselves, the words are, "That no joint-stock bank* be chartered † for issuing paper money within sixty-five miles of the metropolis." And in that of Lord Althorp, the stipulation in like manner runs, "That no banking company, consisting of more than six partners, shall issue notes payable on demand, within the metropolis, or within sixty-five miles from the metropolis." How can it be said, after this, that the prohibition in London, of joint-stock banks of deposit, was a part of the original agreement?

But we ask further, is it not the fact, that in the speech in which he first submitted his resolutions to the House of Commons, on the 31st of May, Lord Althorp expressly declared it to be a part of the plan, that banks of deposit, although not of issue, having any number of partners, should be allowed in London? The following is an extract from the report of that speech as given in the *Mirror of Parliament*:—"Sir, I propose that the definition of a joint-stock company shall remain as it is at present; that is to say, that every banking company, consisting of more than six partners, shall be considered a joint-stock bank. In considering this question, the House must recollect that there are two distinct classes of joint-stock banks—one of which issues its own notes, and the other of which does not, but which transacts its business in notes of the Bank of England. Now, I propose that no joint-stock bank of issue shall be established within a less distance than sixty-five miles of London. But at present country banks are prevented from drawing bills on London, or from issuing notes payable in London, of less value than 50*l*. These two restrictions I would remove. Joint-stock banks issuing the paper of the Bank of England, too, of course may exist within the sixty-five miles." The statement, as given in the report in the *Times*, is, if possible, still more distinct: "In the plan he proposed, joint-stock banks might exist within the sixty-five miles, if they used the paper of the Bank of England." And to confirm the correctness of this version, we find his lordship again, on the 28th of June, nearly a month later, making, according to the *Mirror of Parliament*, the following statement, in answer to a question of Mr. M. Attwood,—"The privilege which the Bank of England now possesses, and which it is intended to continue to it, is that of being the only bank having the power of issuing notes in the metropolis, and within sixty-five miles round, during the period of its charter. That is the only privilege which is continued to the bank." The report of this speech is also precisely to the same effect in the *Times*.

All this, unaccountably enough, seems to have escaped the recollection of everybody in the course of the subsequent contentions, both in parliament and out of doors, to which the matter gave rise. But whether the forgetfulness was, in some quarters, designed or involuntary, the facts we have stated completely vindicate Lord Althorp, we think, from the imputation thrown upon him by the Bank directors and their friends. The directors really do not appear ever to have taken up the ground on which they afterwards affected to make so indignant a stand till the 6th of July, when the terms of the bargain had been already five weeks before parliament and the public. At least, that is the date of the earliest printed document (it is a letter to Lord Althorp) in which we find any notice from them of their alleged grievance.

Of course, even if the case had been as it was generally stated, and ministers had seen good reason to abandon one

* That is, as elsewhere explained, a bank having more than six partners.

† It was at this time the understanding, that all banks were to be obliged to have a charter—a part of the ministerial plan afterwards deferred till another session,

of their original propositions before the conclusion of the arrangement, the Bank proprietors would have had no actual wrong to complain of, inasmuch as there was no attempt to compel them to close with the altered terms unless they chose. Their ultimate acceptance of the charter without the provision in question, proves that they thought the bargain a good one, after all.

Such being the privileges which the Bank is to enjoy, the following are the other stipulations of the new agreement. The sum at present paid to the Bank for the management of the public debt being somewhat above 250,000*l*. a-year (see *Companion*, p. 54), of which 180,000*l*. is admitted to be profit, the Bank is to pay back 120,000*l*. of this every year to the public; or, in other words, is to submit to a deduction to that amount from the legal allowance. The debt, also, at present due by the public to the Bank being about 14,500,000*l*., on which the public pay interest at the rate of 3 per cent., one-fourth part of that sum is to be repaid, so that the amount shall be reduced to about 11,000,000*l*. The repayment is to take place in October next, and the money is to be divided among the Bank proprietors, at the rate of 25*l*. for every 100*l*. of stock which each may hold. It will of course be for the Bank to determine whether they will reduce their capital to this extent by actually distributing the money, or, as they seem to propose doing, continue to trade upon it, by investing it in some other way. The directors say that they sustain a loss of 1 per cent. on the returns from this portion of their capital, by its being invested in the government funds. At the same time, the offer of repayment comes from the government; and a proposition for the repayment of a much larger sum, originally pressed upon them, was resisted by the directors. The government will easily be able, at the present rate of interest, to raise the money by a loan, on terms at least as favourable as those on which they now hold it from the Bank.

Finally, there are the three following very important enactments:—First, Bank paper is made a legal tender for all sums above 5*l*., except by the Bank itself or its branches; that is to say, a bank-note will be as good as gold if offered in acquittance of a debt or other obligation, amounting to more than 5*l*., by any parties except the Bank proprietors themselves at their principal or branch establishments*. This regulation is to be in force "from and after the 1st day of August, 1834, unless and until parliament shall otherwise direct." It may, therefore, be annulled by parliament before the expiration of the charter. While it exists, however, although it may be regarded as, to a certain extent, a protection to the Bank, it is evidently not to be confounded with the complete exemption from the liability to pay in cash which the Bank formerly enjoyed. Any holder of a bank-note, of whatever value, will still be entitled to gold for it from the party, that is, the Bank itself, by whom it was originally issued. Secondly, there is to be in future a periodical publication of the accounts of the Bank. A statement of the amount of the assets belonging to the Company, and also of the notes which they have in circulation, is to be transmitted weekly to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and from these weekly reports, an average state of the accounts for the preceding three months is to be published every month in the *London Gazette*. Thirdly, all bills for not more than three months are to be exempted from the operation of the usury laws, or, in other words, may be drawn so as to bear any rate of interest the parties may agree upon. This enactment may be expected greatly to facilitate all mercantile transactions in seasons when money is scarce; and it is, besides, valuable as the first relaxation of a principle which has been till now vigorously maintained in opposition to the clearest rights of commerce.

Upon the whole, the general feeling undoubtedly is, that the Bank has been very liberally treated by parliament in this new arrangement. The plan, too, proposed for the regulation of country banks, when carried into effect, will still further promote its interests. Those who, considering that, after all, any of the public who choose may participate in

* A difference of opinion, we ought to notice, was expressed in the course of the debates as to the import of this enactment. Ministers stated that, if a man, for instance, owed seven pounds, a five-pound Bank of England note and two sovereigns would be a legal tender in payment of the debt; but it was contended on the other side, that the debtor could in no case compel his creditor to take a bank-note the value of which did not exceed five pounds,

the advantages thus conferred, have no desire that the Bank should be other than a flourishing and powerful establishment, will not, perhaps, grudge it anything which it may have thus gained; but, on the other hand, it certainly has no reason to complain.

5. *Other Measures of the Session—The Factories Bill—Bills dropped or defeated—Party Contests—Motions for Reduction—Ministerial Changes—Agitation for Repeal of the House and Window Taxes—Stamp Duties.*

THE great measures of which we have given an account in the preceding pages, would, in so far, at least, as the proceedings of the legislature are concerned, nearly make up the history of the country for the past year, if under that name were to be included only transactions and events of permanent importance. Our sketch of the parliamentary session, however, would be incomplete without some notice, however slight, of a number of minor matters which also engaged the deliberations of the legislature, and of certain remarkable debates which, although unproductive of any actual results, excited great interest at the time. These things, if not properly history, are, at least, contributions to history, and, as such, have their fitting place in a record like the present, in which we may be considered as collecting and indexing the materials for enabling a future age, which alone can, to produce a true picture of this. In our limits, however, and without converting our general retrospective view into a minute and elaborate chronicle, we can only afford a passing glance at some of the most prominent among the occurrences to which we refer.

In an article in one of our preceding Numbers, (see *Companion*, p. 129,) we have already taken a rapid review of the legislation of the year; and in other articles we have given separate accounts, more or less ample, of most of the important measures which were brought before either House of Parliament in the course of the session. Among the bills thus noticed which were eventually passed into laws, we may enumerate those for the creation of savings banks annuities (p. 171); the amendment of the laws of dramatic literary property (p. 70); the amendment in various particulars of the law of real property (p. 54); reduction of the assessed taxes (p. 132); the more complete suppression of the slave trade (p. 164); the reform of the Scotch burghs (p. 113); the abolition of offices in the Court of Chancery (p. 137). Other subjects of moment which were taken into consideration, and respecting which new laws were passed, were commissions of lunacy, the care and treatment of insane persons, the administration of justice by the Privy Council, the alteration of the system of pleading in the courts of common law, and various other legal matters, the regulations made with regard to which we cannot here enter upon. The administration of justice in the police offices of the metropolis, the establishment of a general system of police in the Scotch burghs, the lighting and watching of parishes in England and Wales, and the laws relating to sewers in London and its vicinity, were also all provided for or remodelled in acts which passed through both Houses with little opposition or observation.

The only measure of the session not already adverted to which occupied much of the time of Parliament, and was largely debated, was the act to regulate the labour of children in factories. In the former Parliament, Mr. Sadler, the late member for Aldborough, had brought in a bill on this subject, which, however, was not carried through; but a select committee was appointed by the House of Commons to examine evidence, and report on the facts of the case. A strong sensation was excited in the country by many of the statements made to this committee, whose report was not published till a considerable time after the close of the session. Soon after the meeting of the new Parliament (to which Mr. Sadler had not been returned), Lord Ashley, one of the members for Dorsetshire, obtained leave to bring in a bill of the same description with that which Mr. Sadler had proposed, its leading provision being that no person under the age of eighteen should be allowed to work in a factory longer than ten hours a day. It was thence known by the name of the Ten Hour Bill; and as such it obtained the very general assent and support of the working classes in the manufacturing districts. So general and intense, indeed, was the feeling that had been produced in favour of placing a limit to the time which children, not themselves free agents, should be compelled to labour, by others having the control over them for that was the true

state of the question), that it was evident something must be done to satisfy the public cry. The master-manufacturers, however, complained with much apparent reason that they had yet had no opportunity of stating their case, the only evidence taken by Mr. Sadler's committee being that of witnesses brought forward by the supporters of his bill; and there were also many persons friendly to the general principle of the proposed restriction who objected strongly to various parts of the measure actually before Parliament, and especially to the advanced age up to which it carried the prohibition against working beyond the ten hours. In these circumstances, on the 3rd of April, Mr. Patten, member for North Lancashire, moved that the House should address his Majesty to appoint a Commission to collect information on the subject in the manufacturing district. After a long debate, the motion was carried by the narrow majority of 74 to 72. We have already (see *Companion*, p. 116) noticed the two voluminous reports made by this Commission, and given an abstract of the general conclusions and recommendations which they contain. These documents, although, from their great bulk, and the want of an index, they have probably not been much looked into, are, independently of their bearing upon the present question, perhaps the most valuable contributions ever made to the statistics of the labouring population of this country. Meanwhile, Lord Ashley proceeded with his bill; and the second reading having taken place without opposition, it was proposed on the 5th of July, only a few days after the first report of the commissioners had appeared, to consider it in committee, when Lord Althorp moved that it should, instead, be referred to a select committee, in which it would probably be more expeditiously, as well as more conveniently, discussed, than by the whole House. The proposition, however, was exclaimed against as merely tending to delay the measure; and on a division, the motion that the Speaker should leave the chair was carried by a majority of 164 to 141. But on the 18th, in committee, when the clause was moved, specifying the age of eighteen as that till which the restriction against labouring more than ten hours should operate, Lord Althorp moved his amendment, substituting *thirteen* years for *eighteen*, and *eight* hours for *ten* hours, which was carried by a majority of 238 to 93. On this defeat Lord Ashley declined having anything further to do with the bill, and left ministers to carry it forward, or allow it to drop, as they chose. Lord Althorp afterwards took it up; and, although some of the remaining clauses met with considerable opposition in the Committee, and one, throwing the expense of watching over the execution of the new regulations upon the mill-owners, was successfully resisted, it eventually, passed into a law. We have given in the *Companion* (p. 159) the most important provision of this act, that by which attendance at a school is made compulsory upon all children employed in factories. This part of the plan was not in Lord Ashley's bill. The protection also given to the children against excessive labour in the measure as it has passed is in some respects greater and more complete than that originally proposed. Children under nine years of age are not to be employed at all. When the act shall take full effect, that is, in thirty months from August last, those under thirteen are not to be kept at work more than forty-eight hours in any one week, or nine hours in any one day. Persons under eighteen are not to work more than twelve hours a day, nor more than sixty-nine hours in the week. None under this age, besides, are to work at all during the night. Christmas-day and Good Friday, with eight half days besides, in each year, are to be allowed as holidays. Four inspectors have been appointed for the different quarters of the kingdom to see that the act be everywhere duly carried into execution.

During the last, as in every former session, a good deal of the time of Parliament was, we will not say lost, for we are far from thinking that nothing is gained by such attempts, but expended without any immediate result, in the consideration of measures which were either defeated, or for the present abandoned before being matured into laws. We have explained the nature of most of these propositions in the order in which they came before the public; and therefore we shall now merely note the stage to which each was carried, with a reference to the page of the *Companion* where an account of it will be found. The Lord Chancellor's bill, for the establishment of Local Courts (pp. 55 and 58), after having passed through the committee in the

House of Lords, and having been repeatedly discussed in regard to both its principle and its details, was, on the 9th of July, after another long debate, thrown out by their lordships, a division having taken place on a motion to that effect by Lord Wharnclyffe, when the numbers were 122 in favour of the third reading, and 134 against it. On this occasion the number of noble lords present, 81, was the same on both sides; the difference was made by the proxies. The bill brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Robert Grant for the removal of the disabilities affecting the Jews (p. 71), after the second reading had been carried in that House on the 22nd of May, by a majority of 189 to 52, and the third by exactly the same majority on the 22nd of July, was, on the 1st of August, lost on the second reading in the Lords, after a long debate, the numbers being, contents 54, not-contents 104. On the following day their lordships threw out the dramatic performances bill (p. 70), which had also been sent up from the other House, by a majority of 19 to 15. Some days after, Mr. Godson's patent bill (p. 61), was, on the suggestion of the Lord Chancellor, deferred till another session. The prisoners' counsel bill (p. 80), after having been read a second time in the Commons, was, by consent, referred to a select committee, with the view of its being brought forward again next session, when there would be more time for the consideration of some of its clauses. The imprisonment for debt bill (p. 91), after having passed through the committee, was also withdrawn by the Solicitor-General, towards the close of the session, with the intimation that it would be again brought forward. The libel bill, introduced by Sir Francis Vincent (p. 86), was allowed to drop after the first reading. The bill for the repeal of the apothecaries' act (pp. 119 and 137), was also withdrawn for the present, on the recommendation of a select committee, to whom it had been referred, after having been read a second time. The beer bill (p. 152), was likewise carried no further than the second reading, which took place on the 20th of August, ministers finding it impossible to carry it through Parliament at that late period of the session, and in the face of the opposition with which it was met by some members*. A bill for the establishment of a general register of deeds, which was brought in by Mr. William Brougham, was, on the 12th of June, defeated on the second reading by a majority of 82 to 69. This important measure (see *The Companion*, p. 55), had been introduced in the preceding session by the Solicitor-General, on the recommendation of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the law of real property. On the 6th of August, after a short debate, leave was obtained by Mr. John Murray, to bring in a Bill for the repeal of the Foreign Enlistment Act, the motion having been seconded by Captain Elliot, the Secretary for the Admiralty, and the bill went through its several stages in the House of Commons without opposition; but not having arrived at the second reading in the House of Lords till the 23rd, and some peers expressing their intention to resist its further progress, it was withdrawn, on the recommendation of Earl Grey and the Lord Chancellor—the former of whom intimated that it might, possibly, next session, be taken up by the government. Another subject which was frequently discussed by the House of Commons in the course of the session, but in which nothing was done, was the better observance of the Sabbath. Great numbers of petitions were presented, calling for some enactment to effect this object, and the task of preparing the required measure was undertaken by Sir Andrew Agnew; but he produced so overdone a proposition, that it clearly appeared it never could pass into a law, whatever else it was intended for. The second reading of this bill was moved on the 16th of May, when many members, from respect to the object professed in the title, expressed themselves disposed to allow it to pass that stage, in the hope that something might be made of it in the committee. It was thrown out, however, on the division, by a majority of 79 to 73; on which, Sir Andrew Agnew immediately announced that he would bring the subject forward again on the first day of the next session. Some time after, the same honourable member introduced a second bill to provide for the better observance of the Sabbath in Scotland; and a third for England was submitted by Mr. W. Peter; but neither measure was pressed beyond a first reading.

* It was stated by mistake in *The Companion* for October, that this bill had passed.

We will now notice, very briefly, some of those motions and debates which exhibited, in a more remarkable manner, the opposition and comparative strength of parties and opinions in the House, or are to be reckoned on any other account among the memorable events of the session.

First, there was Mr. Hume's motion on the 14th of February, to do away with all naval and military sinecures. It was met by Lord Althorp with the previous question, and a long and interesting debate ensued. Nobody attempted to defend the giving away of the public money to persons who had not earned it by their services; and it was admitted that the offices in question were sometimes improperly bestowed. But as they really afforded the only means the crown had of rewarding meritorious officers, and no plan was suggested by which that object could be secured in what was thought a better mode, a majority of the House voted against Mr. Hume's resolutions. The numbers were,—Ayes 138, Noes 232. This vote, being fiercely denounced as the declaration of the House against all economy, occasioned a great outcry among the newspapers; and lists of the majority were published, in which they were represented, in round terms, as the defenders and upholders of military and naval sinecures, simply because they had not agreed with Mr. Hume, as to the time and manner of getting rid of that unpopular system. Mr. Hume made repeated attempts afterwards to get his principle affirmed by the House. On the 25th of March, in the Committee of Supply, he moved to reduce the vote for wages to seamen by 6910*l.*, being the amount of the pay of such naval officers as held sinecure appointments in the marines, when he was outvoted by a majority of 223 to 83. On the 18th of April he moved two other resolutions against future appointments to sinecures in the civil and colonial service, which were assented to. And on the 15th of August, he moved that an inquiry should be instituted with the view of abolishing all sinecures not earned by public services; but on Lord Althorp moving, as an amendment, that a return should be laid before the House at the commencement of next session, explaining the nature, tenure, and emoluments of all sinecure offices in the United Kingdom, he declined dividing the House, and the amendment was agreed to.

Various attempts to effect reductions or changes in the system of taxation were also made by other members. On the 7th of March, Mr. Hume proposed a general reduction of all salaries, allowances, and pensions; but his motion was negatived without a division. On the 26th of the same month, Mr. George Robinson moved for a select committee to effect the repeal of taxes pressing on productive industry, and the substitution of a tax on property; but, after a long debate, the motion was rejected by a majority of 221 to 155. On the 2nd of June the question of a tax on property and income was again submitted, in a different form, by Mr. Buckingham, by whom it was proposed as part of a scheme for the conversion of the national debt into terminable annuities; but his motion also failed, 38 members voting for it and 57 against it. On the 16th of July, however, Mr. Ruthven, somewhat unexpectedly, carried against ministers a resolution stating, among other things, that "all sinecure places, not merited by public services, should be abolished throughout the empire;" in which he distinctly declared that he meant to include existing sinecures and pensions. The proposition was carried against the previous question, moved by Mr. Spring Rice, by a majority of 88 to 79; and among the minority it was said that there were nine members who had left the House with the intention of not voting at all, but had been, against their wish, brought back by the tellers. It was in the course of this debate that Mr. Spring Rice delivered the speech, afterwards sent to the press, in which he took a review of the entire reductions, in salaries and expenditure generally, that had been made by the present Administration since they came into office. It ought to be stated that in the debate, mentioned above, about a month afterwards, on Mr. Hume's motion, ministers expressed themselves as if they did not consider the House to have bound itself, by its adoption of Mr. Ruthven's resolution, to interfere with any existing interests. A different interpretation, however, was put upon the vote by members on the other side of the House. Another effort to pledge the House to the enforcement of economy, was made on the 30th of July by Mr. Charles Buller; but the resolution which he proposed in favour of extensive reductions in the public expenditure was met by Lord Althorp with an amendment, couched in terms considerably

less emphatic, which was adopted by the House. A good deal of time was lost in discussing these several abstract propositions, which, as we have seen, even when they were carried, were not followed by any results. Some of them would seem to have been better suited for a debating society than an assembly like the House of Commons, constituted for business and action.

There were, however, some particular taxes against which a more distinct and formidable opposition was directed. The agitation for the repeal of the house and window taxes began in the metropolis before Parliament assembled, and was continued throughout the Session by means of public meetings, associations, deputations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other similar modes of working upon the popular mind and driving the Government to compliance. The clamour that was raised was, indeed, almost confined to London, where alone the pressure of the taxes in question was very generally or very severely felt; but the large body of representatives now returned from that district, and principally by the class most interested on the present occasion,—the retail shopkeepers,—enabled the authors of the demand to address themselves to Ministers and to Parliament with unusual weight. With two or three exceptions, at most, all the members connected with the metropolis, either stood expressly pledged to vote for the repeal of the house and window taxes, or had before their election declared themselves favourable to that change, having promised at the same time to resign their seats if they should ever, for the course they took in regard to this or any other point, be called upon to do so by a majority of their constituents. Here, then, was a formidable force at once. Sir John Key, then one of the members for the City, was the person selected to lead the Parliamentary battle. He received his commission at a very noisy meeting held in the Guildhall on the 21st of January. Sir John, however, who had been induced repeatedly to defer making the motion with which he was intrusted, was very unfortunate in the circumstances in which he at last brought it on. On the 26th of April, after a resolution proposed by the Marquess of Chandos, "That in any reduction of taxation which may be considered expedient, it is necessary that the interests of the agricultural portion of the community should be duly considered," had been rejected by a majority of 118 to 90, Sir William Ingilby moved that the tax on malt should be reduced from the present amount, of 20s. 8d., to 10s. per quarter; and the motion, very unexpectedly, was carried by a majority of 162 to 152. The blow thus given would have swept away two millions and a half of revenue; and, indeed, as everybody agreed that, if half the duty was repealed, it would be better to give it up altogether, it might be considered that a hole had really been made in the budget to the extent of five millions. Of those by whom this gap had been effected very few seem to have considered, while giving their votes, in what way it was to be filled up; some, indeed, professed to think the malt-tax so bad that anything else would be preferable, and others were in favour of supplying the deficiency by a property-tax; but a good many supported Sir William Ingilby's proposition merely because it was a motion for reduction, and some expressly stated that they were opposed to the substitution of any other tax for that which was to be taken off. It was when things were in this state that, a few days after (on the 30th), Sir John Key brought forward his motion. It was seconded by Alderman Wood; after whom Lord Althorp rose, and, as he had previously intimated his intention of doing, moved the following amendment:—"That the deficiency in the revenue which would be occasioned by a reduction of the tax on malt to 10s. the quarter, and by the repeal of the tax on houses and windows, could only be supplied by the substitution of a general tax upon property and income, and an extensive change in our whole financial system, which would at present be inexpedient." This was placing the question in its full dimensions before the House, and putting such honourable members as might have been inclined to legislate upon a mere fragment of the case, a little out of their reckoning. The debate that followed was very long, and characterized by considerable heat. At length a division took place at nearly four o'clock in the morning, when there appeared for Sir John Key's motion 157, and against it 355. The House then divided a second time, on an amendment to Lord Althorp's resolution, proposed by Sir William Ingilby, which went to strike out the words about the reduction of the malt duty; and on this question the numbers were 235

for the resolution, and 131 for the amendment. After this, Sir William moved for leave to bring in a bill pursuant to the resolution to which the House had come on the 26th, but was again defeated, the ayes being 76, the noes 238.

These proceedings led to some changes, which we may take this opportunity of mentioning. Since the meeting of Parliament, two elections had already taken place in London; one in the City, in the beginning of March, occasioned by the death of Alderman Waithman, in whose place Mr. Lyall, who came forward on the Tory interest, was returned, in opposition to Alderman Venables, whose politics were nearly those of the existing administration; and the other, about three weeks later, in Marylebone, where, on the opening made by the retirement of Mr. Portman, owing to the infirm state of his health, both the ministerial and the conservative candidates were defeated, and the choice of the electors fell on Sir Samuel Whalley, who was understood to profess a sort of radicalism, or at least a mixed faith, which admitted of being passed off as such. Meanwhile, about the middle of the month, Lord Durham, whose health had been for some time giving way, determined upon retiring from office, which left the place of Lord Privy Seal, and a seat in the cabinet, vacant. The new arrangements rendered necessary by his lordship's resignation were not completed till about the beginning of April, when Lord Goderich (now Earl of Ripon) being made Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Stanley was removed to the Secretaryship for the Colonies, and Sir John Hobhouse succeeded him as Secretary for Ireland. Mr. Edward Ellice was soon after appointed Secretary-at-War. On his acceptance of his new office, Sir John Hobhouse was, of course, obliged to resign his seat for Westminster, and to appear again before his constituents. He was again opposed by Colonel Evans, who had been his opponent at the general election; but, a poll having taken place, Sir John was returned by a large majority. He did not, however, long retain his seat. Having promised his constituents that he would vote for the repeal of the house and window taxes, but, in the circumstances in which Sir John Key's motion was brought on, finding himself unable to give it his support, he felt it to be his duty at once to resign a trust the conditions of which he could not fulfil. In the early part of the same evening on which that motion was made, Sir Francis Burdett moved for a new writ for Westminster. Sir John Hobhouse also resigned into his Majesty's hands his appointment as Secretary for Ireland. In all this, he certainly could not, with any fairness or reason, be accused of pursuing any other than a high-minded course; but, in the excitement of the moment, the one fact, that his vote had not been given for the repeal of the unpopular taxes, seemed to blind the public mind to all the other points of the case. He was induced by his friends to allow himself to be again put in nomination for the city he had so long and creditably represented; but the tide of popular opinion ran too strong against him, and his twice-beaten opponent, Colonel Evans, at the close of the contest, on the 10th of May, found himself at the head of the poll. After this, the office of Secretary for Ireland remained vacant for nearly a month, till it was at length filled by the appointment of Mr. Littleton. In September the Irish government underwent a further change, by the return of the Marquess of Anglesey, and the substitution of the Marquess of Wellesley as Lord-Lieutenant.

The opposition to the house and window taxes was by no means put an end to by the vote to which Parliament had come. On the contrary, the outcry upon the subject grew more violent than ever; and a disposition was shown, by certain classes of the people, to resort to still more decided measures in order to effect their object. The question was again brought before the House of Commons, on the 21st of May, by Sir Samuel Whalley, who moved "That it is the opinion of this House that all taxes on houses and windows should cease on the 5th of October, 1833." On a division, the motion was negatived by a majority of 273 to 124. On the 7th of August, also, Mr. Hume proposed that the House should "resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the Assessed Taxes Acts, with a view to repeal the whole of the inhabited house tax;" but the motion was negatived without a division. Out-of-doors, however, the haranguers at parish meetings, and the other assemblies at which the agitation of the subject was carried on, had ere now roundly proposed to their auditors and disciples to take the business of extinguishing

the obnoxious taxes into their own hands. The plan of operation which they recommended, was the new contrivance called "passive resistance." The people were to refuse to pay the tax-gatherer's demand in money; but were to allow their goods to be seized, in the expectation that when they should be afterwards put up for sale by the government, nobody would dare to buy them. All this sounded very well in theory; but, like many other fine theories, it was found to answer but indifferently in practice. When it came to the push, the heroes of passive resistance were found to be neither very numerous nor very courageous. Towards the end of October, some of the ringleaders in this affair were peremptorily called upon by the authorities to pay up assessments which had been for some time due; and two or three individuals certainly did stand out upon the principle that had been laid down, and allowed the officers to take their goods. But when it appeared that the country was in no humour to rise in rebellion, under the inspiration of this example, nay, that the metropolis itself remained perfectly quiescent, the others deemed it most prudent to give up their patriotic resolves for the present. Some permitted their wives to pay the money, and others put their hands in their pockets and brought it forth themselves. The only actual demonstration that was made on the side of the resistance, was by a rabble of boys, headed by a woman, who fell on a party of two or three officers, the first day, and took possession of a cart-load of furniture, which they were conveying away. But when a proper force was sent to see the law executed, nobody attempted to interfere; the taxes due were quietly paid by all from whom they were demanded; and from that time no more was heard of resistance, either active or passive.

Another class of taxes, of which it was attempted, in the course of the session, to effect a reduction, was that of the stamp duties. On the 3d of May, Mr. Cobbett, having previously submitted a similar motion on the 18th of February, which he withdrew, proposed a series of resolutions upon this subject; but, on a division, they were found to be supported only by 26 members out of 276.

6. *The Budget—Motions on Reforms in the Representation—The Established Church—National Education—The Corn Laws—Impressment—Flogging—Breach of Privilege—Sir Robert Peel—Foreign Affairs—Distress—Close of the Session—His Majesty's Speech—Cold Bath Fields Meeting—The Influenza—The Cholera—Corporation Inquiry—Reform of Scotch Burghs.*

AFTER having thus noticed the parts in the system of the national taxation and expenditure against which the attacks of the economical reformers in the House were chiefly directed, we shall introduce the only account for which we can find room in so brief a sketch as this, of the financial arrangements which were actually made for the year. The budget was not brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer till the 19th of April. The following enumeration of the reductions, which were eventually made, was read in the House of Commons, by Mr. Spring Rice, on the 7th of August:—"Tax on printed cottons, repealed; on coals and slates, repealed; on candles, repealed; on hemp, reduced; on drugs, reduced; on tiles, repealed; on marine insurances, reduced; advertisement duty, reduced one-half; fire-insurance on farming stock, repealed; small receipt stamps, repealed; land-tax on personal estates, repealed; soap duty, reduced one-half; cotton-wool, reduced; the duty on pamphlets, repealed; house-tax on shops, reduced one-half; travellers or riders, repealed; clerks, book-keepers, and office-men, repealed; overseers and managers, repealed; shopmen, warehousemen, and cellar-men, repealed; taxed carts, repealed; market-gardeners, repealed; house-tax payable by licensed-victuallers, reduced one-half; houses of 10*l.* value, tax reduced one-third; and in houses from 10*l.* to 18*l.* value, a progressive reduction.*" These reductions were estimated to amount, in all, to somewhat above a million and a half.

The navy estimates were brought forward by Sir James Graham, on the 25th of March; when the number of men voted for the service of the year was 27,000, including 9000 marines. Two days after, Sir John Hobhouse brought forward the army estimates, the principal management of which, however, on their way through the House, fell to the share of his successor, Mr. Ellice. The number of

soldiers voted, including 17,289 for India, was 95,791 in all, being 59 under the number of the preceding year. The ordinance estimates were moved by Colonel Maberly on the 29th of April, and the miscellaneous by Mr. Spring Rice, on the 14th of August; but into any detail upon these heads it is impossible for us here to enter.

Among other questions discussed during the session, were some touching still further reforms in the system of the representation. Mr. Grote's motion for the introduction of the vote by ballot, which he submitted in a very able speech on the 25th of April, gave rise to a debate of considerable length, but was negatived on the division by a majority of nearly two to one, the numbers being 106 for, and 211 against it. A motion made on the 23rd of July by Mr. Tennyson for the repeal of the Septennial Act was also lost, although the numbers were considerably nearer, the Ayes being on this occasion 164, and the Noes 213. We may here also notice the motion made by Mr. Tooke, on the 22nd of May, for a select committee to consider what amendments might be made in the late Reform Act, which, after having been, on the suggestion of Mr. Warburton, limited to a proposal for settling the points on which there had been conflicting decisions of the assistant-barristers, was rejected by a majority of 94 to 68. On the 18th of June, also, Colonel Evans moved the repeal of the clause in the Reform Act, making the payment of poor-rates and assessed taxes necessary to entitle electors to the exercise of their franchise; but the motion was lost by a majority of 84 to 24. Earlier in the session (on the 21st of February), Mr. Harvey's motion for a new mode of taking the divisions in the House, and for the publication of the names of the members who voted on each side, was supported by 94 members, but opposed by 142. The objection generally taken was the impracticability of all the plans that had been proposed to effect the object.

On the 16th of April, Mr. Faithfull, the member for Brighton, after edifying the House with a speech which might have made not a bad sermon or lecture on divinity, coolly proposed the abolition of the established church, and the appropriation of its revenues to the relief of the nation. When he had concluded, Mr. O'Dwyer, feeling himself, as he said, in a somewhat embarrassed position, and apparently alarmed, lest the whole establishment was going, and all its wealth on the point of being swallowed up in the gulf of the national debt, moved, by way of amendment, that the revenues of the church of England should be appropriated to the purposes of their original institution. To this, however, Mr. Harvey declared that he, as a Protestant, could not assent. Mr. O'Dwyer afterwards withdrew his amendment; but Mr. Faithfull insisted upon taking the decision of the House on his proposal. The Speaker accordingly put the question from the chair; and after Noes had been heard from all sides of the House, there was a pause of expectation for the Ayes. But not an Aye was uttered. The scene was immediately closed, by the announcement of the Speaker, in his usual sonorous and equable tone, "The Noes have it."

Another subject of first-rate importance that was brought forward during this busy session, with no immediate effect, but it is to be hoped with a far better chance of ultimate success than can be argued for Mr. Faithfull's sweeping speculation, was that of a system of national education. A resolution, pledging the House to take up this subject early in the next session, was moved by Mr. Roebuck, on the 30th of July, in a speech of great ability. The motion gave rise to a short debate, and was eventually withdrawn, on members in general appearing to feel that it would be better to defer entering upon the consideration of the question until it could be brought forward in a more definite shape. But there is no greater object to which a member of the legislature can apply his exertions, nor any by giving himself up to which he might effect more good, or earn a more honourable fame. We have much gratification in adding, that a beginning in this work, although on a small scale, was made in the course of the session by the government, in moving (on the 16th of August) for a grant of 20,000*l.* "to be issued in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of school-houses for the education of the children of the poorer classes."

The subject of the corn-laws was discussed in the course of the session in both Houses. In the Lords, Earl Fitzwilliam, on the 14th of May, submitted a series of resolutions in favour of a fixed, instead of the present fluctuating

* See more particular statements in *The Companion*, pp. 131 and 132.

tuating duty, which were negatived without a division. On the 17th of the same month, Mr. Whitmore, member for Wolverhampton, proposed an alteration of the present system on the same principle, in the House of Commons; but the motion, being met by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the previous question, was negatived by a majority of nearly three to one; the numbers being 106 for, and 305 against it. And, on the 18th of June, the subject was again brought forward by Mr. Whitmore's colleague, Mr. Fryer, who moved for leave to bring in a bill, the object of which he explained would be to admit all colonial corn free. But the previous question was also carried on this occasion, by a majority of 72 to 47.

One of the debates of the session which excited considerable interest, was that which took place on the 15th of August, on Mr. Buckingham's motion against impressment. Having been met by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the previous question, it was only lost by a majority of 59 to 54. On the 2nd of April, also, Mr. Hume very nearly carried a motion against flogging in the army, except for the offences of mutiny, or of being drunk when on guard, or of theft; the numbers were, 140 in its favour, and 151 against it. An order was some time after issued from the Horse-Guards, prohibiting this punishment, except for certain specified descriptions of misconduct.

We can merely notice in such a rapid summary as this the singular contest between Mr. O'Connell and the newspaper reporters, with which the former chose to occupy several nights of the time of the House of Commons in the last week of July, and which ended, like the tale of "Rasselas," in a conclusion in which nothing was concluded. Nor can we give the narrative of Mr. Cobbett's attempt, on the 16th of May, to oust Sir Robert Peel from his majesty's privy council, for his share in bringing back the country to a metallic currency, by the act of 1819. The strangest part of this affair was, that the motion of the honourable member for Oldham should have actually had four supporters. The Noes were 298.

Of the discussions during the session on matters of foreign policy, the most important were those that took place in both houses in the beginning of June, on the affairs of Portugal, which derived their interest, however, not from the subject to which they referred, but from their bearing as party struggles upon the then doubtful position of the ministry, and the domestic prospects of the country. It is in this point of view only that it is necessary for us to notice these debates here. On the 3rd, the Duke of Wellington, in the Lords, after a speech in which he strongly reprobated the countenance which he asserted to have been given by government to the expedition of Don Pedro, moved, "That an address should be presented to his majesty, entreating that he would be pleased to give the necessary directions to enforce the observance, by his subjects, of his majesty's declared neutrality in the contest now going on in Portugal." After a long debate, this motion, which could only be considered as a direct censure upon the conduct of the government, was carried by a majority of 79 to 69. The triumph, however, which was thus obtained by the opposition was of short duration. On the 6th, Colonel Davies rose in the House of Commons, and calling upon that assembly to express its opinion also on the subject as to which the Lords had come to a decision in their recent vote, concluded by moving an address to his majesty, expressive of grateful acknowledgment for the judicious policy that had been pursued with reference to Portuguese affairs; and a division having taken place on this motion, after a long debate, there appeared 361 members for, and only 98 against it. Meanwhile, that same evening, his Majesty's answer to the address of the House of Peers was announced to their lordships; it was in the following terms:—"I have already taken all such measures as appeared to me to be necessary for maintaining the neutrality which I had determined to observe in the contest now carrying on in Portugal." Some time after this, (on the 30th of July), this ground was again ventured upon by the Marquess of Londonderry, who moved another address to his majesty, for papers connected with the recent notification from the Foreign Office, of Don Pedro's blockade of Lisbon and other Portuguese ports; but the motion, after having given rise to a short conversation, was withdrawn. We may here also mention, that on the 10th of May, the subject of the embargo which had some months before been laid on the vessels of the King of Holland, was introduced in the House of Commons by Alderman Thompson, in a speech in which he attacked the

conduct pursued by his majesty's ministers in reference to that power. The motion for papers, with which he concluded, gave rise to an animated debate; but the production of the papers not having been resisted, no division took place. The only other great debate of the session on foreign affairs, was that occasioned on the 9th of July, by Mr. Cutlar Fergusson's motion for an address to his majesty, praying that he would not recognize the present political state and condition of Poland, brought about, as it had been, in violation of the treaty of Vienna, to which this country was a party. Among other speakers on this occasion, Mr. Attwood, of Birmingham, delivered an oration characterized by an extraordinary degree of martial ardour; and members on both sides of the House were unanimous in expressing their indignation at the treatment which Poland had experienced. The previous question, however, moved by Lord Althorp, was carried by a majority of 177 to 95. Of this vote, it may be remarked, that it was perhaps the least of a party vote that was come to during the session—members of the most opposite opinions on general politics being found mixed together on both sides. We find, for instance, Mr. Hume and Sir R. Inglis voting together in favour of the motion, and Sir R. Peel and Mr. Warburton against it.

The only other debate of the session which it is necessary to notice, is that which arose on Mr. Thomas Attwood's motion, made on the 21st of March, for a select committee "To inquire into the causes of the general distress existing among the industrious classes of the United Kingdom, and into the most effectual means of its relief." This motion was resisted by ministers; but the indisposition naturally felt to give a vote which might be so easily misconstrued or misrepresented, no doubt, prevented many members, who little agreed with the views of the mover, from negativing his proposition; and it was only lost by a majority of 39—the numbers being 153 for, and 192 against it. Some weeks after, in compliance, as Lord Althorp stated, with the wishes of several gentlemen who had applied to him on the subject, the government consented to the appointment of two select committees of the House of Commons to inquire—the one into the state of agriculture, the other into the state of trade, manufactures, and shipping. These committees, accordingly, both proceeded immediately to the examination of witnesses; and each, previous to the rising of Parliament, had collected a voluminous body of evidence, which was soon after printed. We have already had occasion to refer to the labours of the committee on manufactures*; and there are many things in both reports to which we shall probably take an early opportunity of directing the attention of our readers.

The session—the longest and most laborious in the history of Parliament—was at length brought to a close on the 29th of August. "It appears," Sir Robert Inglis remarked, in bringing up, that morning, the forty-seventh report of the public petitions' committee, "from a very able statement, which has been prepared with great care, that the House, during the present session, has sat more than twice the number of days, and nearly three times the number of hours, that were occupied in the session of 1826—during which the House of Commons sat 64 days, or 457 hours. Even in the great reform session of 1831, we sat only 98 days, or 918 hours; whilst, during the present session, the House has, up to yesterday, sat 142 days, or 1270 hours. It appears that the session of 1806 occupied 125 days, or 645 hours, being, on the average, five hours each day; that of 1807 occupied 86 days, or 434 hours, giving also an average of five hours per day. In the year 1811, the Parliament sat 135 days, or 588 hours, which gave an average of only four hours and a half per day; and, in 1814, the session occupied 127 days, or 476 hours, which was not equal to four hours per day. It will appear, that, during the whole of this session, the House has been occupied nine hours a day on an average, and for much the larger portion of the session—namely, since Easter—more than twelve hours each day." Yet, all this time would seem to have been insufficient to enable the House to get over its work. We have seen how many bills, after having been carried forward a certain length, had to be abandoned, from the press of business; and, from the last number of the Votes, it appears that notices of motions for the next session stand in the names of different members, to the really alarming number of a hundred and thirty-four! Here is a session, of tolerable dimensions, all bespoken already.

* See Article on Trades' Unions in *Companion* No. 12.

The Speech, on proroguing the two Houses, was delivered by his majesty in person. It was of considerable length; but was chiefly occupied by a recapitulation of the great measures of the session, with all of which his majesty expressed his satisfaction. The intimations made with regard to foreign affairs were, that his majesty's allies, and all foreign powers, continued to give assurances of their friendly disposition,—that, although no definitive arrangement had yet taken place between Holland and Belgium, the convention concluded in May last by this country and France with the king of the Netherlands had prevented the renewal of hostilities; that in consequence of recent events a minister had been accredited by his majesty to the court of the queen of Portugal; and that the hostilities which had disturbed the peace of Turkey had been terminated. On this last head his majesty added, "You may be assured that my attention will be carefully directed to any events which may affect the present state or the future independence of that empire." The prorogation was, in the first instance, to the 31st of October; but on that day Parliament was further prorogued to the 4th of February, 1834, when it will meet for the despatch of business.

Having thus brought our parliamentary review to a close, we have little more to add. The history of this country, in its domestic progress and relations, is mainly the history of its legislature. We have interwoven in our narrative of the proceedings of parliament notices of most of the few events of any public importance which occurred during the earlier part of the year. We have still, however, to mention the meeting in Coldbath Fields, on Monday, the 13th of May, which, for a short time, so much engaged public attention. It was called together by placards posted, during the preceding week, in many parts of the metropolis, inviting the members of the different political unions to assemble, in order to make arrangements for the holding of a National Convention. These advertisements, which were printed, were signed by a person of the name of Russell, who appears to have been the secretary of one of the unions. How the speculation of Mr. Russell and his confederates might have turned out if left alone, is doubtful. In such cases the authorities intrusted with the preservation of the public peace have a difficult duty to perform; their interference for the very purpose of preventing disorder sometimes serving to occasion it. At the same time they cannot safely allow manifest preparations to be made for the defiance of the law, without, at least, assuming a position which will enable them promptly to interfere, if necessary. We should say that they ought to stand on the watch, but very cautiously to avoid giving the first provocation. Soon after Russell's invitation appeared, a proclamation was issued from the Home-Office, and posted over the walls, we believe much more extensively than the other, denouncing the intended meeting as illegal, and warning all persons from attending it. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that a distinct intimation was not given, that if the meeting took place it would be at once dispersed by force. This was what was actually done. A large body of police was collected around the spot, and communications were also kept up with a detachment of the Life-Guards, who were under arms, and ready to be marched at a moment's notice. When the hour which had been announced for the commencement of proceedings arrived, two personages, of the names of Lee and Mee, took their places upon a cart, and were about to proceed to address the multitude, which by this time amounted to some thousands. The man to whom the cart belonged, however, deemed it prudent to drive away, and the orators were obliged to mount and sustain themselves in the best way they could upon a paling. A body of persons now gathered around them, bearing tricoloured flags, caps of liberty, and banners having skulls and cross-bones painted on them, with the words "Liberty and Death," and other similar mottoes; and Mee began his harangue. He had not spoken more than three or four sentences, when a body of police marched up, and forcing their way through the crowd, made directly for the point where the orators and banner-bearers were collected. The banners were soon captured, and the orators put to flight; but in the confusion and momentary struggle some ruffian found an opportunity of plunging a dagger into the heart of Robert Culley, one of the policemen, who almost instantly fell down dead; and two other policemen were also wounded. It was said that the persons who inflicted these stabs were some of those by whom the ban-

ners were carried, and that they were received by the policemen while wresting these ensigns from their holders. Of course, there were several other casualties, a good many of the people having been struck or knocked down by the batons of the police, in the rush forward that was made by the latter to get at the ringleaders. Some of the police, on the other hand, were hit with brickbats, and otherwise severely injured. But, fortunately, poor Culley's was the only life lost. This affair, which, even if it had ended here, would have excited a considerable sensation, was invested with its chief interest by the proceedings of the coroner's jury who were called together to inquire into the circumstances of Culley's death, and who, after an investigation continued during four days, returned the memorable verdict of justifiable homicide. We have already commented at considerable length upon this judgment*, and shall only here add, that a few days after it was delivered, the inquisition, on the application of the Solicitor-General, was quashed by the Court of King's Bench. A man named Furzey, who had been apprehended at the meeting, was afterwards tried on the charge of having been the person who stabbed Culley; but was acquitted. Meanwhile, the persons who had composed the coroner's jury had their reward, not only in plentiful notoriety and mob applause, but in promises, at least, of more lasting and more substantial honours. A subscription was set on foot to erect a monument to them; but the monument, after a time, dwindled down to a cream-jug; and that, again, to a half-crown medal for each of the patriots. It turned out, however, in the end, that there were no funds to carry into effect even this last economical project, the little that had been contributed having afterwards, it seems, slipped through the fingers of the collectors in a way which nobody pretended to be able exactly to explain.

In the end of April and the beginning of May, the country was visited with an epidemic, the widest in its spread, and the most indiscriminating in its attacks, that had been known for many years. Very few persons escaped without being affected by it, more or less severely. In general, the illness which it occasioned was slight, and lasted only for a few days; but there were many cases of great and protracted suffering, and not a few also, especially among old people, in which the attack terminated fatally. The influenza (so this distemper was called) was followed, in August, by another visitation of the cholera, which continued to prevail for some weeks in the metropolis; and also sprung up in many parts of the country. Although, however, it was probably in London quite as destructive as it had been the preceding year, it nowhere occasioned the dreadful mortality with which it had been formerly attended in some other parts of the kingdom; and comparative familiarity with the evil had also divested it of a considerable portion of its original terrors. It was thought proper, nevertheless, to renew the Act for its prevention which had been passed in the former Parliament; and that statute will remain, accordingly, in force till the end of the next session.

Since the rising of Parliament the principal subject of domestic politics to which public attention has been directed is the inquiry into corporations. It had been originally intended to bring in a bill to amend the constitution of these bodies, but, instead of this, a committee of the House of Commons was, early in the session, appointed to examine, in the first instance, into their existing state. In a former number (See "Companion," p. 87) we gave an abstract of the report made by this committee, which recommended that the further investigation of the subject should be carried on by means of a commission, which might proceed from place to place, and collect the necessary information with regard to each corporation on the spot. In the beginning of July, accordingly, an address was ordered to be presented to his Majesty, praying the appointment of such a commission. The commission having been in consequence appointed under the sign manual, soon after commenced its labours, visiting one corporation after another, and hearing evidence in public respecting each. As the inquiry, however, has not yet been nearly brought to a close, it will fall more properly to be noticed in our next Retrospect, although it is probable that we shall be able long before the close of another year to submit an account of its results.

It may be recollected that, a short time before Parliament

* See *Companion*, p. 76.

rose, a bill was brought in by the Lord Chancellor for giving municipal constitutions to the new boroughs created by the Reform Act, but was not pressed beyond the first reading*. That measure, though perhaps with some modifications, will be again introduced early in the next session. In connexion with this subject we may mention that the election of councillors in all the Scotch burghs, under the

act passed last session†, took place on the 5th of November, and excited extraordinary interest throughout the northern part of the island. The effect has been, in almost every instance, the complete overthrow and ejection of the party that has hitherto been in power, and, along with the triumph of popular principles, the substitution of the men of the people.

FRANCE.

THE history of France during the past year has been comparatively unmarked by great events, although it has abounded in indications which might, perhaps, make a fruitful text for speculation as to the future. Upon that field, however, we shall not enter.

The close parallelism that has been maintained by the recent history of France, with that of our own country during the seventeenth century, has been often remarked. The convocation of the legislature forced upon the crown, after government without parliaments had become, to all appearance, the settled constitution of the kingdom,—the immediate assumption of supremacy by the representatives of the people,—the extinction of the aristocracy,—the abolition of the church,—the trial and execution of the king,—the establishment of a republic,—the subjugation of the state to the power of the sword,—the sway of a great military chief,—and, after all, the restoration of the former order of things, and the old line of monarchs—had formed the cycle of changes through which both countries had passed, up to the point of the return of the Bourbons in 1814. But the coincidence was not to end here. The story of Louis XVIII. and his brother Charles X., is even in much of its earlier course the story of our Charles II. and his brother James II., over again. And in both cases we have the same catastrophe—the expulsion from the throne of the reigning family, but still a compromise made with the principle of hereditary succession, in the substitution of the nearest collateral branch which circumstances would allow to be selected. In this respect, the Duke of Orleans served very well for a Prince of Orange to France.

With all this imitative character in the main results, nevertheless, the progress of France has exhibited also much that is new and distinctive, at least in the modes and agencies by which it has been carried from one stage to another. The last change in particular, was very remarkable for this peculiarity and contrast with its English prototype, in the manner in which it was brought about. We had nothing in our revolution like “the three glorious days.” The throne of William of Nassau was not like that of Louis Philip—a throne of the barricades. A still greater difference between the one crisis and the other, is occasioned by another circumstance—that is, that the nineteenth century is not the seventeenth. France is not now, what England was in 1688. General civilization has commenced a new era. Public opinion, formerly weak, and with little or no influence on affairs, has started up, and become the greatest of all powers. We cannot, therefore, here argue, very confidently, what is to be, from what has been. The settlement made at our revolution was supported by a powerful aristocracy, and the people were nothing;—in France there is now no aristocracy, and the people are everything.

Confining our view, however, to what has actually taken place since the convulsion in July, 1830, we should say that the new order of things appears to be gradually consolidating. This effect first began to be sensible after the accession of the Perier ministry, in March, 1831. There were, subsequently to this, repeated tumults in Paris; but none in which the law and the government threw themselves in the dirt before the triumphant rioters, as in the preceding February, under the vacillating and feeble administration of M. Lafitte. The death of Perier, in May, 1832, would have been a still greater loss to France, if, during the brief period that he was permitted to preside over the state, he had not established and put in action a system of government, which he left as a legacy to his successors. The course which has since been pursued by Louis Philip and his ministers, is essentially that which was begun by this great statesman.

Its principle is, avoidance of, and hostility to, extremes. In France, since politics first began to agitate the country, there have always been a bigoted royalist party, an equally bigoted republican party, and a variety of parties occupying different stations in the intermediate ground. The latter have been more or less divided and multiplied by shades of opinion, according to the circumstances of the time. Generally, however, it may be said that they have formed two great bodies, united in the main, but still having a greater leaning—the one towards monarchical, the other towards republican politics. In the Chamber of Deputies, accordingly, they have been recognised as one force, under the name of the Centre; but have also been distinguished into the Right Centre, and the Left Centre. If the imperfect coherence or tendency to disunion in this party could be completely overcome, it might certainly sway the destinies of France. It is quite evident, that neither of the two extreme parties is numerically strong. Everything indicates that the adherents of each are a mere handful in the country. The mass of the population is neither royalist nor revolutionary, but constitutional. In this undeniable fact alone, then, (for we apprehend the statement cannot be contested,) is there, we think, reason sufficient why the government should also be *juste milieu*. A cry is raised against the political system so designated, which has the advantage—no small one for a mere clamour—of being heartily joined in by two classes of persons of the most opposite opinions. The bawlers of both the extreme schools labour to represent this intermediate doctrine, as meaning neither one thing nor another—a mere mixture of opposites which contradict and neutralize each other; and there are persons simple enough to be persuaded that it must necessarily be of this character, occupying the position it does. But there is no reason why it should not be quite as definite and positive as either of the other two doctrines; and we believe that it is. It is possible to walk due north, and also to walk due east; but may not he likewise proceed in a direct path who walks towards the north-east? Is the diagonal of the parallelogram not as much a straight line as either the perpendicular or the base? Why, then, may not a *juste milieu* government hold as distinct and independent a course as either what we should call in this country a high Tory or a low Radical government?

Everything that has taken place in France since this system was first acted upon under the new settlement, has gone to show that it is the only system having a natural foundation in the prevailing opinions of the people. Both Royalism and Republicanism have been proved to be without strength in the country. The partisans of both have been zealous, active, unscrupulous; they have shown no want of talent any more than of ardour; they have tried every different method and weapon of contest; the pen, the tongue, the sword—from mobbing up to rebellion—from reasoning and eloquence down to pasquinades and lies—have all been plied in their turn, or at once; and what has been the result? Uniform failure, and total and humiliating defeat, in every attempt to overthrow the existing government, or to get the direction of affairs into their own hands. The respectable and influential classes of the people have shown no sympathy with them. At the same moment, in the beginning of June, 1832, only a few weeks after the ministry had lost its head, and while it was still almost in a state of disorganization, the throne of Louis Philip was attacked by a royalist insurrection in La Vendée, and by a furious tumult of the populace in the streets of Paris. It triumphed over both,—and triumphed by the support and cordially-rendered aid of the country. In La Vendée, the inspiration of old recollections, the presence of the Duchess of Berri, and all her exertions, and those of her partisans, could get up nothing beyond a sort of Whitefoot and Terry Alt outbreak—a war of ambuscades and petty depredations,—the putting down of which was rather to be considered as the restoration of order than the extinction of a rebellion.

* See *Companion*, p. 138.

† See *Companion*, p. 113.

In Paris, the national guards, composed of the middle classes, and comprehending nearly the whole of that portion of the population, turned out with alacrity in defence of the government, and did not retire from their sanguinary conflict with the armed multitude, till they had completely beaten them, and driven them from the streets; and on every other occasion the result has been the same. Without by any means approving of all the separate acts of the government, the body of the people of France have shown over and over again, and whenever an opportunity was given to them of testifying their preference, that the present system, in its spirit and general principles, was the only system under which they felt that the country could go on. The boys of the schools—Young France as they call themselves—may be for the *movement*, and many of the old men, and all the old women, for the *resistance*; the vastly preponderating majority of the rest of the nation evidently understood that neither resistance nor movement, but guidance, is the proper attribute and office of a government.

After the death of Perier, the ministry remained in a provisional state for some months. During this interval, there was scarcely a recognised head of the cabinet, unless the king himself was to be considered as occupying that place. It was not till the beginning of October, that a regular and settled form was given to the government by the assignment of the presidency of the council and the premiership to Soult, who also, however, it was arranged, should continue to hold his office of Minister of War. The following substitutions of new men were also made: the Duke de Broglie, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the room of Sebastiani; M. Humann, Finance Minister, in room of Baron Louis; and M. Thiers, Minister of Public Instruction, in the room of M. Girod de l'Ain. The following members of the cabinet, as it had been composed at the time of Perier's death, retained their places: M. Montalivet, Minister of the Interior, or, what we should call the Home Office; M. Barthe, Keeper of the Seals; Admiral Rigny, Minister of Marine; and M. D'Argout, Minister of Commerce and Public Works. M. Thiers was soon after removed to the Interior, when M. Guizot became Minister of Public Instruction; and, finally, about the commencement of 1833, M. Thiers and M. D'Argout exchanged places, the former going to the Department of Commerce, and the latter becoming Home Secretary.

The year began in peace abroad, and tranquillity at home. All chance of the revival of the troubles in La Vendée had been extinguished by the capture of the Duchess of Berri at Nantes, in the beginning of the preceding November, and her incarceration in the Castle of Blaye. The troops that had been sent to Antwerp having, by a series of brilliant operations, compelled the surrender of that citadel, were already on their march back to France.

The Chambers had been re-opened on the 19th of November; and, although the opposition was violent and persevering, and the discussions had often been very stormy, the ministers had been supported by great majorities on all the important divisions. Their nominee, M. Dupin, had gained his election as President of the Chamber of Deputies, against his competitor, M. Lafitte, by a majority of 234 votes to 136; although little more than a year before (in June, 1831), Lafitte, on the same occasion, had had only four votes less than the ministerial candidate, notwithstanding that the ministry had distinctly intimated that they would go out if the decision should be against them. The Address, in like manner, though warmly debated, was carried by a majority of 233 to 119.

The only extreme which the Chamber now contained, it is proper to remark, was the Extreme Left. Of this, the above minorities had been composed. The monarchical party, which had formerly constituted the Extreme Right, was all but annihilated in this branch of the legislature. M. Berryer was almost its only representative. The Centre, however, still continued to be divided into two sections—the Right and the Left Centre, the former of which alone properly constituted the party of the ministers, although they generally also received the support of the latter, whose chief was M. Dupin. In this new state of things, a new nomenclature of parties came to be adopted; and the Dupinists were designated as the *tiers parti*, or third party, the other two being the regular ministerialists, and the regular opposition.

The *tiers parti*, from its position, necessarily possessed great power, the vote, in fact, depending entirely upon

which of the other two parties it chose to join. It generally, as we have just observed, sided with the ministry; but on one occasion, in the beginning of March, it gave a remarkable demonstration of its importance as one of the regulating forces of the political machine. Having suddenly thrown its weight on a particular vote into the scale of the opposition, it very nearly overset the government, and might, certainly, have done so entirely, if it had chosen to abide by its new alliance. But although strong enough to break up the existing cabinet, M. Dupin and his friends knew very well that they could not, as yet, form another that would stand, composed of members of their own body.

Immediately after the government had sustained this shock, it had to meet, or rather it exposed itself to, another danger, in the trial of two young men, named Bergeron and Benoist, who had been taken up on the charge of being concerned in the attack that had been made upon the life of the king on the day of the opening of the Chambers, when a pistol was said to have been fired at him as he rode along the street. This trial lasted for above a week, during which great apprehensions were entertained of disturbances on the part of the populace, and the most formidable preparations were made to prevent the violation of the public peace, although no tumult actually occurred. The process, however, ended in the acquittal of the accused, and in what the Royalist and Republican newspapers called the defeat of the government. It is strange that the French government should persevere in these contests with its opponents on the floors of the courts of law. In the course of this, as during the preceding year, they continued to attack the opposition newspapers by prosecution after prosecution, for articles which appeared in their pages, and almost uniformly with the same result, the escape and triumph of the defendant, and their own discomfiture and disgrace. They place themselves in every way at a disadvantage in these attempts. The judicial system which they are obliged to use as their instrument is so bad, that the very exhibition of its defects and absurdities cannot but go a great way to secure a verdict, both from public opinion and from the jury themselves, in favour of those whom it is made use of to crush. Besides, the Paris juries have evidently adopted the principle, that attacks upon a government merely by words or writing are no proper subjects of punishment, however decided or violent; and, perhaps, they are in the right. It is clear, at any rate, that they are determined to act upon the opinion; and, that being the case, it seems to be unaccountable impolicy and folly for the government to be constantly giving them new opportunities of doing so. If they are in the wrong, they would be much more likely to be set right by the publications, alleged to be dangerous, being allowed to work a little of the mischief with which they are supposed to be fraught, and thus to prove, by the evidence of facts, that it was not safe to tolerate them.

Almost the only conviction which was obtained in the course of this foolish war against the press, was in the case of M. Lionne, the editor of the "Tribune," who was charged with having published a libel on the Chamber of Deputies. And this was not a verdict of any court of law, but of the Chamber itself, before which the accused was brought to take his trial, in conformity with a law which had been passed in the time of the Bourbons, but which had only been applied on another occasion before the present. The sentence passed by an immense majority was, imprisonment for three years, and a fine of 500*l*. The oppressive character of this proceeding, and the severity of the punishment, could hardly fail to damage the reputation of the government, as much as an opposite verdict would have done pronounced by another tribunal.

This trial took place in the middle of April. Immediately before, the ministers had met with so much opposition in the Chamber to one of their propositions, that for the erection of a system of forts around the capital, that they had been at length compelled to withdraw it. Their opponents asserted that the purpose of these forts was not to defend but to command the city; and they probably might have admitted of being turned to either use.

All these blunders, however, only proved the strength of the government which maintained its existence in spite of them. Soon after this an event happened, which, doubtless, did not a little to steady the throne of Louis Philip. This was the production of a daughter by the Duchess of Berri on the 10th of May, in her prison at Blaye. The force of the blow given by this catastrophe to the Royalist party, may

be conceived by the extravagant conduct they displayed on the occasion. For a long while nothing would convince them that it was possible the intelligence could be true. Even the declaration of the duchess herself, authenticated by all the securities against falsification which could be asked or devised, was treated by them with incredulity and contempt. The duchess, on her delivery, declared herself the wife of a Count Hector Luchesi Palli, gentleman of the chamber to her brother the King of Naples, and then residing as envoy from that court at the Hague. But her partisans in Paris scouted this solution of the matter, and would believe the story of the husband as little as that of the child. Indeed, to pass over everything else, it must be confessed that even a clandestine marriage was a considerable imprudence for her royal highness to commit in the circumstances. The part she had acted, however, though it had in a manner demolished the cause at the head of which she had placed herself, brought her the personal advantage of a restoration to liberty. About a month after her confinement she was allowed to take her departure along with her daughter for Palermo, it being considered that she had now made herself quite harmless as a political incendiary.

Meanwhile, on the 25th of April, the session of the legislative chambers had been brought to a close by a prorogation, by which, however, they were appointed to meet again to commence a new session the next day. The object of this proceeding was to enable the budget for each year to be voted in future during the currency of the year, or rather as near its commencement as possible, instead of, as heretofore, not till after its close. The supplies for 1832, for instance, had not been voted till the spring of 1833, after the expenses they were to meet had all been actually incurred; and what ready money the government required had been granted in the mean time by what were called *douzièmes provisoires*, or votes of provisional credit. The Chamber, however, was prohibited by law from voting more than one budget in the same session; and hence the necessity of commencing a new session before the budget of 1833 could be brought forward. This occasioned no such interruption to the progress of business as it would have done in the English parliament, the rule in the French Chambers (and it seems a very reasonable one) being, that measures introduced and advanced to a certain stage in one session, are taken up again at that point in the next. With us a prorogation makes it necessary to begin everything *de novo*.

The second session was continued till the 26th of June. Of several acts which were passed, one was of the very greatest importance, the act by which a system of national education was established throughout France. This measure had been introduced on the 2nd of January, by M. Guizot, in a speech of remarkable ability, and abounding with the most profound and enlightened views. The law establishes three descriptions of schools; Elementary schools, of which every commune or parish is bound to maintain one, except when two or more small communes join to maintain the same school; Middle schools, for the higher branches of education, of which there is to be one in every departmental town, and in every parish having more than 6000 inhabitants; and Normal schools, for the training of teachers, of which there is also to be one for each department. The elementary education, which is to be given to every person born in the country, is to consist of reading, writing, French grammar, and arithmetic, together with moral and religious instruction. The masters in all these schools are to have small salaries, paid by the parish or department; but are to derive the chief part of their emoluments from fees. Each parish school is to be under the immediate management of a communal committee, of which the *curé* of the parish is to be *ex officio* a member, and which is also to contain one minister of each of the other religious persuasions that may exist in the commune. The whole system is placed under the direction of the member of the cabinet known in France as the minister of public instruction. The plan, not only in its leading principles, but in almost all its details, is borrowed from that which has been for some years in operation in Prussia, to which country M. Cousin was some time ago sent by the government to examine and report on it.

Few events of public importance have occurred since the Chambers were dismissed. On the 29th of September, the town of Bougeiah, on the coast of Africa, was taken by an

expedition sent against it, after a fierce contest with the inhabitants, which lasted nearly the whole day. This acquisition, it is expected, will add greatly to the security and value of the Algerine territory, which France seems now to have resolved to retain and colonise. By the latest accounts, that former nest of barbarism and piracy is fast becoming transformed into a scene of European civilization.

Within the last few days, the government has sustained another of those discomfitures with which it is now so familiar, in the acquittal of twenty-seven individuals whom it had brought to trial on the charge of having been engaged in a conspiracy which was to have broken out during the celebration of the anniversary of the three days in July last. The trial has been a most extraordinary one, exhibiting all the absurdities of the French judicial system in their most exaggerated form. Whether or not the government anticipated that they would obtain a conviction, is hard to say; but certainly nobody else conceived that they had the least chance of success.

This last exhibition has been so timed by the ministers, as to come just on the eve of the re-assembling of the legislature. The two Chambers met again on the 23rd of December, when the session was opened by a speech from the throne. If we may judge from the first votes, the ministerial majority in the Chamber of Deputies promises to be still more commanding than it was before the prorogation. M. Dupin has been again elected president, by 220 votes out of 299. Lafitte, this time, had only 11 votes; and General Lafayette, who came nearest to the successful candidate, no more than 29. The three vice-presidents have, also, all been chosen from the constitutional party.

SPAIN.

THE Salic law, and the rights of succession to the throne of this country, as set forward by the rival parties of Don Carlos and the late King's daughter, having been discussed in a former number, (see *Companion*, p. 161), we need not dwell further on those subjects in describing the great historical events of the year.

When the recently-deceased king, Ferdinand VII., was restored to his throne in 1814, by the downfall of Buonaparte, Spain was not altogether the ultra-loyal and submissive country it had been for some ages. During the war, the Cortes, or National Assembly, had again met, and for some years directed the affairs of the nation—not indeed with unvarying wisdom, or with universal respect and obedience on the part of the Spanish people, but still in such a way as to revive the recollection that the country had not always acknowledged an absolute monarchy, and to suggest the hope that it might again be rendered happy by an improved constitutional form, which might limit the authority of the king (whenever he should be restored to them), without destroying it. Such were certainly the feelings of a numerous class of the Spaniards; but a still more numerous and influential class, headed by the high clergy and part of the nobility, were violently opposed to all change in the monarchical government; while a third class, infinitely less numerous, but as violent as the second, were intent on driving liberal notions to extremes. Such was the state of parties when Ferdinand was restored; and these parties, under different names, and at times slightly subdivided, have continued ever since to agitate Spain. We may simply call them Moderates, Absolutists, and Democrats. The second, of course, was that with which the king immediately came in contact, and from which he took his notions of the condition and wants of the country. These men, by holding up to view the extreme views of the ultra-liberal party *alone*, and by artfully confounding the intentions of the moderate party with them, begat a dread and detestation of all constitutional forms of government in the mind of Ferdinand, who was naturally, by education and habit, inclined to despotism.

If the moderate party had first obtained the ear of the Sovereign, or if they had been fairly represented to him, despite the despotic inclinations of Ferdinand, things might have taken a somewhat different turn; but, though moderation may triumph in time, it is a consequence of its very nature, that it should long be crushed and concealed by prominent and opposite extremes. The king could only see absolutists and democrats—and, in truth, in the san-

guinary struggles which have ensued, these two classes have had the field almost entirely to themselves.

The dissolution of the Cortes, as we have said, was followed by a succession of conspiracies and insurrections, one of the most remarkable of which was that headed by the unfortunate Porlier in 1815. They were local and wildly planned, nor was any sensible blow inflicted on the absolutists till 1820, when Riego and Quiroga, at the head of the army of Leon, which was assembled at the Isle of St. Leon, near Cadiz, to be embarked for South America, where they were to fight for the re-establishment of Ferdinand's authority, suddenly revolted and proclaimed a constitution.

This constitution was entirely in the sense of the democratic party, who, in a country where the clergy was exceedingly powerful, and the high nobility very influential, most unwisely betrayed a jealousy and hatred of priests, monks, and grandees. It obtained, however, the adhesion of many of the moderates, who hoped what they considered defective in it might be rectified by time and experience. The King was obliged to swear to it, and the Cortes were re-assembled. This experiment, however, was not destined to be a fair test of the advantages of constitutional government. The voice of the moderates was drowned in the assembly by the ultra-liberals, who had lost none of their violence; whilst, out of doors, the absolutists were as fierce as ever in the opposite extreme. The vice of these two parties made the fabric totter from its first erection, and ended by bringing it to the ground. The democrats were as much the enemies of a rational and feasible scheme of liberty as the absolutists.

The court was not, and could not be expected to be, very sincere in its professions of attachment to the new order of things; but decency and sound policy ought to have induced the party of the Cortes to treat it with respect, and not to insult it, as they soon did, with scurrilous songs, lampoons, caricatures, and vexatious and petty interferences. Such things were quite new to the Spanish *people*, the mass of which, taking in all and every part of the kingdom, had undeniably *rather* more loyalty than constitutionalism. At first they looked on with astonishment, but this soon became indignation. By degrees, insurrections broke out in various parts of the kingdom against the government of the Cortes, in the suppression of which the liberals proved that the practice of cruelty was by no means confined to the absolutists. A sort of civil war, accompanied by horrors on both sides, raged for three years. Success, however, seemed to incline to the part of the Cortes, when the French army interfered, and settled the question in favour of King Ferdinand and the absolutists. A violent re-action followed. Some of the Cortes were executed in a peculiarly barbarous manner, and innumerable Spanish exiles, beggared, and in utter destitution, were scattered over Europe. These measures could not, however, prevent further plots and conspiracies within, and descents on the coasts from without. These were all badly planned, and ended in the destruction of the imprudent men engaged in them. The most important of the descents was that made on Tarifa, in the straits of Gibraltar, in 1824, and that under General Torrijos in 1831, when recent political events in France gave fresh hopes to the constitutionalists. Meanwhile, the French army that supported Ferdinand had been entirely withdrawn; and the King, who had hitherto been without children, and had left the succession to the throne open to his brother, Don Carlos, had become the father of a daughter*, by his fourth and last wife, Donna Maria Christina, daughter of Francis I., King of the Two Sicilies, whom he had espoused on the 11th of December, 1829. This event exercised a great and immediate influence on Spanish politics. Ferdinand, in his natural anxiety to be succeeded by his own progeny, abolished the existing Salic law, which prevented females from ascending the throne of Spain. This was in 1830.

This decree incensed his brother, Don Carlos, who has rather a numerous family of sons, and has always counted, both as a right and a certainty, that the crown would devolve to him. The health of the King was precarious, and Ferdinand foresaw that his decease would leave his daughter exposed to the attacks of a formidable faction; for that infant's uncle, the said Don Carlos, had identified himself with the absolutists, and now was known to look to them for the support of his claims to the throne, while they,

on their side, relied on him for the maintenance of their favourite system of government. That party being pre-engaged and intractable, it therefore became incumbent on the King to look after the other parties, and expedient to secure the good will of the moderates, and, if possible, that of the democrats, who might rally round the widow Queen and the young infanta Donna Maria Isabella Louisa, as the absolutists were prepared to do round Don Carlos. This was to make, at once, any contention that might take place not a war of succession, but a war of political principle; and the question, whether Ferdinand's brother or daughter shall ascend the throne, now simply resolves itself into this—whether absolute or liberal principles shall obtain. To forward his views for the succession of his child, Ferdinand, as much as his disposition and habits would permit, adopted a milder plan of government. He also, on the 15th of October, 1832, eight months after the birth of his second daughter, granted an amnesty in favour of all individuals exiled or otherwise punished or pursued for political offences, excepting only such individuals as had voided in Cortes the entire subversion of the throne, or had been at the head of armed bodies against him. A few days after this (on October 23th), being obliged, by his infirmities, to renounce for a while the cares of government, he appointed the young Queen Regent. A complete change was instantly made in the ministry, and a still more liberal course of politics adopted. Meanwhile, the party of Don Carlos, or the absolutists, contrived several underplots, and even procured from the King a counter decree, annulling that published in 1830, which abolished the Salic law, and excluded his brother from the throne. Ferdinand, however, having partially renewed his health, on the 31st of December, 1832, put forth an autograph declaration, importing that this last decree, in favour of Don Carlos, had been *extorted* from him during his illness—that he hereby annulled it, and confirmed the decree of 1830, which regulated the new order of succession in favour of his daughter.

On the 4th of January, 1833, Ferdinand resumed the reins of government, thanking his queen for her management of affairs during his illness. Her majesty, however, continued to be associated with the king in the exercise of sovereign authority. A few days previously to Ferdinand's re-appearance on the theatre of government, 15,000 absolutists made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of the city of Toledo.

These proceedings, with others we have not room to detail, induced Ferdinand to promulgate two documents—one ordering his subjects to take a general oath of allegiance to his elder daughter, and the other summoning the Cortes to meet on the 20th of June. Don Carlos, who had retired with his family into Portugal in the middle of March, and was enjoying for a time the protection of Don Miguel, published on the 29th of April a declaration, stating, that with the conviction in which he remained, that he was the legitimate successor to the throne of Spain, in case the king should die without heirs male, neither his conscience nor his honour permitted him to take the oath of allegiance to the young princess.

To this declaration Ferdinand, on the 7th of May, replied, that important political reasons, law, and even the repose of the infant Don Carlos himself, interdicted his return into Spain. He was, therefore, authorized to repair with his family to Rome, or any part of the Papal states. The king also insisted that no foreign power had a right to interfere in the internal administration of Spain, or to take any note of the protest of Carlos. Eleven days after this reply, another protest, which will be noticed more particularly under the head of Italy, was made by the reigning king of the Two Sicilies, against Ferdinand's alteration of the order of succession.

In spite, however, of protests and declarations, the deputies of the provinces and cities of the kingdom of Spain met on the day appointed (the 20th of June), and in the church of Saint Jerome, at Madrid, swore, with all due formality, to be faithful to the Infanta Donna Maria Isabella Louisa, princess of Asturias, as lawful heiress of the crown. Having taken this oath, the Cortes broke up, for it had been previously provided that they should meet for this sole purpose. Don Francisco de Paulo, and the other princes of the blood, swore to the king in person. Before the swearing began, the ambassador of the king of the Two Sicilies protested against it on behalf of his master.

According to report, Ferdinand's health continued to im-

* Ferdinand's second child, also a daughter, was born on the 30th of January, 1832.

prove—in September we were assured that he was perfectly recovered,—and a few days after, certain intelligence of his death reached England. He expired on the 29th of September, within a few days of his fiftieth year. His life, almost from its very commencement, had been one of great vicissitude and constant trouble; and there are probably few among the millions of his subjects who have endured more sufferings than Ferdinand VII., King of Spain. By his last will he confirmed the decree of 1830, which abolished the Salic law, and named the queen dowager regent during the minority of his daughter. His death was not officially announced for some time, as the regent was apprehensive that the Carlists might take immediate advantage of the event. She was led to believe that Don Carlos, in person, was at the moment close to the frontier, and that, on receiving intelligence of his brother's death, he would enter Spain in arms. The situation of this princess, herself a young woman, with the mortal remains of her husband on one hand, and her helpless infant daughters on the other, must move our commiseration. In the agony of her grief and fear she addressed herself to Freire, the captain-general of Madrid, to Quesada, commander of the foot-guards, and to some others who were in the palace at the time, and asked if she could rely upon them. They gave her satisfactory assurances, and honourably kept their word. The troops which garrisoned Madrid (about 8000 strong) were placed under arms, and consigned to their respective quarters. The king's decease was then announced, but it did not disturb the peace of the capital. On the following day (September 30th) the queen, assuming the title of "Reina Gobernadora," issued three decrees, one of which confirmed the ministers in their several departments for the present.

Though her authority was recognized and maintained at Madrid, Carlist movements immediately took place in various parts of the kingdom. The great strength of this party, as was expected, proved to be in Navarre and the Biscayan provinces. The Marquis de Valdespina, a man well known for his bigotry and devotion to the pretender, entered Bilbao, at the head of a considerable body of the priesthood and peasantry, and, after massacring many of the inhabitants, proclaimed Don Carlos as king. Pampeluna showed a disposition to rise, but was kept quiet by the presence of a strong body of troops who were faithful to the queen regent. Vittoria declared for absolutism, and expelled the moderate and liberal portion of its citizens. The cry of the absolute party was, "Long live Don Carlos and the Inquisition!" Wherever they had the superiority, they stopped the diligences, forcibly extorted money from the inhabitants, and barbarously treated all who were known or suspected to be opposed to their projects. A proclamation addressed to the Spanish people, in the name of Don Carlos, calling upon them to rally round the altar and the throne, was printed and distributed in nearly every part of the kingdom. This was met by the queen regent's party, by the careful distribution of copies of her Majesty's manifesto, which explained the course of policy she intended to pursue. The altar was not to be attacked by her, but defended—the throne was not to be degraded, but maintained in its splendour—existing laws were to be respected, and no "*dangerous innovations*" admitted—the sceptre was to be transmitted by her to her daughter, for whom she held it, *without any diminution of its power*. Her object in governing would be to remedy abuses, to diminish taxes, to reconcile factions, to observe scrupulously all treaties with foreign nations, and to exact from them reciprocal fidelity.

It seems to us that there is little in this manifesto either to offend the absolutists or to please the liberals; but both parties look beyond a formal state paper. The queen, however, showed no fear of employing the constitutionalists in the contest, and even such of them as had but recently returned from exile. They were armed and united with the royal troops. They gathered in considerable strength at Tolosa and Saint Sebastian, and enthusiastically declared their adhesion to the cause of the regent and her infant daughter. At Barcelona the liberal party put down an insurrectionary movement, attempted in favour of Don Carlos by the monks, *whom they massacred in considerable numbers, and then plundered their convents*. Meanwhile, the regent was well assured of the fidelity of Saarsfield, the commander-in-chief of the army of observation on the Portuguese frontier; of Amarillas, the captain-

general of Andalusia; of Murillo, the captain-general of Galicia; and of other men in high military command. In most parts of the kingdom the provincial militia seemed also devoted to her. In Navarre, General Santos Ladron, who had excited an insurrection in that province, was soon taken by the regent's troops. He was conveyed to Pampeluna on the 13th of October. The governor of the city wished to postpone his trial until the arrival of instructions from Madrid; but *he was compelled, by the murmurs of the garrison, to assemble a court-martial forthwith, and Ladron was tried, condemned, and shot in one of the ditches of the citadel, on the morning of the 14th*.

It was necessary, however, to dispossess the Carlists of their strongholds. To this end, General Saarsfield moved upon Vittoria and Bilbao. He defeated the monk Moreno, and others, at the head of Carlist bands, and reached Miranda on the 27th of October. Don Carlos himself, who was expected in that province, was nowhere heard of. His partisans, it would appear, were unprovided with money; they were seizing property, and giving the owners bonds for its payment in his name. After some alarm, occasioned by the retreat of Saarsfield upon Burgos, and other circumstances which caused delay, the Carlists were beaten in this, the most dangerous part of the kingdom. At the present moment, it appears that they are not in possession of a single city or fortress of importance, either in the Biscayan provinces or in Navarre. We regret to add, that the success of the queen's arms has been almost invariably accompanied by great cruelty. This is at once a crime and a mistake.

Another great measure to be accomplished on the part of the queen, was to disarm the royalist volunteers in the capital, as well as in Toledo and other cities, where the absolutists were known to be numerous. To this end, the well-affected provincial volunteers were set in motion. The regent ordered that those in Madrid should be disbanded on the 27th of October. Though these royalist volunteers did not muster in any great force, they resisted the order of government, and some fighting between them and the guards and provincial militia took place in the streets of Madrid, on the 28th of October. The obstinate royalists were, however, soon defeated and deprived of their arms. Besides those who fell in the unequal contest, many of them were afterwards massacred by the populace. At Toledo, and the other places where these royalist volunteers were stationed, they gave up their arms without resistance.

From the conflict of arms, and the horrors of civil war, we turn with delight to the symptoms of improvement shown by the queen-regent's government. One of the most crying evils, under the old order of things, was an all-pervading system of privileges and monopolies, which entirely checked freedom of trade. On the 22nd of October, the Madrid Gazette contained a decree which revoked the privileges of the royal manufactory of cut-glass. This was a beginning, and was hailed as a forerunner of more important things; the preamble to the decree setting forth that it was the anxious wish of government to relieve the national industry from the shackles which had been put upon it. At the same time, a determination was intimated to attend immediately to the means of internal communication,—for, to the present time, Spain has but few roads. Again, on the 30th of October, the Madrid Gazette contained two enlightened decrees, appointing two commissions to remedy evils, and prepare future ameliorations. One of these commissions was to revise the absurd old laws which prevent Spaniards from removing their establishments from one city or town to another; thus impeding all commercial enterprise. The other commission was to remodel the laws respecting the post-office, the censorship of the press, and public education. The preamble to this second decree contains the following passage:—

"The prosperity of states being always in proportion to their knowledge, in like manner as their misery is in proportion to their ignorance; and it being impossible that knowledge can increase rapidly, unless the publication and circulation of works of science, art, and literature, be set free from the obstacles which, till the present moment, have embarrassed them;—I, being desirous to remove the impediments which obstruct the increase of that prosperity which all Spaniards are entitled to expect under the reign of my beloved daughter, Donna Isabella II., command, in her name, that a commission shall be immediately appointed, which shall be charged with the revision of all

laws and regulations relative to the press, and also with the execution of my intentions on this subject. And I name, to compose the said commission, the members of my council and chamber; Don Josef de Heria y Noriega; Don Manuel Joseph Quintana, Secretary to the Department for the Interpretation of Foreign Languages; and Father F. Joseph de la Canal, of the order of Saint Austin."

Two of the individuals thus appointed are men of distinguished merit and talent, and already in the enjoyment of an European reputation. Quintana is a poet, and esteemed alike for his writings and the persecutions he has suffered from an ignorant and blind despotism. Canal, though a monk, has also obtained great literary reputation by the publication of many excellent works; and he, too, has been the constant advocate of a more liberal system of government.

Another decree was issued, in the name of the Regent, which considerably enlarged the limits of the amnesty for political offences, and permitted many exiles, before excluded from its benefits, to return to their homes.

From all this, and from other deeds and indications, we are inclined to hope that the present government, if not obstructed by either of the two ultra factions,—the Absolutists and the Democrats,—will do much to effect the regeneration of Spain.

By his will, which named his widow Regent, Ferdinand also appointed a *consejo de gobierno*, or privy council, by whose aid she was to govern; and prescribed substitutes in case of the absence or death of any of the members of the council. The most distinguished of these statesmen, who now direct the affairs of Spain, is Don F. de Zea Bermudez.

PORTUGAL.

We refer the reader to our eighth Number for a plain exposition of the rival claims of the princes of the house of Braganza, which have caused such a protracted, ignoble, and sanguinary warfare. The same paper gives some insight into the true character of Don Miguel, and states the main events of his political life. To connect the separate parts of the drama, so as to present a brief retrospect of the whole, we must now take up the thread of Don Pedro's adventures.

Don Pedro became "Constitutional Emperor of Brazil" in May, 1822. By the death of his father, John VI., in March, 1826, he, as elder son (according to the showing of his party), "did lawfully and actually succeed to the European dominions of the house of Braganza, and was recognized as king of Portugal and the Algarves, as well as emperor of Brazil, by the members of his family, and the different states of Europe and America." Don Pedro, however, could not govern both Brazil and Portugal himself; nor was he, indeed, permitted so to do by the compact which separated the two countries. He therefore retained Brazil for himself, and renounced the crown of Portugal (which his advocates insist he could lawfully do) in favour of Donna Maria, his eldest daughter, who, to prevent any conflicting pretensions on the part of her uncle, Don Miguel, was destined to be his wife. At the same time Don Pedro granted a constitutional charter to Portugal, according to the spirit of which, his daughter and brother, when they should ascend the throne, were to govern the nation: till then, the regency at Lisbon, under his sister Donna Maria Isabella, was to continue its functions. Having solemnly sworn to observe this constitution, Don Miguel, in October, 1826, was betrothed to his niece, by procurator, at Vienna—for Miguel was at the time an exile from his own country. Contemporaneously with these proceedings, the partisans of Don Miguel—for such they were, though he solemnly and repeatedly denied all connexion with them, and affected to consider their measures with horror—took up arms against the regency and the constitution in Portugal, and were then prevented from carrying their point, or the establishment of despotism, only by the presence of a British auxiliary force sent to Lisbon by Mr. Canning.

On the 24th of September, 1828, Donna Maria, then in the twelfth year of her age, arrived in England to claim the crown, which Don Miguel had in the mean time seized as his own, on the pretence of a separate, indefeasible right, wholly independent of his marriage

with his niece, which marriage he now refused to contract. Supported by the strong party of the absolutists, he had seated himself on the throne as "absolute king;" and after a civil war, the constitutionalists or partisans of Donna Maria had been driven out of the kingdom, or thrown into dungeons. Many hundreds of these exiles, with the Marquis of Palmella at their head, welcomed her Majesty's arrival in Europe, but they were without money and other means necessary to renew the struggle in her behalf; whilst the British and other cabinets of the day, though they had not recognized Don Miguel's rights, and had grounds to be irritated at his tyrannical and duplex proceedings, showed an inclination to impede rather than promote any new expedition against him. Donna Maria was, however, received by our government with all the etiquette due to a sovereign princess, and was entertained by George IV. as queen of Portugal.

A few days after this flattering reception, one of our ships of war fired upon some vessels that had sailed from the English coast with 600 Portuguese constitutionalists, and prevented their landing at Terceira, one of the Azores, which island had been taken possession of and held in the name of the young queen.

Her Majesty's residence on this side of the Atlantic being, therefore, of no avail, she returned to her father, Don Pedro, in Brazil, in September, 1829. A revolution which deprived the father of an empire in America, allowed him to assert in person the rights of the daughter to a kingdom in Europe. The government of Don Pedro, though professedly constitutional, had not given satisfaction to the Brazilians, who, rising against his authority, induced him, on the 7th of April, 1831, to abdicate in favour of his son, Don Pedro II., and to embark with the rest of his family on board of a British ship of war. Leaving, therefore, this son, a child only five years old, to the doubtful fidelity of a regency appointed by the representatives of the Brazilian empire, the abdicator of two thrones came to Europe with Donna Maria. During the interval which had elapsed between Donna Maria's departure from, and her return to, these parts of the world, momentous events, and political changes much in her favour, had taken place. Among these we may mention the French revolution in July, 1830; the substitution of Earl Grey's ministry for that of the Duke of Wellington, in November of the same year; the birth of Ferdinand's daughter (the present queen of Spain), and consequent change in the disposition of the Spanish court; the humiliation Don Miguel had received from an English fleet in the Tagus, and the entire abandonment of Holy Alliance principles by a considerable portion of Europe.

Nor had the young queen's partisans been wholly idle or unsuccessful during her absence. The island of Terceira, the nucleus and pivot of future operations, had been kept by the brave Villa Flor, and a regency acting in her name, supported in that island. Many thousands of Portuguese—some in the Azores, some in exile, and some in dungeons, or kept down by Don Miguel's superior force in the Peninsula—were still attached to her cause. About a month after her father's abdication of the throne of Brazil, St. George, another island of the Azores, was captured by an expedition of the constitutionalists from Terceira. On the 26th of June, 1831, Don Pedro, now assuming the title of Duke of Braganza, arrived in London, and was received with every mark of respect by our king and ministers. In the course of the following month, Don Miguel was again humbled, and also severely chastised, by a French fleet in the Tagus, under Admiral Roussin. These and other circumstances exercised a moral influence unfavourable to the occupant of the Portuguese throne. In the month of August, however, when part of the troops in Lisbon rose against him, Miguel triumphed over them with ease, and killed (it is said) about 300 of the insurgents. About this time Don Pedro, having left England, met his daughter Donna Maria at Cherbourg, which French port had been selected as the rendezvous of an expedition to be formed forthwith.

On the 2nd of August, the ex-emperor with his daughter returned to London, in order to make several arrangements, and expedite a loan, which it appears could be procured only in England.

By order of our government, Donna Maria was received with the honours due to a crowned head. Having procured a small loan, and engaged the services of Captain Sartorius and Lieutenant Hodges—the one to command

the naval, and the other the military, forces of the expedition—Don Pedro and Donna Maria repaired to Paris.

Three ships were bought in London for Donna Maria, —namely, "The Congress," which had been built for the Colombian service, and pierced for 46 guns; "The Asia" (formerly the "Francis Drake"), a condemned British frigate, which had carried 42 guns; and "The Juno," a merchantman of 300 tons. These purchases were made in the name of a French merchant, and the vessels, when ready, were cleared out for a French port. At the same time houses were privately opened in London and its suburbs for the enlistment of British and Irish volunteers, to serve as sailors and soldiers in the projected expedition. Many delays ensued, in part financial, and in part caused by the necessity Don Pedro's agents and officers lay under, of deceiving the authorities of the British government, which could not countenance such an armament; but at the beginning of 1832, the ships, having on board several hundred men who had been concealed or embarked with much ingenuity, sailed for the French coast.

The place of rendezvous had been changed from Cherbourg to Belle Isle. To this spot numbers of Portuguese exiles of all classes immediately repaired, to join the "Liberating Army," which was further recruited by some French, Polish, and other adventurers. Fresh recruits also contrived to steal over from England. A steam-boat and some small armed vessels were added to the very weak squadron. Don Pedro, leaving his daughter at Paris, embarked early in February, 1832, and the expedition sailed for the Azores on the 10th of the same month. On the 22nd, Don Pedro arrived among that group of small islands, which, by this time, had all been reduced by the constitutionalists, and landed at St. Michael's. A few days after, he reached Terceira, the centre of operations, where, among other recruits, he found two hundred Portuguese, principally students from the University of Coimbra. Not long after, he was joined by five hundred Frenchmen, among whom were many old soldiers—some decorated with the cross of the legion of honour, and many more with that of the revolution of July. These men seem, at first, to have alarmed the ex-emperor, with their revolutionary songs and their strangely-mingled shouts of "Long live Don Pedro!" "Long live liberty!" "Long live Donna Maria!" "Long live fair France!" Other land forces and other ships arrived; and, on the 22nd of June, 1832, the whole, under the command of Don Pedro, sailed for the coast of Portugal. On the 8th of July, the expedition was off Villa de Conde, where it was hailed by the Portuguese inhabitants with execrations, and cries of "Long live Don Miguel, our absolute king!" Don Pedro, however, disembarked his curiously composed army between Villa de Conde and Leça, and was allowed to form it without opposition, although there was a Miguelite force of 6000 men, commanded by General Cardoza, at hand. But the sanguine hopes entertained by Don Pedro and his favourite advisers, that he had only to show himself in Portugal to gain over his brother's soldiery to his side, and to cause a general rising of the peasantry, were very soon seen to have been based on false conceptions. It is true, the Pedroites, at first, met with no resistance; but, says Mr. Hodges (at that time Colonel Hodges, and commanding the British brigade, which was the first to land and advance), every place through which we marched was utterly deserted—a bad omen, it must be acknowledged, for an army styling itself "Liberating*." The fact was, the old foes to Cortes and constitutions—the priests and friars—had carefully impressed upon the peasantry, that the invading army was entirely composed of foreign adventurers, who would pillage and burn their villages and their churches, commit all sorts of horrors, and then return to the Azores. On the morning of the 9th of July, when they were five leagues from Oporto, they learned that the Miguelites, under General Santa Martha, had abandoned that important city during the night. Don Pedro gave immediate orders to advance; and, on the afternoon of the same day, his little army, which did not exceed 6000 men, took possession of Oporto. Thus far, not a gun was fired on either side. Even in this city, which had always been considered a stronghold of constitutionalism, the reception of the "Liberating Army" was of an equivocal nature. Many of the lower orders of the inhabitants, particularly the women, assailed them with curses and terms of

mockery. The prison, which contained all those charged with political offences by Don Miguel, was immediately forced open, and its inmates released. The first life sacrificed was that of the common hangman, who resided, for safety, within this political prison; he was killed at its door, while attempting to make his escape. The mob of Oporto, on their side, attempted to force, in like manner, the common gaol, where felons of every description were confined; but they were prevented, by the timely arrival of a body of Pedroites on the scene of action. An inconceivable inactivity of many days followed. This allowed Don Miguel's forces to recover from their first panic, and to procure accurate statements of the enemy's numbers, which had been greatly exaggerated. But the weak advisers of Pedro still persuaded him that he must give time, and whole regiments would desert, and whole provinces rise, for Donna Maria and the constitution.

A few deserters, chiefly militia, amounting, altogether, to 200 men, did come over, but there was not an officer among them. As to the provinces—and even the two in their rear, which were freed from the presence of Miguelite troops—they manifested no favourable inclination to the cause. It was with great difficulty that the Pedroites procured a few horses, mules, and draught oxen. They could obtain no intelligence of the enemy's movements, whereas the Miguelites were informed of everything they did or contemplated, by priests and enthusiastic women. At last they learned, that, instead of retreating, disbanding, or revolting against their master, the Miguelites had begun to threaten the offensive,—had taken up a position a few miles from Oporto, and had moved a force on the Douro, with the intention of crossing, and menacing the rear of the Pedroites, and cutting off their supplies. On the 18th of July, when their tenure of Oporto seemed very uncertain, Captain (now Admiral) Sartorius was sent with nearly all his squadron to blockade the Tagus. Some of Pedro's counsellors felt confident, that, at the appearance of this naval force, the liberal party would rise in Lisbon, and presently place the capital under the banners of Donna Maria. As the Miguelites continued to gather round Oporto, it became necessary to do something—*reconnoissances* were made, enemies were met in the field, and blood began to flow. After some skirmishes of slight importance, an affair that merited the name of a battle took place, on the 23rd of July, at Vallongo. The British, French, and other foreigners in the service of Don Pedro, displayed great courage; but as far as the Portuguese were concerned, those in Miguel's ranks fought with the most spirit and determination. Whether regular troops, guerillas, or royalist volunteers, they all remained steady to the "Absolute" banner, while many of them fought with a most enthusiastic spirit. The combat was renewed at Ponte Ferreira, and, after considerable losses of human life on both sides, decided, by the valour of the foreigners, in favour of Pedro. No advantages, either military or political, were, however, secured by this bloodshed. The Pedroites could not move in advance; they returned to Oporto, where they were soon closely beleaguered by their enemies. The very night, indeed, after their victory, a proof was given, within that city, to what horrible extremes the Miguelite party would proceed. A convent, situated in the most populous part of the town, and which had been converted into barracks for a Pedroite regiment, who were then sleeping in it, worn out by the fatigues they had undergone, was discovered, in the dead of night, to be on fire. Flames issued simultaneously from three separate parts of the large building. There was scarcely time to give the alarm, and for the soldiers to escape, when the roof fell in with a tremendous crash. Three of the men, however, and the colours of the regiment, were buried or consumed. In the midst of the confusion, three monks were seen attempting to mingle with the crowd. One of these the furious soldiers instantly despatched; the other two were thrown into prison. It was asserted, on good grounds, during the following day, that a plot had been laid to fire *all* the convents occupied by the tired troops at the same time, and to assassinate the ex-emperor; but that it had miscarried through a want of an accurate combination of means on the part of the conspirators.

Don Pedro must have been blind, indeed, had he not perceived, by this time, that his brother's party was strong and desperate, and that the idea of his being able, by means of Donna Maria's name and the magical word "constitution," to make a triumphal march from Oporto to Lisbon, had

* Narrative of the Expedition to Portugal in 1832, &c. By G. Lloyd Hodges, Esq.

been a day-dream of the wildest nature. He was at length convinced that arms must decide the contest; but instead of attempting a bold attack, he put himself on the defensive, shut up his troops in Oporto, and employed them in digging trenches, erecting batteries, and otherwise fortifying that vast and irregular city. By this time, the slight deserting from the Miguelite camp ceased almost entirely, and whole piquets of Portuguese began to desert from Pedro to join that camp. This was leaving his cause more and more in the hands of foreigners, and it soon became evident that the Constitutionalists could not maintain themselves even at Oporto, without the valour and fidelity of the French and English troops.

On the 7th of August a sortie was made from Oporto. The Pedroites came upon the enemy near the village of Santo Redondo, and drove in their first and second positions with great gallantry. As they were advancing to attack the third position, a Portuguese regiment gave way in a panic, the troops in the rear caught the contagion, and the Pedroites made a disgraceful flight back to Oporto, being followed as far as the suburb of Villa Nova by the Miguelites.

Had the forces of Don Miguel made a bold attack on Oporto the following day, they would have taken it, so great was the discouragement and consternation that prevailed there; but though many cases of individual courage occurred on both sides, this unnatural war did not seem destined to be ennobled by any bold and grand Portuguese exploit on either side. It was to linger on in a detailed and fratricidal slaughter.

By this time the French and English at Oporto were reduced to 700 men. The Marquis of Palmella was in London, endeavouring to raise reinforcements and another loan. On the 13th of August, the squadron of Don Miguel, which had put to sea, came very near to the bar of the Douro, and would have effectually blockaded Oporto and prevented all supplies by sea, had not Sartorius—with ships very inferior in number, size, and equipment, but commanded by British officers and in great part manned with British sailors—beaten it off with loss. The Miguelite army, that ought to have moved on the 8th of August, did not make an attack until the 8th of September. They then attempted to carry the Serra convent, situated on the left bank of the Douro, but were repulsed with great slaughter. Two days after they repeated their attack on the same position, and with the same ill success.

On the 12th of September, Lieutenant-Colonel Burrell, a British officer of distinction, arrived at Oporto with eighty-six English recruits. So confined were Don Pedro's resources, that even this was considered as a most valuable accession to them. Other parties of foreigners arrived from time to time during the contest there.

On Sunday, the 16th of September, the Pedroites made a sortie to take or destroy some works erected by the enemy. This effort was crowned with complete success; and advancing to open ground against the Miguelites, who were in very superior force, the sallying party attacked them at the point of the bayonet, and drove them back with great loss. The heroes on the Constitutional side were, as usual, the British, who paid somewhat dearly for their victory. Major Staunton, a brave and accomplished young man, was shot through the spine, and died in excruciating agonies; Lieutenant Jenkins was shot through the thigh; and the loss of killed and wounded among the privates was (also as usual) about three to one as compared with that of their Portuguese allies.

At this period Sir John Campbell, an English officer, was with the Miguelites, directing their movements, and other foreigners were preparing to join that party. In this manner a sort of foreign condottiero warfare might have been established in Portugal, like that which desolated and disgraced Italy in the middle ages.

We have neither space nor inclination to detail the attacks and the defences by land, and the skirmishes by sea, which were continued month after month, with great loss of life, and with no decisive result.

On the 22nd of November, Don Pedro despatched the Marquis of Palmella, who seems to have been almost the only man of business and real talent about him, to England, where he was to try his influence once more to obtain money and military supplies, and to entreat our government to interest themselves in the way of negotiation. A favorite notion of Don Pedro's now was, that Spain might be pre-

vailed upon by France or England, or by both, to interfere in favour of Donna Maria.

It is understood that the British Cabinet replied to the Marquis that it would not interfere unless Don Pedro and his unwise and intemperate favourites would consent to withdraw from the contest, and consent to the formation of a regency, in the name of Donna Maria, to be presided over by Donna Isabella, her aunt, and formerly regent of Portugal,—that Palmella, in the full power delegated to him by Don Pedro, consented to this arrangement,—and that, chiefly to carry it into effect, and to procure the mediation of Spain, Sir Stratford Canning was despatched to the Court of Madrid,—the French Court fully concurring in all these measures. Whatever may have been the diplomatists' secrets, the subsequent evident facts were that Palmella was dismissed from Don Pedro's councils,—that his imbecile, democratic favourites were retained, though to them are attributable half of his miserable failures,—and that no mediation on the part of Spain, or any other Power, was obtained.

Left in this situation, the obstinate and sanguine Don Pedro thought he could still retrieve his fortunes by employing General Solignac, a French commander of known talent and experience, who accordingly arrived at Oporto, and was invested with the command of the "Liberating Army" on the 3rd of January, 1833. It was, however, beyond the talent of Solignac to do much with the means that were placed at his disposal, and he was constantly thwarted or hampered by the jealousy and intrigues of Don Pedro's conclave. At the same time, the ships' companies under Sartorius, who could obtain no pay, became mutinous, and dissensions broke out among the officers themselves; whilst on shore the inhabitants of Oporto (the only spot of ground in the power of the Constitutionalists) were groaning under the oppression of forced loans.

The only thing that saved them, in this state of anarchy, from destruction, was the circumstance that disorders of the same kind had arisen among the Miguelites, whose proceedings—now bombarding Oporto, and now remaining inactive for weeks—were equally unmilitary and absurd. By the inconceivable exertions of some parties interested, and by means which might be understood by a reference to our Stock Exchange, Oporto continued, however, to receive reinforcements of foreign soldiers, chiefly English and French. These men were badly fed and clothed, and worse paid; they were sometimes mutinous; yet they never failed to fight heroically whenever an attack was made by the Miguelites. Oporto must have fallen but for these mercenaries.

In April, 1833, counting troops of all arms and nations, there were about 14,000 men within the walls of the city, which was beleaguered by a force of 20,000. The Miguelites were joined by Marshal Bourmont and some other French officers, anxious for a subsistence, or for the triumph of despotic principles.

In June, Solignac, who had scarcely ever been able to make Pedro and his advisers embrace his military views, threw up his command, and returned to France. About the same time, Sartorius, who had been for months quarrelling, and at times almost in a state of declared hostility with the ex-Emperor's wavering and dishonest Cabinet, resigned the command of Donna Maria's squadron. Solignac was replaced by the Portuguese General Saldanha, and Captain Charles Napier, R.N., succeeded Sartorius. It was now, at length, resolved to convert a war of barricades and skirmishes into larger and more decisive operations.

On the 21st of June, Captain (now Admiral) Napier took on board his ships at Oporto a force of 3500 men, who were very properly placed under the command of the brave Count Villa Flor and the Marquis of Palmella. On the 24th the expedition appeared before Villa Real, in the Algarves, where a garrison of 1200 Miguelites were presently dislodged by the fire from the ships. The Pedroite troops were then landed, and in the course of the day joined by 800 Portuguese, who declared for Donna Maria. As soon as these successes were known in the interior, coupled with the very important fact, that the Miguelite force in those parts was small, and their inclination to fight smaller, all the adjacent towns sent deputations to proclaim their adhesion to the young queen. The land troops of Donna Maria were then divided into two columns, and marched through the ancient kingdom of the Algarves, which offered no resistance. Admiral Napier then sailed along the coast,

destroying a few batteries and gun-boats, and put into Lagos bay, where he was joined by a considerable body of Don Miguel's troops and of provincial militia. On the 2nd of July he sailed from Lagos; and on the 3rd he saw the Miguelite fleet, which had ventured to put to sea, heaving in sight. With a very inferior force, Napier bore up to the attack. His great hope lay in being able to bring them to close quarters and to board; and this manœuvre was most fortunately favoured by a fresh breeze which sprang up, after the steam-vessels attached to his squadron had refused to expose themselves, by towing his ships into action*. The fight was begun by a Miguelite frigate of 48 guns; and the other ships of this fleet, which was drawn up in line, poured in their broadsides as the Pedroites advanced. Not a gun was fired by Napier until he brought his own ship (an old frigate) close alongside the "Nao Rainha," a Miguelite 74, with a crew of 750 men, which he boarded sword in hand (being dressed as a common sailor), and promptly followed by such officers and men as had been appointed to this perilous service. Almost at the same instant, his son, in another frigate, ran on the lee-quarter of the "Nao Rainha," and also boarded her. The conflict was terrific; but in less than ten minutes, in the midst of the cries of the wounded and the moans of the dying, the constitutional flag was hoisted over that of Don Miguel. The rest of the Miguelite fleet were confounded and panic struck. Only one other ship was defended with any bravery, and that was soon obliged to strike. Their admiral behaved like a coward or a traitor; he kept his huge seventy-four out of action as long as he could, and surrendered to Napier after receiving one broadside. The gallant British sailor carried the whole of Miguel's fleet (except some small craft which escaped) into Lagos bay.

In the meantime, two desperate attacks had been made by the Miguelites along the whole line of the forces at Oporto; but were repulsed with prodigious slaughter. Events of importance now succeeded each other rapidly. Count Villa Flor, whom we left with the Pedroites in the Algarves, reached St. Ubes, in the neighbourhood of the Tagus, on the 22nd of August. It does not appear that he had been joined by very many Portuguese during his march; for on the following day, when he approached the southern bank of the Tagus, his force is said to have fallen short of two thousand men. With these, however, he attacked the Miguelites, who, to the number of about five thousand, had marched out from Lisbon to intercept his further progress, and beat them at every point. Telles Jordao, one of the bravest and most devoted of the Miguelite commanders, was killed in the action. The night after this defeat, the Miguelite governor of Lisbon evacuated that city, hastily retiring with about four thousand men. At the dawn of the following day, when Villa Flor's victorious troops were seen in the neighbourhood of the city, the constitutional party within rose *en masse*, broke open the prisons, and liberated five thousand persons confined in them for political offences. These men took up such arms as they could find, formed themselves into a national guard, and proclaimed Donna Maria. In the course of the same day (24th of July), Villa Flor crossed the Tagus, and entered Lisbon at the head of his little army. Donna Maria's flag was then hoisted, and afterwards the flag of England, which the Portuguese saluted with twenty-one guns. Admiral Parker's squadron in the Tagus returned the salute to her majesty's standard. The next day, Napier and his fleet, having the Marquis of Palmella on board the flag ship, came to anchor in the Tagus. Thus the capital of Portugal, twelve months after his landing on the coast, fell in to the power of Don Pedro. It was, however, constantly said by many at the time, that the brothers would only change places; that Don Miguel, who was supposed to be on the Douro, would drive Don Pedro from Oporto, and establish himself in that city. Such, indeed, was well nigh being the case. On the 25th of July, the day after Villa Flor had secured himself in Lisbon, the Miguelites,—directed, though not commanded, by Bourmont,—attempted to carry Oporto by storm. At one time a considerable body of them entered the place; but, after eight hours' hard fighting, their attempt failed, and they retreated with great loss. On the next day (the 26th of July), the news of the possession of Lisbon reached Oporto; and on

the evening of that day, Don Pedro departed for the capital. On the 28th of July, the very day on which Don Pedro made his triumphal entrance into Lisbon, another attempt was made on Oporto; but it also failed.

On the 9th of August, by the advice of Marshal Bourmont, the long siege of Oporto was raised, and the Miguelites marched by Vallongo and Coimbra towards the Tagus. Their object was now to concentrate near Lisbon; to make a desperate effort for the recovery of that city, or to beleaguer it, as they had done Oporto. The Pedroites were too sanguine in concluding that the war was at an end. Bourmont soon appeared at the head of an army almost equal to their own; and, on the 5th of September, made a vigorous attack on Lisbon, which, though repulsed, caused them great loss. On the 9th the attack was repeated with fury, when the Miguelites pushed forward as far as the Ajuda palace, which they plundered and burned. On the night of the 14th of September, Bourmont made another assault; but the works the Constitutionalists had had time to erect, added to those which already existed, proved too much for him; he was repulsed with slaughter, and a few days after left by most of the French officers who had joined the Miguelite ranks.

The young Queen, Donna Maria—who, with her mother, the Duchess of Braganza, had been for some time residing in Paris, from whence they proceeded together on a short visit to the English court—arrived at Lisbon from Plymouth on the 22nd of September. That city, however, was not yet free from the horrors of war, and scenes of bloodshed were among the first she was to witness in her dominions. On the 10th of October, when the Miguelites had finished some redoubts before Lisbon, and were on the point of planting some formidable batteries against that city, a sally was made by four strong columns, which drove them from their positions. They rallied the next day; but were again repulsed with loss. They then retreated on Santarem, followed by the Pedroites. This retreat, in a military sense, was effected in a masterly manner; but a fact of more importance to the cause of the young queen is, that from the ample means of conveyance and provisions supplied by the country people, it is evident that Miguel and the priests have still a strong hold on the affections and prejudices of the Portuguese. Santarem, the town to which the Miguelites retired, is strongly situated on a lofty hill on the right of the Tagus, at the distance of only two days' march from Lisbon. The scattered bodies of that party have since concentrated at that point, which they have also fortified, and continue to hold in great force.

On the side of Oporto the Pedroites have gained some little ground, and a few places in the provinces have declared for Donna Maria; but, on the whole, it may be said, that Don Miguel is still master of the country, and the Constitutionalists only masters of the capital, Oporto, and a few other towns. Foreign reinforcements and recruits, however, are constantly being sent out to Don Pedro, who, by their means, may dislodge his brother's army from Santarem. The protracted struggle will then, in all probability, be renewed in the very defensible country about Abrantes and Alva, and we know not when to look for its termination. In the meantime, the conduct of Don Pedro has not been better or wiser at Lisbon than at Oporto; he has shown, indeed, in Portugal, as he had already done in Brazil, that he is entirely unfit for the higher functions of government. He is not accused of cruelty, but with the exception of that vice, there seems to be little to choose between him and his brother.

The queen, Donna Maria, has been recognised by England, France, Sweden, and (a most important advantage) by the present queen-regent of Spain.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.

ALTHOUGH the past year has not seen the definitive arrangement of the long-existing differences between these two countries, it has had at least the minor advantage of witnessing the cessation of all hostilities, and the conclusion of a convention by which Holland cedes, for the time being, most of the important points at issue, and thus puts Belgium in possession of the means of a national existence. The most indispensable of such means, and without which the commerce of Belgium would be annihilated,

* They would, it seems, have performed this service had Napier engaged to pay 2000*l.* each steamer.

were the navigation of the Scheldt and the Meuse, and a free passage through the town of Maestricht, in Limbourg.

The preliminary treaty between the king of Holland on the one side, and the kings of England and France on the other, was ratified on the 21st of May. Immediately after, our embargo was taken off Dutch vessels, the Dutch garrison of the fortress of Antwerp, which had surrendered to the French at the end of 1832, was set at liberty, and the Dutch king removed every obstacle to the navigation of the two rivers. The treaty provided that the armistice between Holland and Belgium should suffer no interruption until the definitive separation and frontiers of the two countries should be fixed.

On the 7th of June following, the Belgian chamber of deputies met at Brussels, when King Leopold, in person, announced the conclusion of the convention between France, England, and Holland, which would happily permit a diminution of expenses, a partial reduction of the army, and allow him and his government to give their whole attention to the improvement of the interior of the Belgian kingdom, to the promotion of industry, commerce, &c. He was continuing with perseverance a commercial negotiation with France, and had already made favourable stipulations with the United States of America. In conclusion, King Leopold recommended to the attention of the chamber the great project of forming, by means of additional canals, a more direct communication between the sea and the Scheldt and the Meuse.

Thus far, with the exception of the resort to arms by the French at Antwerp, and the presence of an English and French united fleet on the coast of Holland, the repose of Belgium had been secured by negotiation. It would be tedious and uninteresting to detail all the labours of diplomacy and long interchanges of protocols that were resorted to before so much as this was accomplished; but to those who complain of these delays we would represent, that protocols are better instruments for adjusting quarrels than bayonets—that a prolonged, though even at times a menaced, truce is better than the daily prosecution of hostilities—that England and France had not the faculty or the right to settle everything in a summary manner—that the views of such great powers as Austria, Prussia, and Russia, however unwise or illiberal they may appear to some, are not to be treated with contempt, nor can, indeed, be so treated without endangering the peace of all Europe; and finally, that the feelings of the Dutch king and people (undeniably the party called upon to make the greatest sacrifices) are entitled to some respect and delicacy of management. In our humble opinion, those who have the least right to complain of all this are the Belgians themselves, whose success, had they been left to their own resources, would have been very doubtful, whilst the devastation of their country and incalculable injuries would have been inevitable. Belgium was in a state of complete disorganization—her army was every way inferior to that of her enemy—she had no fleet—and, at the same time, the King of Holland (not to mention other advantages) had still a strong party in his favour in the very heart of their country—at Ghent, and other large towns, whose manufactures had been established or re-created by his money, and were still supported by his capital. Even a year after the Belgians had effected their revolution, when their existence as a separate and independent nation had been recognized by the allies, and Leopold seated on their throne, they gave the most glaring proofs that they could not stand before an invading army; and French intervention alone prevented Brussels, their capital, and a great part of their country, from immediately falling into the hands of the Dutch. We therefore repeat, that the Belgians have the least right to complain, but in common with the rest of Europe, and in an infinitely greater degree, have grounds to be grateful for the long labours and exertions of the diplomatic conference established at London, even at the present incomplete stage of its operations.

It may be true that further delays have occurred since the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the 21st of May, and that the Dutch court may have shown some inclination to raise obstacles in the way of a final settlement; but the hopes of an armed support from Prussia, Austria, and Russia, (if that were ever entertained by the King of Holland,) have become almost nugatory, and the grounds of dispute between Belgium and Holland have been much narrowed. At this moment they are almost

confined to the relative proportions to be paid by the two dissevered countries in discharge of the national debt contracted while they were under one government, and to the question whether Luxembourg shall remain to the King of Holland, or be ceded, for an equivalent, to the new kingdom of Belgium.

The first of these questions (the debt) may be easily settled; but it appears to us, that the second is involved in some unavoidable difficulties which may account for, and excuse a little delay.

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, however much it may break the uniformity and destroy the frontiers of Belgium, belongs to the Dutch sovereign, or the house of Nassau, under an entirely separate title, with which the measure of the Congress at Vienna, that gave him Belgium, had nothing to do. Nor is the King of Holland the only party to be consulted in this session, or partial session:—Luxembourg, separated from Holland by the entire breadth of Belgium, forms part of the Germanic confederation, and thus renders indispensable the adhesion of that body to the measure of dismemberment and transfer now contemplated.

In the meantime, ambassadors from the courts of Austria and Prussia have taken up their residence at Brussels, and King Leopold (12th of November) has opened the session of the Belgian parliament in a satisfactory tone.

GERMANY.

THIS great country has not been the scene of any very remarkable events during the past year. Of the two influential states, Austria has been perfectly quiet, and Prussia firm and national. In the latter kingdom, the great and admirable system of national education has been further improved and consolidated; and efforts have been made to render the administration of government more economical. Except in her Rhenish provinces, the tranquillity of Prussia has not been disturbed; but in those particular provinces, as also in Wirtemberg, Bavaria, the Grand Duchy of Baden, and at Frankfort, popular commotions have prevailed, and caused some bloodshed and numerous arrests. The restlessness and discontent have been most declared in the Rhenish portion of the Bavarian kingdom. The causes of quarrel are common to all these states, and mainly relate to the liberty of the press and trial by jury. There are, however, other grounds of complaint, some of which are local, and others common to the whole German people. A sober desire for a gradual reform, except in the German states of the house of Austria, which seem scarcely to have any political feeling, is said to prevail very generally; but a party opposed to all change, and another party chiefly composed of hot-headed students, and dreaming, theoretical professors, who would change everything, and that instantly, will probably retard the march of improvement.

In the month of September, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, met at Munchengratz, in the circle of Breslaw, near the frontiers of Silesia. The chief object of this royal meeting was supposed to be, to concert measures to put a stop to the revolutionary spirit which had gained ground in some parts of Germany. No doubt the subjects discussed or contemplated by the sovereigns were numerous and important, but, as yet, no great political measure has resulted from the close congress of Munchengratz.

SWITZERLAND.

EVER since 1831, this usually peaceful and tranquil country has been in a state of ferment, not unfrequently accompanied by hostile collision, in which the hands of Swiss have been stained in Swiss blood. The most striking effect of these contests has been still further to parcel and subdivide an already too much divided country.

During the year 1833, violent disputes broke out in the small canton of Bâle, between the people of the town and the inhabitants of *Bâle Campagne*, or the country attached to that city. The ground of these disputes here, as had been the case in other parts of Switzerland, was about the proportion of representatives the subjects of the town and those of the country should each send to the legislative council. The country people, on the principle of numerical representation, insisted on having a majority; but the people

of the town, who possess nearly all the capital, pay most of the taxes, and support the public establishments, did not think proper to put themselves at the mercy of the peasantry, by sinking into a minority in the council of the state. Hostile encounters took place; many lives were absurdly sacrificed; until, at last, the Federal Diet of Switzerland, interfering a second time, decided that the canton should be divided into two separate governments—"Bâle town" and "Bâle county:" when united, the population of this miniature state was somewhat less than 50,000! During hostilities, a number of Polish refugees took an active part, and fought on the side of the country people, whose military movements they directed. Something of the same sort, and attended with a similar division of territory, has also occurred in the small canton of Schwitz.

ITALY.

THE events of Italy, during the year, have been few and unimportant. We are almost disposed to rejoice at this, for whenever this beautiful but unhappily-divided country attracts public attention in any strong degree, it is only by the exhibition of miserable folly, of miscalculated means, and of the most humiliating reverses. Every attempt that the Italians have made to secure liberty, or a constitutional form of government, has plunged them deeper than ever in the abyss of despotism, and rendered them more and more the prey—and, at the same time, the derision—of the Austrians. But not for this are the Italians to be set down as cowards and willing slaves. Those who thus rate them ought to consider the difficulties of their situation. They have first to overcome their own vicious governments, and the very worst of these native despotisms have their partisans and some strength; and, after this undertaking of doubtful success, they have to make head against one of the greatest military powers in Europe, whose disciplined legions are in possession of a large portion of the peninsula, and ever ready to march upon any other point. The failures and folly of the liberal party in Italy are attributable to a miscalculation of ways and means, to mistakes in statistics, and to their over-sanguine temperament. This highly interesting people may, at no very distant period, be favoured with other circumstances, but until those favourable circumstances do arise, it must be the wish of their best friends that they remain quiet, and no longer risk their own personal prosperity, and the very respectability of the name of liberty, in petty, local insurrections.

A conspiracy was discovered in the States of the King of Sardinia, which cost the life of Lieutenant Tola, and some other officers, who were executed on the 11th of June 1833. Our readers may be reminded that the present King of Sardinia is the Prince Carignan, who played so double a part in the revolution at Turin in 1821. At that period he not only deceived the Piemontese, but persuaded the liberal party in Lombardy, with whom he maintained a secret correspondence, that he embraced, heart and soul, the cause of constitutional government. To this duplicity many Italians owe their wretched confinement in Austrian dungeons, or the confiscation of their property, and their present condition of destitute exiles. The plot formed against him, mainly by Lieutenant Tola, does not appear to have included any but military men, who were all in his own service. If we are to believe his majesty's party, it was of the darkest character, reckoning among its resources poison and arson; whilst its success would have exposed the country to the threefold scourge of revolution, civil war, and foreign invasion.

Another conspiracy, against the life of the young King of Naples, was discovered about the same time, at the other extremity of Italy. The heroes of it were for the most part mere youths, and it was at once childish and atrocious. Here, again, it was entirely military; the chief conspirators were officers in his majesty's guards.

On the 18th of May, this young sovereign, as King of the Two Sicilies, and Prince of the Spanish branch of the Bourbons, entered a protest against the abrogation of the order of succession to the throne of Spain, as it was established by Philip V., on the 10th of March, 1712, and against the new order of succession, as fixed by Ferdinand VII., on the 20th of March, 1830; which, by abolishing the Salic law, left the Spanish crown to the infant princess Donna Maria Isabella Louisa, in contempt of the esta-

blished rights of the princes male of the dynasty. The persons the most immediately affected by this protest, are the King's own sister and niece! Maria Christina, the present Queen Regent of Spain, is full sister to Ferdinand II., the protesting sovereign of Naples.

The Grand Duchy of Tuscany has long been the best governed and the happiest state of all Italy; perhaps one of the happiest countries in Europe. The people are mild and sensible, and their present young sovereign, Leopold II., has trodden in the steps of his father and grandfather, and shewn his attention to the wants of his subjects, particularly in making roads, and generally improving the unhealthy districts called Maremme. Early in the year, however, the internal policy of the government assumed somewhat of a suspicious aspect. One of the first symptoms of this change was the suppression (in April) of the *Antologia*, a journal of literature and science which had been established at Florence for twelve years, and conducted with much talent and freedom. In September rumours were abroad of a conspiracy against the state, and several arrests took place, simultaneously and by night, at Florence, Pistoja, Sienna, Pisa, and Leghorn. The persons arrested were chiefly lawyers.

At the end of August some curious and unexpected occurrences took place in the Duchy of Lucca. Like all the other petty states in Italy, this had had its secret societies and its aspirants after liberty. About twenty individuals, who had made themselves objects of suspicion to the police, chose voluntary exile in preference to the risk of long imprisonment or death. Strict investigations were then made to discover such citizens as professed liberal doctrines; and the ministers determined, in full council, to erect an inquisitorial tribunal like that which formerly existed in Venice. It was even asserted that they had written to Rome for headsmen to execute the sentences of death this court was to pronounce. The reigning duke of this miniature state had hitherto made himself remarkable by his timidity, by a childishness of conduct that sometimes approached imbecility, and by his frequent and long absences from his duchy. He was, indeed, absent in Germany when the above-mentioned violent proceedings took place; but returning homewards, on reaching Milan the resolution of the Council of State was presented to him, and he was urged to give it his sanction, and to leave Italy again—as there was a conspiracy against his life. To the surprise of his ministers, and indeed of every one, instead of recrossing the Alps, he determined to throw himself among his subjects; and setting out that very night from Milan, he reached a country palace, not far from the city of Lucca, on the night of the 25th of August. On the following day, the authors of the decree for the erection of the political inquisition waited upon him, and again urged him to sanction it. The duke dismissed them with a look of scorn and indignation, and immediately after granted a general amnesty for political offenders. He then removed from his councils the more obnoxious of the ministers, and assured his subjects that he had resolved on a general reform in the administration.

In consequence of these unexpected changes, the greatest joy prevailed; the city and the villages round Lucca were illuminated; and when the duke came from his country-seat to the theatre, on the evening of the 31st of August, he was received with enthusiasm. During the performance, which was frequently interrupted by acclamations, a great number of sonnets, (those never-failing poetical tributes on all grand occasions of joy or grief in Italy,) were thrown from the boxes and galleries; and one of them, with two beautiful wreaths of flowers, was presented to the duke in his box by two ladies—the wife and near female relative of one of the now pardoned exiles.

An attempt has been made in the course of the year, to form a confederation of all the sovereign princes of Italy, and it is said that the Pope, who had long stood out, has at last consented to join it. The scheme will now, therefore, probably be carried into effect.

The French, who took possession of Ancona, in the Roman States, in the beginning of 1832, in consequence of the second appearance of the troops of Austria in the papal legations, still retain that important city, while the Austrians still occupy parts of the legations.

In the course of the year the Pope has contracted a second loan with Rothschild, and has taken into pay an additional number of Swiss troops. The whole of the Swiss

force now in the states of the church amounts to between four and five thousand. Native troops have also been organized to a considerable extent.

RUSSIA AND POLAND.

It is now scarcely necessary to give these two countries a separate consideration, nor have we any marking events to relate of either of them. The great operations of Russia in 1833 were those connected with Sultan Mahmoud; and they have already been sketched under the head of "Turkey." With the exception of some trifling and unsuccessful conspiracies on the frontiers of Lithuania, Poland has been quiet, and paying the sad penalty of her unfortunate revolution of 1836.

At the beginning of 1833, an official article appeared in the *St. Petersburg Gazette*, contradicting the charges brought against the Russian government by the French and English journals relative to its treatment of Poland. It denied the transporting of the inhabitants of Wilna and adjacent provinces to the Ukraine,—the sending of 40,000 Polish landowners to the Caucasus, &c.,—and generally insisted that the conduct of that government had not been cruel and tyrannical. One thing was clearly proved by this document, *i. e.*, that the Emperor Nicholas was smarting under the inflictions of the liberal press of Europe.

On the 12th of February, 1833, the emperor issued a manifesto, having for its object the publication of a code, to contain a complete collection of all the laws and regulations of the empire, from 1649 to December 31, 1831 (new style, 12th of January, 1832). This code, which is yet to be finished, is to have the force of law, dating from the 1st (13th) of January, 1835.

In the course of the summer, the emperor published two other decrees—the one, apparently having for its object, to circumscribe the use of the Polish language; the other, the making all political offences subject to the jurisdiction of courts-martial.

In another state document the emperor replied to those who accused him of violating the treaty of Vienna in regard to Poland. After implying that he had been released from the obligations of that treaty by the insurrection of the Poles, he went on to state, that, spite of that unfortunate event, he still recognised the separate existence of Poland as a nation, and quoted, among others, the following arrangements which had been made in her favour.

The organic statute of the 26th of February, 1832 (Art. 1 and 16), establishes there a separate administration; and the act of congress promised the country a popular administration and national institutions—accordingly, Art. 1, 34, 47, 53, of the same organic statute, establish assemblies of the nobility, commercial assemblies, and provincial estates, with a deliberative voice on matters of general import; and the use of the national language in the public acts of the administration is retained. This statute also guarantees the right of private as well as commercial property (Art. 14); the national debt of the kingdom of Poland (Art. 17); individual liberty (Art. 8); the special administration of the Polish finances (Art. 16); the municipal constitutions of the towns and communes (Art. 1); the principle that every person, without exception or difference of rank or birth, is qualified for public offices; that it is left to the assemblies of the nobles and communes to choose the judges, and to make out the lists of candidates for other public offices (Art. 48); lastly, the endowment of the Catholic as well as of the Greek united clergy (Art. 6).

One of the most remarkable facts connected with the public proceedings of the Russian emperor, is his persisting to refuse receiving Sir Stratford Canning as British ambassador at his court. As a matter of courtesy, it is usual for one government to signify to another who is the personage selected to be its representative at the foreign court; but it is almost unprecedented for any refusal or objection to be made to the individual chosen by his own court. Indeed, between friendly powers, nothing but a notoriously flagitious moral character in the minister or ambassador appointed is considered sufficient ground for rejection. In spite, however, of this established and essentially necessary usage, the Emperor Nicholas peremptorily refuses to receive Sir Stratford, (who has now had the King of England's credentials in his portfolio for many months,) or to assign any motive for such an insulting and novel proceeding.

TURKEY.

THE end of last year saw this once formidable power reduced to a lamentable state of weakness and degradation. The army of a rebel vassal, that had advanced from Egypt and Syria, had conquered the greater part of her Asiatic dominions, and was within a few days' march of her capital, where the greatest despondence prevailed. In a former number of the *Companion* (see p. 83) are recorded the taking of St. Jean d'Acre, on May 27th, 1832, by Ibrahim Pasha, and the subsequent victory obtained by the Egyptians over the forces of the Sultan in Syria, which was followed by the entire submission of that country to the Pasha of Egypt, and the rapid advance of Ibrahim into Asia Minor. In the same paper are offered some explanations as to the relative strength of the Sultan and the Pasha, and the causes that facilitated the success of the Egyptians. We may now bestow a few remarks on the history and character of Sultan Mahmoud, and the causes of his misfortunes. His life has been an extraordinary one. From the moment that he was drawn from beneath a bundle of mats and carpets (where an affectionate servant had concealed him from the fury of his brother, the Sultan Mustapha) to ascend the throne of the Ottoman empire (in 1808), down to his recent sacrifice of the little remaining dignity of that throne, his days have been spent in wars, turmoils, and plots. We cannot here examine his contests with Russia, or the results of the war of Greek independence, by which he was so much crippled. The great event of his reign has been the suppression, or, we might say, the destruction, of the Janissaries, which was prepared and effected with infinite craft. Judging of Mahmoud from this fact alone, people have been led to entertain an extraordinary idea of his talent and determination. Before this measure was effected he had disposed of the Ayans, or feudal lords of the empire; since, he has shown an inclination to interfere with the municipal system of the empire, and the *vakouf*, or fundamental law, by which property is secured when attached to the mosques, and placed under the protection of the oulemas, or doctors of law and religion. Each of these measures (to say nothing of many minor ones) raised against him hosts of declared or secret enemies—a fact that goes far to account for the state of helplessness in which he has been left. As compared with Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, Mahmoud began his reforms too late and hurried them on too rapidly, and that also with a people much less tractable than the Egyptians. Many persons well acquainted with the Ottoman empire foresaw nothing less than destruction in the attack upon it by the Pasha. From information, received on the 10th of October, 1832, that the Pasha of Egypt had opened negotiations with the Sultan, it was hoped, however, that the conquering army would forego the advantages they had obtained in Asia Minor, and that peace would be restored. The Sultan, on consideration, would not agree to the terms proposed by his vassal; and the Egyptian forces, under Ibrahim Pasha, having continued their advance, were met, on the 21st of December, in the neighbourhood of Konieh (the ancient Iconium) by the Sultan's main army, commanded by the grand vizier, Reschid Pasha. A sanguinary engagement took place, which ended in the total defeat of the grand visier, who, moreover, was taken prisoner by the Egyptians. This victory of the Egyptians may be said to have laid at the feet of the conqueror the whole of Asia Minor, where there no longer remained any means of defence, and where the mass of even the Osmanly, or Turkish population, was indifferent to the contest or prepossessed in favour of Ibrahim Pasha. Smyrna, which is perhaps, in importance, the second city in the Ottoman empire, and Magnesia, a very considerable city, submitted at the summons of an Egyptian officer accompanied by a handful of men. Meanwhile, Ibrahim marched forward to Kutaiah, whence he threatened Brusa and Constantinople itself. At this crisis Sultan Mahmoud took the extraordinary resolution of applying for immediate aid to his recent and most dangerous enemy—the Emperor of Russia. This prayer was joyfully granted by the Russian Court, which sent orders that an auxiliary naval and military force should be instantly prepared on the Black Sea. Some delays were occasioned by the extreme severity of the weather, and the faulty state of the emperor's dockyards and arsenals; but, by the 20th of February, a Russian squadron anchored in the Bosphorus at Buyukderé, about nine miles

above Constantinople. Previously to this arrival, the intentions of the sultan, and the dangerous alliance he contemplated, had become known to the other great European Powers, and France had despatched an ambassador to Constantinople, Admiral Roussin, who was to labour in order to prevent Mahmoud from throwing himself into the arms of the Emperor Nicholas, and to procure a peace with Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, without the intervention of Russian arms. Admiral Roussin proposed to the sultan, as an alternative, the immediate departure of the French embassy, or his (the sultan's) acceptance of the guarantee of France, that the Pasha of Egypt would be satisfied with reasonable terms of reconciliation to be offered him on the part of the Porte, and at the same time the renunciation of all Russian aid. The Sultan felt the weight of the arguments adduced, and his Reis Effendi, or Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to stop the advance of the Russian army. The Czar's squadron was, however, already beating down the Black Sea, and three days after the arrival of the French admiral and ambassador, it took up its position near the Turkish capital. The Porte was thus placed in an awkward dilemma; but on the 21st of February, the day after the Russian ships had anchored, the Reis Effendi gave in a declaration to Admiral Roussin, formally signifying that the Porte accepted the mediation of France, and would renounce the alliance with Russia, on condition that the said mediation should bring the Pasha of Egypt to the terms proposed by the Sultan. This declaration was followed up, on the 23rd of February, by a note from the Reis Effendi to the Russian Legation at Constantinople, expressive of the Sultan's gratitude for the prompt assistance of the Czar, by means of which the affairs of Egypt were on the point of being brought to a satisfactory conclusion through the medium of the ambassador of France, for whose satisfaction the Porte had announced that the Russian fleet would quit the Bosphorus at the first favourable wind! This note was returned on the following day by the Russian ambassador, who represented to the Reis Effendi, that, in whatever concerned the friendly relations between Russia and the Porte, no foreign influence could be admitted.

The Russian fleet remained; and as the terms offered by the Sultan through the medium of the French diplomatist, in conjunction with the ambassadors of England and Austria, did not include the cession of the districts of Tarsus and Adana, the point at which former negotiations for peace had miscarried, Ibrahim Pasha refused to withdraw his army from Asia Minor; and on the 8th of March the Pasha of Egypt formally rejected the treaty as proposed by the French mediator, who, in his turn, was placed in an embarrassing position, as he had failed in what he had undertaken to accomplish.

The Sultan, whose infirmity of purpose in these difficult circumstances is but too apparent, now found a fresh pretext for demanding those auxiliary forces, which Russia was even more eager to grant than he was to implore. On the 16th of March a large body of Russian troops crossed the Pruth, and advanced towards the Turkish frontier; and on the 5th of April a second Russian squadron, having on board 5000 land troops, cast anchor in the Bosphorus. Before the arrival of these ships, however, the Sultan had again changed his mind, and agreed to purchase peace by the cession of Tarsus and Adana to Egypt. Despatches to this effect had reached both Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim, and the Pasha and his successful general equally believed that peace was secured. Most unwisely elated by the presence of his auxiliaries, the wavering Mahmoud changed his purpose once more, and disavowed the proposals for giving up Adana. The arrival of a third Russian armament for awhile confirmed him in his last resolution, and the aspect of things seemed to indicate that the Emperor of Russia was to settle the affairs of the East in his own way, and with his own bayonets. But again the Sultan wavered. The diplomacy of all Europe beset the Divan,—their united voices warned him against his suspicious ally,—and at last, on the 4th of May, he consented to cede all the territories and districts demanded by the Pasha of Egypt. On the very same terms he might have obtained peace months before, and without bringing Russian fleets and armies to his capital.

A firman of peace and reconciliation was published on the 6th of May; and, on the 24th, Ibrahim Pasha evacuated Kuttaiah, and began to withdraw his troops from Asia Minor. From the results of this war, Mehemet Ali, the Pasha

of Egypt, has become incomparably a more powerful monarch than Sultan Mahmoud. He is now left in undisputed possession of Egypt, the fine island of Candia (Crete), the Holy Land, and all the country of the Levant, from the confines of Asia Minor to the mouths of the Nile; and by these means, not only secured in an admirable frontier easily defended against the Turks, but enriched by the accession of some of the finest sea-ports in the world. In some of the districts—and particularly in that of Adana, which was so long the stumbling-block in the path of negotiation—he has made himself sure of an invaluable supply of forest-timber, fit for the purposes of his growing navy.

Mehemet Ali has also shown a disposition for the immediate improvement of these territories—having employed several foreign engineers, among whom are two Englishmen, to survey the coasts and the interior of the country, with a view of facilitating communication by roads and canals, for the purposes of commerce. At the same time, he has begun to strengthen the important passes of Mount Taurus with a succession of forts.

The Russian forces collected round Constantinople, were not withdrawn so soon as some of the European Powers expected or desired. At first, it was said that their retirement would not be consistent with the interest of the Sultan, until Ibrahim Pasha's army should have recrossed Mount Taurus; but the Russians lingered after that event had taken place. Meanwhile, the naval forces of England and France, in the Mediterranean, combined and cruized off the Turkish coast. At last, on the 11th of July, the Russian fleet and army sailed from the Bosphorus.

A treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the Emperor Nicholas and Sultan Mahmoud, which, it is said, is to last eight years, at the end of which it is to expire, unless renewed by mutual consent. The particulars of this treaty are not yet known; the ostensible facts are, that Russia retains possession of the principalities of Wallacia and Moldavia, as security for the payments of the debt owing by Turkey; that the Emperor has erected himself the "Protector" of the Sultan's Servian subjects; and that the Sultan has become wholly subservient to Russian influence.

The proceedings of Mahmoud had excited the indignation of the Turks. Immediately after the departure of the Russian forces, a conspiracy against him was formed, but discovered. Early in August, threatening notices were posted up in various parts of Constantinople, and fires expected. On August 30th, about one o'clock in the afternoon, it became evident that these threats had been carried into execution. A large wooden edifice, called the Gun Manufactory, was observed to be in flames; and, as the wind blew freshly from the north, the fire spread with fearful rapidity. In the course of that day, and the following night, about one-fourth of the city was consumed. At the same time, great discontents prevailed in the Asiatic provinces; and in the European, the Bosniaks and a portion of the Albanians seemed again disposed for insurrection.

GREECE.

THE Greeks, who began their revolution to free themselves from Turkish oppression in 1820, were, unfortunately, too long left to themselves, and to the demoralizing effects of a sanguinary warfare, party intrigue, and want, that amounted in many instances to absolute starvation. It would be difficult to state the precise point at which the interference of the Christian nations of Europe would have been justifiable; but it seems to us to have been at the period previous to the Egyptian expedition to the Morea. At that time the Greeks had expelled the Turks, and were in actual possession of the best part of their country; and humanity might have interdicted the Sultan's making fresh efforts after so many had failed, or renewing a war of extermination. It is true the Greeks had already suffered prodigiously, and also shown much fickleness and insane dissensions among themselves; but anarchy had not yet become a confirmed habit, nor had the people been driven, by extremity of suffering, to piracy and frenzy.

But the intervention which would have been so opportune in 1823, was delayed till 1827. Ibrahim Pasha, who has so recently humbled his sovereign to the dust, was permitted to land his Arabs and Egyptians in Greece, and to prosecute the war for the Sultan, which he did with as much success as cruelty. His disciplined forces nearly everywhere

obtained advantages over the irregular troops of the Greeks; town after town, and district after district were reconquered; and, in 1827, when England, France, and Russia, *at last*, resolved to interfere actively, Ibrahim was master of the greater part of Greece, and the remnant of the Christian population, cooped up in islands and corners, without the means of subsistence, were impressed with the sad conviction, that there was no pity or aid for them—that Christian Europe had abandoned them, with their wives and their children, to the Mahometan yataghan, or to slavery in Egypt. In the interim, the most patriotic and best-informed of the Greeks perished in battle, and numbers of the survivors had recourse to piracy. This they did at first through want and rage, at seeing ships of certain European powers covering, with their flags, not only Turkish property, but warlike stores, destined for Ibrahim Pasha; but the spirit of plunder is infectious, particularly among a semi-barbarous people, such as the Greeks undeniably are; and, by degrees, they plundered vessels of all nations indiscriminately, and pursued their depredations when they could no longer plead starvation in extenuation of theft. During the greater part of the years 1826 and 1827, no unarmed merchant vessel, unprotected by convoy, could pass up or down the Archipelago, without the certainty of being boarded by mysticoes or cruizers. Though these pirate crews were sometimes taken by European men-of-war, so many difficulties were involved in their trial, that they almost invariably escaped with impunity. These circumstances produced the very worst of effects on the character of the Greek people, who thus became *accustomed* to a lawless life; and their long duration greatly increased the after task of civilizing them, and reducing them to social order.

When the battle of Navarino was fought, in October, 1827, and when Ibrahim Pacha was constrained to abandon the soil of Greece, these acts of piracy, indeed, became less frequent, and soon ceased almost entirely; but the morals of the men who had been engaged in them were degraded, and these Greeks carried to shore the turbulent, restless, dishonest spirit they had contracted on the seas.

The best of the Greeks, as we have said, had perished. The Capitani, who remained with their fierce though diminished bands, could set no bounds to their claims or pretensions—the extravagance of which was, however, equalled by almost every Greek, who, whether in a civil or military capacity, had taken part in the work of the revolution. All wanted places of power, lands, money—and there was little of either of these to bestow.

The smell of the gunpowder of the allies which had rescued them from utter ruin, was scarcely dissipated from the bay of Navarino, ere these Greeks were ready to cut each other's throats; and a minutely-divided civil war, or a conflict of partisans with partisans, was only prevented by the arrival of Count Capo d'Istria, with a considerable sum of money, and the residence of a French army. But still the Greeks, naturally a volatile and wavering people, and with these vices of their disposition increased by recent events, were, unfortunately, and most imprudently, left in a state at which positively nothing was settled. Capo d'Istria was not to be their permanent ruler, and they could not respect an authority that might pass away with the morrow. Even the frontiers of the country they were to occupy were not decided for a long time; and when, in consequence of the death of Mr. Canning and subsequent changes in the British ministry, it was left to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen to settle that point, the line of demarcation they fixed was every way so faulty—leaving the new state open to Turkish inroad, and curtailing its fair proportions—that it filled the Greeks with astonishment and indignation.

Then, again, the splendid hopes that had rested on having Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg for their king, with his English alliances and his English wealth, of which they entertained the most extravagant notions, all fell to the ground; for that personage wisely refused to accept a kingdom cut down by the diplomatic scissors of Lord Aberdeen. This event was very fatal to the peace of the Greeks; who, soon after it was known, began to cabal against Capo d'Istria. We do not believe one half of the charges made against that president; yet we have grounds for asserting that his mode of governing was in many respects unwise, and ill suited to obtain that popularity of which he stood in need. The unfortunate count proceeded to suppress these parties with a strong hand; and, in so doing, he arrested

and threw into prison the Mainote chief, Mavromichaelis. Shortly after, on the 9th of October, 1831, while on his way to attend divine service, he was removed from the cares of life and government by the murderous hands of Mavromichaelis's son and brother. A civil war ensued, which was waged by two legislative assemblies, each pretending to supreme authority. This execrable effusion of blood was checked by the presence of some French troops, and the earnest representations of foreign consuls and envoys. Still, however, the frontiers, and the form of government to be prescribed, were undetermined. At times, the crown of Greece seemed to be sent begging through the courts of Europe for a prince to wear it; at others, a republic, or the division of the country into a multiplicity of republics, after the fashion of their ancestors, was talked of. Finally, one of these capital difficulties, which had caused so much strife and crime, was settled. His majesty's present Cabinet despatched Sir Stratford Canning to Constantinople, towards the end of 1831, and by June in the following year (the length of the time will astonish no one acquainted with the dogged obstinacy and dilatory proceedings of Turkish diplomacy), that able ambassador succeeded in procuring the Sultan's adhesion to extended limits and a proper frontier for Greece. It is painful to reflect, that Sir Stratford had insisted on precisely the same frontier, and had obtained the assent of the Porte to its being established, as far back as 1828. Lord Aberdeen, and his colleagues in office, chose to return to the Sultan what he was ready to resign.

By the successful mission of Sir Stratford Canning, the settlement of the business was greatly facilitated; the second capital difficulty being but a consequence of the first. The plan so long contemplated, and so absurdly retarded in execution, was now acted upon.

As the best mode of restoring order to this unhappy country, it was resolved by the great courts which took an interest in its fate, to erect Greece into an hereditary kingdom, and to place a prince of one of the royal houses of Europe on the throne. Their choice fell upon Otho, the second son of the King of Bavaria; and this meeting the approbation of the provisional government of the country, he was formally elected by the National Assembly, on the 8th of August, 1832, as King of Greece. Three Greek deputies were despatched to the Bavarian court, to notify his election, and to solicit that the prince might immediately repair to take possession of his kingdom. The necessity of some fixed and strong government was, indeed, becoming more and more evident. On the 21st of August, the soldiers of Chrysotis, one of the turbulent capitani, forcibly entered the hall of the National Assembly, and carried off nine of its members, to be kept as security for the payment of their arrears.

As Prince Otho was little more than seventeen years of age, having been born on the 1st of June 1815, it was agreed that, during his minority, the sovereign authority should be confided to a regency, composed of the Count of Armansperg and Messrs. Lewis de Maurer, Charles Heideck, and Charles Abel: the count was to act as president. It was further agreed, that a loan should be raised for the young king, and guaranteed by England and France. A formal treaty of alliance between the King of Bavaria, and his son, as King of Greece, was drawn up; and on the 6th of December, 1832, Otho took his departure from Munich. He arrived at Napoli di Romania on the 31st of January 1833, and was, to all appearance, received with great joy. An attempt was made at a sort of triumphant or solemn entrance; but the Greeks had not even a tolerably decent house in which to lodge their young sovereign.

A Greek ministry was formed. The well-known Tricoupi, a man of integrity and talent, was its president, and at the same time minister of foreign affairs and of the commercial navy; Rizo, a man of considerable literary attainments, and of some experience, had the direction of religion and public instruction; one of the Mavrocordatos was charged with the finances; and the other departments were allotted to Greeks of good reputation.

The first important step taken by the government of Otho, was to establish three courts of justice; one at Napoli di Romania, the second at Messolonghi, and the third at Thebes: each of these tribunals had a Greek president. The authority of the state was supported by a body of German soldiers, by the troops of some of the *Capitani*, and by other natives who were inclined to the service. The latter classes were gradually organized and instructed in

European tactics. Efforts were also made to put a few ships of war in a state of efficiency.

The aspect of affairs was, for some months, flatteringly tranquil; and at the beginning of August, the residue of the French forces, consisting of about twelve hundred men, and who alone had preserved the country from a state of perfect anarchy, during the period which elapsed between the assassination of Count Capo d'Istria and the arrival of Otho, embarked and sailed for France. Previously to this, the new regency and ministry had decided on the important measure, that the church government of free Greece should be entirely separated from that of the Greek church in the Sultan's dominions, and rendered independent of the patriarch who resides at Constantinople. The kingdom of Greece was to have a separate head of its own church, as is the case with her co-religionist, Russia. Though this measure has been made a ground of complaint by some of the caballing primates, it seems to have satisfied the majority of the Greek people, who saw the impropriety of maintaining a spiritual subordination to a subject of the Sultan, which the patriarch at the Turkish capital is, to all intents and purposes. Meanwhile, with the return of tranquillity, commerce had considerably revived; and the revenue derived from the customs had, in several of the ports (among which was that of Syra), increased nearly threefold. With the consequent increase of their comforts, the people had become more settled and easy to govern.

In the midst of these peaceful and promising circumstances, a formidable conspiracy, whose success would have instantly destroyed them, and thrown Greece into an infinitely worse state of anarchy than ever, was discovered in the month of October. At the head of this conspiracy was the fierce old chieftain, Colocotroni. Fifteen other individuals, among whom, it is said, was one of the three deputies who went to Munich to invite Otho to Greece, were implicated. The plot was fortunately discovered in time. The conspirators were arrested, and secured in the citadel of Napoli di Romania, where, from their own depositions, Colocotroni and Violiopolis were convicted of high treason. Other turbulent capitani and intriguing primates in the Morea were suspected; but throughout the country the people remained perfectly quiet, making no attempt to release or assist their chiefs. The young king, almost immediately after, set out on a tour through his dominions, to give his subjects a proof of his confidence in them. About the same time, the regency decreed the opening of roads in several parts of the kingdom, which has been for many centuries lamentably deficient in such means of communication. Those were to be commenced first which established a direct communication between the interior and the ports and harbours of the country.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In a former Number (see *Companion*, p. 11) will be found a general statement of the grounds of the dispute respecting the tariff, which agitated the United States at the beginning of this year. The tariff, imposing heavy duties upon various articles of foreign manufacture, was first enacted by Congress in 1828; and it has ever since formed a source of contention and embittered feeling between the two great divisions of the Republic. The Northern States, where a good deal of capital has of late been invested in attempts to establish domestic manufactures, have, of course, done their utmost to maintain the system of protection; while the Southern States, which are wholly agricultural, and the inhabitants of which are the buyers, and not the producers, of manufactured goods, have not unnaturally exclaimed against a law, the tendency of which is, both to force them to make their purchases in the dearest market, and, at the same time, to deprive them of the most profitable market in which to make their sales. For there can be no doubt that, to the same degree in which the tariff prevented them from buying articles of foreign manufacture, it went to exclude their agricultural produce from foreign countries. In his message to Congress in December, 1831, President Jackson urged upon the legislature the reconsideration of this system; and the subject was accordingly referred, by the House of Representatives, to a select committee. The committee reported against any alteration of the duties; but their report was immediately replied to by another, issued by a convention of delegates from fifteen of the Southern States. In the course of the following year, a

slight relaxation of the tariff was conceded to the determined and growing opposition with which it was assailed; but the relief was too insignificant to have any effect in allaying the dissatisfaction. Nothing more, however, could be obtained from Congress before its adjournment in the end of July.

In these circumstances the most violent opponents of the tariff determined to assume a new attitude in advancing to the next parliamentary campaign. In the beginning of November, a convention was held at Columbia, consisting of delegates from all parts of South Carolina; and by this assembly an ordinance was forthwith issued, in which the tariff was boldly declared to be, in so far as regarded that state, null and void; and intimation was given, that from and after the 1st of February ensuing, all persons holding office in the state should be required to take an oath that they would support this declaration. So decided a step could only have been taken in a perfect assurance on the part of its authors that the public feeling was with them. Before the end of the same month, accordingly, the legislature of the state had formally sanctioned and legalized the ordinance of the nullifiers. An act was also passed for the organization of a military force to carry it into effect.

Matters were in this state when Congress re-assembled on the 4th of December. General Jackson, who, after the expiration of his first term of four years, had been a second time elected to the presidency, again adverted, in his message, to the subject of the tariff, the unhappy cause of all this dissension, and pressed upon the legislature, at great length, the adoption of a more liberal policy. A few days after, he addressed a long proclamation to the people of South Carolina, in which he pointed out to them the destructive tendency of the course they had entered upon, and did not affect to disguise the necessity under which he would be laid, should they actually proceed to resist the laws, of compelling their obedience by all the means at the command of the union. In a second message to Congress, on the 5th of January, 1833, he combated the arguments of a manifesto, which had been a short time before issued in defence of their proceedings by the South Carolinian legislature, and pointed, still more distinctly than he had done in his proclamation, to the necessity that might arise of a resort to arms.

At this stage the affair certainly wore an aspect not a little alarming; and there was reason to apprehend that a crisis was fast approaching by much the most perilous that the Republic had yet experienced. To judge by the heat and violence displayed by both parties—by the Carolinians on the one side, and the people of the different northern states at their public meetings on the other—the two parts of the country seemed to be ready for a civil war.

The government, meanwhile, took its measures in the spirit of the president's messages, and introduced into the legislature two bills, one having for its object to remedy, as far as possible, what was acknowledged to be a just cause of complaint, and the other to provide the necessary means of vindicating the authority of the law, and putting down the resistance with which it was threatened. By the former of these two bills very considerable immediate reductions were made in the protecting duties, and it was provided that they should be gradually still further reduced until they should be brought down to the amount fairly exigible for purposes of revenue. This proposal at once obtained the assent of the representatives of South Carolina and the other southern states; but the bill was vigorously opposed, at every stage of its passage through the two Houses, by those from the other division of the union. The measure of coercion, on the other hand, was as obstinately resisted from the opposite quarter. In this way it was near the end of March before either bill was finally disposed of. However, they both passed, and even by majorities that were not inconsiderable, though very differently composed in the two cases. From a statement which was given in the public papers, it appears that in the division on the bill for the reduction of the tariff, the representatives of the New England and the Middle States (reckoning those of both Houses together) stood Ayes 42, and Noes 86; while those of the Southern and Western States stood Ayes 104, Noes 14. From the Southern States alone, indeed, there were 67 votes for, and only 1 against the bill: it passed by a majority of 152 to 100. In the case of the Enforcing Bill, as it was called, on the contrary, the New England and Middle States' representatives were 107 to 8

for it; while 33 of those from the Southern, and 7 of those from the Western States, voted against it. Sixty-five members of these two latter classes, however, voted in its favour; and the numbers in all, therefore, were 172 for, and 48 against it.

In this way the difference was composed, at least for the present. The South Carolina convention, which, as having taken the lead in the business, naturally considered itself entitled to the honour of concluding it, immediately published an ordinance, declaring their former act of nullification, and all the other acts passed in pursuance thereof, to be henceforth of no force or effect. They had every reason, certainly, to congratulate themselves on a great victory. On the other side, of course, the satisfaction could not be quite so complete; but still there is not much reason to apprehend that the defeated party will be able at any future time to regain the ground they have been driven from on this occasion, or that the subject will give rise to any further danger or disturbance.

Another curious transaction has a little ruffled the usual smooth current of public affairs, and produced a considerable sensation throughout the union, within the last few months—we allude to the extraordinary procedure of President Jackson in removing the government deposits from the bank of the United States. The quarrel of the president with this establishment is of some standing. The bank was first chartered in 1816, and has ever since been considered—as much as the Bank of England is in this country—a national establishment. When the proprietors, however, applied in the beginning of the year 1832 for a renewal of their charter, which had been granted only for a period of twenty years, although a bill for the renewal passed both the Senate and the House of Representatives, the president refused to give it his assent. The principal reason which he alleged in justification of this exercise of his prerogative, appears to have been, that the bank had, by bribing editors of newspapers and other persons, and by exerting its influence in a variety of ways, laid a scheme for defeating him at the approaching election. Having gained his election, he would seem not to have abandoned his resentment. About the middle of September last, he took the step we have mentioned above, on his own responsibility, and even in opposition to the advice of the Secretary of the Treasury, who wished him at least to wait till the meeting of Congress, in the beginning of December. He soon after published a long exposition of his reasons for acting as he had done; but he does not state what is generally believed to have been his true motive. The deposits which have been withdrawn from the national bank have been distributed among the different state banks; and General Jackson, on the occasion of his late re-election to the presidency, is said to have been as actively supported by the latter establishments as he was opposed by the former.

SOUTH AMERICA.

In the year 1810, when Spain was engaged in what appeared to many a hopeless war with Buonaparte, her immense colonies in the American continent resolved to avail themselves of that season of calamity and weakness, and make themselves independent of the mother-country. Their grounds of complaint were very numerous; but when we say that they were virtually governed by the council of the Indies which resided in Spain, and disposed of all places of honour or emolument; that they were forbidden to cultivate on their soil any such productions as were natural to Spain, and could be furnished by her; that they were allowed no trade with any nation except Spain; and that, at the same time (in 1810), when it was still attempted to perpetuate these onerous and degrading obligations, their population doubled that of Spain,—we shall sufficiently explain the causes of the quarrel, and of the ultimate success of those colonies.

Buenos Ayres was the first to declare itself; and its example was soon followed in various and very distant parts of Spanish America. Long years of violence and blood, however, intervened between the first movement of the patriots and their final success. The cause of Spain was supported in a manner altogether astonishing, when we reflect on the crippled resources of that kingdom. For sixteen years did her armies and partisans in America prolong the struggle, during which the most atrocious cruelties and

wholesale massacres were committed both by royalists and republicans. Finally, in 1826, the fall of Callao, which had been for some time the last hold the Spaniards had on South America, terminated the contest; and the colonies, though Spain would not recognise their *independence*, became, to all intents and purposes, *independent* states. The new governments were then thus divided:—

	Population.
1. The Republic of the United Provinces of Río de la Plata	600,000
2. Republic of Chili	1,200,000
3. Republic of Peru	1,736,920
4. Dictatorship of Paraguay	500,000
5. Republic of Bolivia, or Upper Peru	1,200,000
6. Republic of Colombia	2,711,296
7. Republic of Mexico	8,000,000
8. Republic of Central America	1,700,000

Though the South Americans had not even waited for the conclusion of the war against their common enemy, the Spaniards, to show their mutual jealousies and proneness to quarrel with one another; and though, during that war, they had frequently betrayed an utter want of political wisdom and of moderation, it was fondly hoped that, with the termination of hostilities, they would settle down into an harmonious union like the states of North America, and gradually learn the art of governing themselves. Unfortunately, however, this has not been the case—on the contrary, by the ambition of military chiefs, the wild schemes of theorists who would subtilize on political matters, among a people who have yet to learn the very rudiments of representative government,—and by the turbulent, warlike spirit, rendered strong and general by sixteen years of fighting, these South American states have ever since been kept in almost constant anarchy. Conspiracies and revolutions within each government, and quarrels and hostilities with its neighbours without, have succeeded one another with such rapidity, that the memory of the European public seems to refuse to take further cognizance of them, and readers turn from a column of South American news with a feeling of tedium or disgust.

One of the most obvious results of this course of things has been, the subdivision and splitting up of the states as originally formed. Colombia, alone, has been formed into three separate states, whose boundaries and names have varied several times, and are not settled even now.

While all Spanish South America was revolutionized, the Portuguese possessions in that continent remained comparatively quiet, and, to appearance, attached to the monarchical form of government. The princes of the House of Braganza, driven from Portugal by French arms, found an enviable refuge in Brazil; and when, at last, the people of that country frightened the late King John VI. back to Europe, it was only by evincing their desire to render the monarchy constitutional. In 1822, without any revolutionary movement or violence, Brazil was entirely detached from Portugal, and Don Pedro proclaimed “Constitutional Emperor.” There was, indeed, no revolution until April, 1831, when the Brazilians deprived Pedro of his crown; but, still adhering to monarchy, they reserved the crown for his son, Petro II., a child now only eight years old, in whose name affairs are administered by a permanent government or regency, and according to constitutional forms. Among the complaints alleged against Don Pedro by the Brazilians, were the following:—that he was led by favourites; that he preferred Portuguese to them; that he lavished their money on Constitutionalists who had been driven from Portugal, and beggared by Don Miguel; that he appropriated their funds, which they had set apart for the payment of the dividends on their acknowledged public debt in England, to support the regency established at Terceira in behalf of his daughter Donna Maria, as queen of Portugal; and that, when Donna Maria was recalled from Europe in 1829, he allotted her a palace, with a royal court and court pageantry of her own, all of which was paid for out of the Brazilian budget. There was the usual concluding clause about the luxury and immorality of his own court and courtiers. So weak was Don Pedro’s party in the country, that he was dispossessed of the throne almost without a struggle. In 1832, however, some conspiracies and risings, which caused considerable bloodshed, were made with the ostensible object of restoring the dethroned king. During the same year, the legislative assembly made a new constitution, and passed a meritorious act, for ever abolishing the

slave trade in Brazil. At the commencement of the year 1833, the accounts received from Mexico were of a nature to prove highly satisfactory to the lovers of order and peace. They imported, that the people began at length to feel the importance of union among themselves, and of friendship with their neighbours; that arrangements were making, by which government would be able to protect itself against the turbulent soldiery, and to diminish the standing army, which then amounted to 65,000 men;—that the Mexicans were ready to pay a pecuniary consideration to Spain, if that court would acknowledge the independence of their country;—and that it was confidently hoped that this recognition, the want of which had caused constant excitement and evils innumerable, would be obtained through the mediation of Great Britain. They also stated that a commercial treaty had been concluded between Mexico and Switzerland.

On the 15th of February, the Constitutional Congress was opened at Mexico; close alliances were formed, and General Santa-Anna was installed as president, not only of Mexico, but of the now United States of Central America.

One of the most memorable acts of this Congress was the passing of a grant of 30,000 dollars, annually, for the purchase of instructive books to be disseminated among the people. This measure seemed to prove that they were earnest in the pursuit of national happiness, and that they had hit upon the true means of obtaining it—the general intellectual improvement of the people. At the same time, treaties of amity and commerce, and plans to promote tranquillity, were discussed in the assembly, and all appeared, for awhile, to be willing to forget former injuries and jealousies.

This flattering state of affairs, however, did not last long. Many ambitious men were anxious to obtain the post and honours of the president Santa-Anna, who, only the year before, had seized them from the former president, Bustamente. Among these, the most powerful and decided, was General Arista, who succeeded in corrupting a body of troops employed to escort Santa-Anna, on a journey; and, on the 6th of June, made the president his prisoner. Seven days after, the president effected his escape, and fled to Puebla. Another fierce civil war ensued, and was only

interrupted by the breaking out of the cholera in the ranks of both armies. Santa-Anna lost 2000 men in the course of a very short time, nor were the sufferings of the insurgent forces from this mysterious disease less heavy. According to the latest intelligence, however, Santa-Anna has disposed of the opposite faction for the present, and is again at the head of affairs.

In the state of Columbia a national academy was opened at Bogota on the 6th of January, 1833; and, on the 25th of the same month, the Constitutional Congress met, tranquilly, at Venezuela, under the presidency of General Paez. In the month of July, a conspiracy to overthrow the Columbian government was detected at Bogota. The night of the 23rd was fixed for making the attempt. The plot was discovered, and sixty-five out of seventy conspirators were arrested: on the 28th of July all was quiet. In Peru, the year was ushered in by plots and conspiracies. An attempt was made to assassinate Garnarra, the president, but the individual was arrested in time, and condemned to be shot. In the month of March, however, the president was deprived of his authority.

Brazil became again the scene of disorder and slaughter. On the 17th of April, the populace—joined by the blacks and half-castes—rose, and massacred the Portuguese residing at Para. This disgusting carnage is said to have lasted two days; and some accounts accused the President of having distributed arms to the assassins. An insurrection also broke out in one of the provinces of Brazil, and soon assumed a formidable aspect. The insurgents issued a very declamatory manifesto, declaring their grievances, and vituperating the existing government in the most violent manner. At Rio Janeiro, where the young emperor, Don Pedro's son, is residing, tranquillity appears to have been tolerably well maintained.

It would be vain to speculate on the probabilities that exist, of seeing these long-distracted countries thoroughly restored to order. We can only heartily wish for that happy event; and deplore, in the meantime, that, through insane dissensions, so many lives should be sacrificed in vast and fertile regions, whose sole physical want is an increase of population.

CHRONICLE OF THE PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES OF THE YEAR 1833.

January 1. A destructive conflagration at Liverpool, in which from fifteen to twenty warehouses were destroyed, with property to the value of 300,000*l.*

2. Insurrectionary movements at Madrid and Toledo, in favour of Don Carlos, in consequence of the royal decree of December, confirming the Pragmatic sanction,—a repeal of which had been extorted from the King during his illness.

5. The discussions concerning the disposal of the Duchess of Berri result in the determination to detain her in safe custody at Blaye.

6. The crown of France claimed by Joseph Bonaparte, the ex-King of Spain, as having become the representative of the imperial dynasty, by the death of young Napoleon.

10. Death of Joshua Brookes, Esq., F.R.S., F.L.S., aged seventy-two. This celebrated anatomist, during the forty years in which he taught anatomy at his Theatre in Blenheim-street, educated not less than 7000 pupils, many of whom have attained great eminence in their profession. His Museum, which was only inferior to that of Hunter in the number and variety of specimens, was, unhappily, in his declining years, dispersed by the hammer of the auctioneer. In concluding his Spring Lectures at St. Thomas's Hospital, Sir Astley Cooper made it a constant practice to say to his pupils—"Now, gentlemen, if you wish to learn anatomy, go to Joshua Brookes."

12. Died, within the rules of the King's Bench prison, Mr. Charles Dibdin, the dramatic author and popular song writer, in his sixty-fifth year.

15. A difference between the French Chambers of Peers and Deputies, in consequence of the determination of the latter to allow no amendment to a bill they had passed, by which the observance of the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI., as a day of national mourning, is abolished.

20. The Hungarian Diet opened by the Emperor in person. One of the earliest proceedings of this assembly was the adoption of a resolution recommending the publicity of discussion in the Diet, and the establishment of the liberty of the press.

21. Seven persons killed by the explosion of six powder-mills at Dartford in Kent.

31. Otho, the first King of Greece, arrived at Napoli, in his Majesty's ship Madagascar, and immediately issued a proclamation exhorting his new subjects to be united among themselves;

and promising to maintain their liberties, and to administer impartial justice among them.

February 1. The police at Madrid obtained information of a conspiracy to dethrone the King and proclaim Don Carlos, who, after having been imprisoned in his palace, was ordered to leave Spain and reside in Italy.

2. The Porte claimed the assistance of Russia against Mehemet Ali.

4. Death of Mr. O'Keefe, near Southampton, in his eighty-sixth year. This popular dramatist was intended for an artist; but was diverted from the requisite studies by a passion for the stage and dramatic authorship. The prevailing object in his numerous compositions was to amuse, and in this he appears to have been very successful. Many of his farces, &c., still retain a place in the acting drama.

5. The previous days, since January 29th, having been occupied by the House of Commons in the usual business incident to a new election, such as the election of a Speaker (the Right Hon. C. M. Sutton), and the swearing of Members, &c., the Parliament was this day opened for the despatch of public business by the King in person. The Speech, after alluding to the state of affairs between Holland and Belgium, mentioned the principal subjects which would require the attention of Parliament during the session, as the Charters of the Bank of England, and of the East India Company; and the state of the Established Churches in England and Ireland—in alluding to which country, occasion was taken to lament the spirit of insubordination and violence which prevailed; and it announced, that it might be necessary to intrust the Crown with additional powers for controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving and strengthening the legislative union between the two countries.

6. Death of Admiral Lord Exmouth, aged seventy-six. He was born, April 19th, 1757; and entered the navy before he had completed his fourteenth year. He was posted in 1782; and in 1793, was rewarded with the honour of knighthood, for the gallantry displayed in the capture of a French frigate. In 1796, he was raised to the baronetcy, for the personal humanity and bravery which he exhibited in saving the crew of an East India-man, which, in a heavy gale, had been driven upon the rocks near Plymouth citadel. We cannot recapitulate the long list of

professional services for which he was, in 1814, raised to the peerage, with a pension of 2000*l.* per annum. In 1816, he concluded a treaty with the Algerines, being then the Admiral on the Mediterranean station; but the treaty being almost immediately after violated, the result was the celebrated bombardment of Algiers, in which the Admiral was slightly wounded, and his coat cut in pieces by grape and musket shot. For this action he was created a Viscount; the city of London presented him with a magnificent sword; and the Powers whose subjects (1200 Christians) he had liberated, severally sent him their orders of knighthood. After suffering long from severe illness, which produced a delirium, in which the idea of an action with the Dutch fleet predominated in his mind, he rallied, or, as he said, "I have lately been going to leeward; but now I think I am working to windward again;" but he soon relapsed, and died, surrounded by his family, at Teignmouth. The body was interred with the usual honours; the ensign, shot through in many places, which flew at the mast-head of the Royal Charlotte during the action at Algiers, being used as a pall.

7. Alderman Waithman died in his seventieth year. He was born of humble parentage, at Wrexham in North Wales, and became an orphan at the early age of four years. After having been supported at school by an uncle, he came to London, and entered into the service of a linen-draper. When of age, he commenced business at the south end of Fleet-market, where his monument now stands. Some years after, he removed to the corner of Bridge-street, and, under the excitement produced by the French Revolution, became a politician, advocating, even at that early period, a reform in Parliament,—the accomplishment of which he just lived to see. After several previous attempts to enter Parliament, he succeeded, in 1818, in supplanting Sir W. Curtis in the representation of the City; and soon after made his maiden speech on the presentation of a petition for the revision of the criminal code. In 1820 Sir W. Curtis was again returned, and Mr. Waithman excluded; but in 1826, and every subsequent election, he prevailed without difficulty. He attained the Shrievalty in 1820, and in 1823 was chosen Lord Mayor.

15. Mr. Pease, the first Quaker Member, took his seat in the House of Commons.

20. A Russian squadron arrived in the Bosphorus, and anchored near Buyukdere.

22. The pregnancy of the Duchess of Berri having been discovered, she declared that she had been privately married in Italy. This statement was received by the Carlists as a forgery of the Government, and several duels were fought in consequence, chiefly between writers in newspapers of opposite principles.

23. The Reis Effendi expresses to the Russian Ambassador the acknowledgments of the Sultan for the ready assistance granted by the Emperor; but, at the same time, requests that the Russian fleet may be directed to leave the Bosphorus with the first fair wind, as the differences with Egypt were in the course of being satisfactorily adjusted through the mediation of France.

24. The Russian Ambassador, in reply to the Reis Effendi, declares that no foreign interference could be allowed in the friendly relations between Russia and the Porte.

March 1. General Andrew Jackson becomes a second time President of the United States.

4. The works of Oporto attacked by the Miguelites, who are repulsed with much loss.

6. On account of the disgust felt at the dismissal of M. Dubois and M. Bauda from their situations, for having protested against the continuance of the pensions to the Chouans, a strong effort was made in the Chamber of Peers to unseat the French Ministry.

13. The Rev. Edward Irving tried, on a charge of heresy, before the Presbytery of Annan, and the sentence of deposition passed upon him.

18. Bergeron and Beriot, charged with being concerned in the attempt to shoot the King of the French in December, acquitted by the jury.

22. New York papers of this date announce the happy termination of the alarming differences between the General Government and South Carolina, in consequence of the passing of the new Tariff Bill, by which the present duties are to be gradually reduced till they reach 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.

26. A dreadful conflagration at Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, by which 10,000 Carriboo huts were destroyed, leaving 30,000 Indians houseless, with the loss of fifty lives, and laying three miles of country waste.

29. The Bill for suppressing local disturbances in Ireland passed in the House of Commons.

— One hundred and fifty vessels, having been kept off the port by contrary winds, arrived in one day at Liverpool.

During this month, in consequence of Lord Durham's resignation of the Privy Seal, on account of illness, Lord Goderich (now Earl of Ripon) becomes Lord Privy Seal; Mr. Stanley, Secretary for the Colonies; Sir John Hobhouse, Secretary for Ireland; and Mr. Ellice, Secretary-at-War.

29. Died, in his 68th year, Samuel Drew, M.A., a well-known metaphysical writer. He was the son of a common labourer at St. Austell, in Cornwall, and at the early age of six he was taken from school and sent to work at a mill where tinnerns refined their ore, and earned twopence a day. At the age of ten he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, and in this situation acquired a taste for literature through a small publication circulated in the western counties, called the 'Weekly Entertainer.' Harsh treatment induced him to leave his master at the age of seventeen; but in the year 1785 he returned to St. Austell to take charge of the shoe-making business of a person who was also a bookbinder; and a

metaphysical bias was subsequently given to his mind by some books which were brought to his employer to be bound. A few years after he commenced business on his own account, and while thus engaged, he prepared and published his celebrated 'Essay on the Human Soul,' which first brought him into public notice, and which, notwithstanding the dryness of the subject, has gone through five editions in this country, four in America, and has been translated into French. His work on the 'Resurrection' was similarly produced; but in 1805 he relinquished trade for the pursuits of literature, and in 1820 published a work on the 'Being and Attributes of God,' which, with his former works, procured him the honour of M.A. from Aberdeen. In the beginning of 1819, Mr. Drew removed to Liverpool, and thence to London to edit the 'Imperial Magazine,' and to exercise a general superintendence over the works of the Caxton Press,—duties which he continued to discharge until the beginning of the month in which he died.

31. Died, at Copenhagen, Erasmus Rask, the learned philologist and grammarian. He was the author of an 'Icelandic Grammar and Lexicon,' an 'Anglo-Saxon Grammar,' editions of the 'Edda of Snorrio and Sæmund,' 'Essays on the Northern Languages,' 'Treatises on the Phonics of India and the Literals of Europe,' and various contributions to chronological science.

April 3. A serious riot at Frankfort, in the course of which the people, headed by the students, took the guard-house, and liberated the persons confined for political offences. Several lives were lost, and many persons wounded, in the struggle between the students and the military.

6. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland places the county of Kilkenny, by proclamation, under the Act for the suppression of local disturbances in Ireland.

11. Died, in his 88th year, the Rev. Rowland Hill, the celebrated Minister of Surrey Chapel, Blackfriars-road. Mr. Hill was the sixth son of Sir Rowland Hill, and uncle to Lord Hill, the present Commander-in-Chief. He was brought up for the Church, in which he received deacon's orders; and although he afterwards separated from it, he was always tenacious of his clerical character as an episcopal minister, and wished rather to be considered as a Nonconformist than a Dissenter. His familiar anecdotal style of oratory was addressed to the common people, among whom he was an eminently popular preacher. As a writer he is chiefly known by the 'Village Dialogues,' a religious work characterized by the same qualities as his preaching, and which has been surpassed by few books in popularity and extent of circulation.

— Another proclamation issued by the Lord-Lieutenant, suppressing the Association of "Irish Volunteers."

15. The New Court House and Gaol at Tain, in the county of Ross, consumed by fire. Three persons, confined for debt, perished in the flames, but all the criminals were saved.

16. M. Lionne, the editor of the Republican paper 'The Tribune,' condemned by the Chamber of Deputies in France to the maximum punishment for libel of three years' imprisonment and a fine of 10,000 francs, for having described the Chamber as *prostituted*.

18. General Santa-Anna becomes President of Mexico.

19. Died, Admiral Lord Gambier, in his 76th year, at Iver. He was the grandson of a French Protestant whom the revocation of the Edict of Nantes drove from his country. He was born in the Bahamas, of which his father was Lieutenant-Governor, and entered the navy in very early life. In 1778 he was commander of the Thunder bomb, in which he was taken by the French fleet under the Count d'Estaing. He took a very active part in the famous battle of the 1st of June, 1794; and the same year was nominated Colonel of Marines, Rear Admiral, and a Lord of the Admiralty. The last situation he frequently afterwards filled at intervals; and while in office, among other services, he compiled a code of signals, which superseded those introduced by James II. when Duke of York. In 1807 Admiral Gambier was sent to demand possession of the Danish fleet, for the successful accomplishment of which service he was raised to the Peerage, and was offered a pension of 2000*l.*, which he declined. In 1809 he was appointed to the command of the Channel fleet, a detachment of which attacked and destroyed part of the French squadron in Aix Roads. A difference of opinion between him and Lord Cochrane, on this occasion, induced him to demand a trial before a court-martial, by which he was most honourably acquitted, and received, besides, the thanks of Parliament. Lord Gambier, in his latter years, was much occupied in the affairs of the various religious societies over which he presided, and to which he was a most liberal patron.

23. The fleet of Don Pedro, being in a state of mutiny for want of pay, and on account of the dismissal of Admiral Sartorius for demanding it, Sir J. M. Doyle and Captain Crosbie were despatched on board the 'Rainha,' the former to arrest Sartorius, and the latter to supersede him. But Sir John was himself arrested and detained, and Captain Crosbie threatened with a court-martial. The differences were afterwards adjusted by a partial compliance with the demands of the fleet and the continuance of Sartorius in the command.

25. The French Chambers prorogued by the King in person. The speech described the state and prospects of the country as very cheering, as well as the state of its foreign relations, and expressed a belief that the Belgic question and the affairs of the East would be speedily and amicably settled.

26. In the House of Commons a resolution for the reduction of the malt duty carried against Ministers by a majority of ten.

29. Don Carlos issues a declaration asserting his right to the

Spanish throne, in case the King dies without male issue, and declining, therefore, to take the required oath of allegiance to the young Princess of the Asturias.

29. On the motion for the repeal of the house and window taxes in the Commons, Lord Althorp moved a counter-resolution, declaring its inexpediency, as also that of the reduction of the duty on malt, asserting that it would become necessary to supply the deficiency in the revenue by an income tax, which was carried.

— Sir John Hobhouse resigns his office, and his seat for Westminster, in consequence of being unwilling to embarrass the ministry by voting for the repeal of the assessed taxes, to which he had pledged himself to his constituents.

— Died, aged 76, Dr. Babington, the father of the London physicians, and who formed the connecting link between the departed and living philosophers of the last fifty years.

May 6. Peace concluded between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt. The latter and his son Ibrahim are confirmed in their former dignities and territories, with the addition of Syria and the district of Adana.

9. Forty-nine persons killed by an explosion in Springwell coal-mine, five miles from Newcastle.

10. Colonel De Lacy Evans elected Member for Westminster, after a stormy contest, by a majority of 166 over Sir John Hobhouse, who had represented the city for fifteen years.

— The Duchess of Berri, on being delivered of a female child, declares herself the wife of Count Hector Luchesi Palli. When sufficiently recovered she was liberated and sent to Palermo.

13. A public meeting held in Coldbath-fields, in order to take measures for calling together a National Convention, at which about 1000 persons attended with banners, &c.; in dispersing whom, by the police, much violence was committed on both sides, and one policeman, named Robert Culley, received a wound from a dagger, of which he died.

15. Died, Mr. Kean, the celebrated tragedian, in his 46th year. He was the son of a tailor; and, after struggling through great difficulties and distresses in the early part of his career, he made his *début* on the London boards in 1814 in the character of *Shylock*, his performance of which immediately established him in that rank as an actor which he ever after maintained. His great success supplied him with the means of vicious indulgence, which he had not fortitude to decline, and by which his faculties were impaired, his health ruined, and his property dissipated. He is said to have received since 1814, in England and America, 176,000*l.*, averaging 9000*l.* a-year.

16. Mr. O'Connell was entertained at dinner by the working classes of the metropolis, who on this occasion presented him a piece of plate worth 200*l.*

20. The coroner's inquest find a verdict of 'wilful murder' against all the parties concerned in a duel fought at Exeter on the 10th, between Sir John W. Jeffcott, Chief Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, and Dr. Hennis, when the latter received a wound, of which he died on the 18th.

— A great popular assembly held at Birmingham in the open air, called and presided over by Mr. T. Attwood, and addressed, among others, by Mr. O'Connell, who characterized his Majesty's Ministers as 'bloody and brutal'; and a petition to the King, for their dismissal, was agreed upon.

21. The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and Holland sign a preliminary treaty effecting at least a temporary settlement of the points in dispute between Holland and Belgium.

— The coroner's inquest on Robert Culley, the policeman, after four days' investigation, return a verdict of 'justifiable homicide,' which was quashed, on the 30th, in the Court of King's Bench, on the application of the Solicitor-General.

— Mr. Littleton appointed Secretary for Ireland, in the room of Sir John Hobhouse, resigned.

— An affray between the soldiery and the inhabitants of Neustadt, in Rhenish Bavaria, while attempting to celebrate, a second time, the "festival of Hambach." Upwards of 100 persons killed; and one cavalry regiment refused to fire on the people.

31. Death of Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., K.L.S., F.R.S. This distinguished soldier, statesman, and author, was born on the farm of Burnfoot, near Langholm, May the 2nd, 1769. He was scarcely fourteen when he was sent out to India, and rapidly made those acquirements which formed the basis of his future distinction. Having highly distinguished himself at the fall of Seringapatam in 1799, and on other occasions, he was appointed by Lord Wellesley ambassador to Persia, which had never been visited by an English ambassador since the time of Queen Elizabeth. This and his subsequent missions to that country, which were chiefly designed to counteract French influence, he discharged with ability and success. On the occasion of his last mission, the King of Persia founded the order of the Lion and Sun, on purpose to do him honour, and created him a khan and sephadar of the empire. He was knighted on his return to England in 1812; and again proceeded to India in 1816. For his conduct at the battle of Melidpoor, he received the thanks of the East India Company, and having become a major-general, was nominated G.C.B. in 1821. The following year he returned to England, and received from the Company a grant of 1000*l.* per annum; and a vase worth 1500*l.* was presented him from those who had served under him in the war of 1818-19. In 1827, he was prevailed upon to accept the government of Bombay, and after effecting very important services, finally returned to this country in 1831. He was soon after returned to parliament for Launceston, but not succeeding in acquiring a seat after the dissolution, he withdrew altogether from public life. Mr. Canning spoke of Sir John Malcolm as "an officer whose name would

be remembered in India so long as the British flag was hoisted in that country." He was the author of several works of great interest, particularly the "History of Persia;" "Memoir of Central India;" a work on the administration of British India; and the versatility of his talents are exhibited by a book of a more lively character, entitled, "Sketches of Persia." To a subscription for a monument to his memory, the Pasha of Egypt subsequently contributed 100*l.*

June 1. The King of Greece founds the "Saviour" order of knighthood.

— Died at Paris, in his fifty-ninth year, Savary, Duke of Rovigo, one of the ministers of France under Napoleon. He entered the army early; but, unlike the other military chiefs formed by the revolution, did not rise rapidly. He was aide-de-camp to Desaix in Egypt, and returned home with him; and when that brave soldier was killed, Napoleon himself adopted the care of his fortunes. He was soon appointed to preside over the private police, an office which even abler or more scrupulous men than Savary could not have filled without odium. He was necessarily implicated in the affair of the Duc d'Enghien; and it was his persuasions which induced the Prince of Asturias to cross the Pyrenees to meet Napoleon at Bayonne. For his services on this occasion he was created a duke. He was subsequently employed in a mission to Petersburg; he served with distinction in the campaign of 1809; and on the disgrace of Fouché in 1810, the portfolio of general police was intrusted to him. After the fall of Napoleon, he was not well received by Louis XVIII., and was deeply implicated in the plot for the return of Bonaparte, whom, after his second fall, he would have accompanied to St. Helena, but was not permitted. Afraid to return to France, where a council of war had condemned him to death, he wandered about till 1819, and then boldly returned to Paris, and the day of vengeance being past, his sentence was reversed, and he was allowed to live in retirement, in which he remained until the ascendancy of the House of Orleans recalled him to the public service as governor of Algiers.

3. The Duke of Wellington's motion for an address, praying the king to enforce the neutrality of this country in the affairs of Portugal, carried by a majority of 79 to 69, though regarded by ministers as a vote of censure on their conduct.

4. Died, in his fifty-eighth year, Peter, Lord King, who obtained much notice in Parliament as the regular opponent of the Episcopal Bench, on all questions relating to the secularities of the church. He was the author of several works, of which the most important is a 'Life of John Locke, with Extracts from his Correspondence, Journals, and Common-place Books.'

6. In answer to the Address of the Lords, the King states, that he had already taken such measures as seemed to him to be necessary for maintaining the neutrality with Portugal.

11. Several military men in the Sardinian service condemned, and a Lieutenant Tola executed, for participation in a plot to establish a republic.

12. Fifty-eight houses destroyed by fire in the fishing town of Lymptone, near Exeter.

20. The Cortes assembled at Madrid to take the oath of allegiance to the young Princess of Asturias as heiress to the Spanish throne.

21. The recorder of London resigned his office on account of the feeling excited by the narrow escape of a criminal named Cox from being hanged, through his inadvertence.

24. Algarve and part of Alemtejo acquired for the Queen of Portugal, with little difficulty or loss of life, by an expedition, under the orders of Admiral Napier and Count Villa Flor, which embarked this day at the mouth of the Guadiana.

25. The foundation laid, at the end of Farringdon-street, of a granite obelisk to the memory of Alderman Walthman. The column was completed by the next morning.

July 2. A battle off Cape St. Vincent, between the fleet of the Queen of Portugal (273 guns, and 2500 men) commanded by Admiral Napier, and that of Don Miguel (360 guns, and 3250 men), when the whole of the latter was captured, with the exception of a corvette and two brigs.

8. A treaty of alliance negotiated at Constantinople between Russia and the Porte. Russia engages to furnish Turkey with such forces as her exigencies may at any time require; and the Porte engages, at the demand of Russia, to close the Dardanelles against the entrance of any foreign vessels whatever.

23. Lisbon evacuated by the Miguelite garrison on the approach of Villa Flor, by whom the Miguelite general, Teles Jordao, had been defeated on the 21st. The citizens immediately liberated the persons confined for political offences, and proclaimed the queen.

— This day had been fixed on for an attempt to overthrow the Columbian government; but the plot having been discovered, sixty-five of the seventy conspirators were apprehended.

27. A smart shock of an earthquake felt in the neighbourhood of Washington, the capital of the United States.

29. Death of William Wilberforce, Esq., aged seventy-three. This distinguished opponent of slavery was the son of a merchant of Hull, and was born in that town Aug. 24th, 1759. He had only just become of age when he was returned to Parliament for Hull, in 1780; and in 1784, he was returned both for the same place and the county of York, and sat for the latter. Having become interested in the question of slavery, through the representations of Mr. Clarkson, he promised to bring the matter before the House of Commons; and soon after the assembling of Parliament, in 1787, he gave notice of his intention. He was,

however, prevented for the time by illness; and, in consequence of the number of petitions on the subject, Mr. Pitt himself brought forward a motion in his name; but nothing was done till about a year after, when Mr. Wilberforce's first motion regarding the trade in slaves was carried without a division. In 1791, his motion against the further importation of slaves into the colonies, was negatived by a majority of 75; but, in the year following, his motion, for the gradual abolition of the trade, was carried, only 85 voting against it; and in 1807, an Act, which he had been mainly instrumental in obtaining, passed for the total abolition of the trade; and he lived to see a Bill brought into Parliament by the Government, for the entire abolition of slavery itself, and which, a few weeks after his death, became a law. Mr. Wilberforce, in 1790, 1796, 1802, and 1806, was elected, without opposition, for the county of York; but in 1807 he had to encounter the opposition of the families of Fitzwilliam and Lascelles, which are each said to have expended 100,000*l.* in the contest. But Mr. Wilberforce was supported by a public subscription throughout the county; and at the termination of this unparalleled contest, stood at the head of the poll. In 1812, he retired from the county of York, and sat for Bramber till 1825, when he retired from public life altogether, after having sat in Parliament forty-five years. When his death was known, the most distinguished Members of both Houses of Parliament requested that his remains might be interred in Westminster Abbey, and that they might be allowed to attend the funeral. Accordingly, on the 3rd of August, 30 Peers and 130 Commoners testified their respect for the deceased, by attending the body to the tomb.

30. The Irish Church Reform Bill passed in the Lords, by a majority of 135 to 81.

— Sir John Key, one of the City members, resigns his seat in parliament in consequence of the excitement occasioned by the discovery, that he was interested in a government contract; and that his son had been appointed to a place in the Stationery Office under a false report of his age.

August 1. Mr. R. Grant's bill, for the removal of the civil disabilities of the Jews, lost in the Lords by a majority of 104 to 54.

5. The punishment of death for burglary abolished.

9. Part of the Dublin Custom-house warehouses destroyed by fire, with property to the value of 400,000*l.*

15. The English government, and those of France and Sweden shortly after, formally recognise Donna Maria da Gloria as Queen of Portugal.

20. The Slavery Abolition Bill passed in the Lords.

26. The Bank Charter Bill passed in the Lords.

29. Parliament prorogued by the King in person. After briefly alluding to the state of foreign affairs, and recapitulating the principal labours of the session, the speech announces that it had only been necessary to make a very limited application of the powers granted to the crown for suppressing local disturbances in Ireland, the spirit of insubordination and violence having been, in a great degree, subdued in that country, the legislative Union with which it expressed a determination to preserve inviolate.

30. A dreadful conflagration at Constantinople, attributed to incendiaries, actuated by political discontent, by which upwards of 2000 houses were consumed.

31. In the heavy gale which commenced on the 29th, the ship *Amphitrite*, conveying convicts to New South Wales, and having on board thirteen females and twelve children, with a crew of sixteen persons, was driven on the Boulogne sands; and all on board, except three of the crew, perished on the return of the tide. This melancholy result appears to have been produced by the doubts of the captain and surgeon, as to their authority to allow the convicts to land, and partly by the sanitary precautions of the French authorities.

— The *Earl of Wemyss* smack, trading between Leith and London, beached off Brancaster. Eleven persons, ladies and children, were drowned in the cabin, while those who were on the deck escaped.

— A regular daily mail (Sundays excepted) established between England and France.

September 1. The queen and the charter proclaimed, and the Miguelite authorities expelled, at Bona Vista, and subsequently at the other Cape Verde Islands.

5. An unsuccessful attack on Lisbon by the Miguelites in full force, under Marshal Bourmont.

7. Died, aged 88, Mrs. Hannah More. This distinguished lady was one of five daughters of the schoolmaster of a charity-school, and afterwards of a private school, at Bristol. When her talents became known, a subscription was raised to enable her and her sisters to establish a school of their own. Her first public productions were of a dramatic cast, of which the 'Search after Happiness' and the 'Sacred Dramas' remain in circulation. The first of these works was written at the age of eighteen, and the other after her opinions had undergone that change which gave a religious tone to all her subsequent works. Some of the cheap Repository tracts were written by her, to stem the influence of the principles resulting from the French Revolution, and are said to have had an extensively useful effect. Mrs. More's works are very numerous, and established for her a very considerable literary reputation; while the circumstance that she had numbered Garrick, Johnson, Burke, Reynolds, &c., among her friends and correspondents, attached a powerful interest to her person. It was at one time contemplated to intrust her with the education of the Princess Charlotte; but, as she would not accept a limited control, the design was abandoned. She is said to have realized

30,000*l.* by her writings; and by her will 10,000*l.* is distributed among various religious and charitable institutions.

8. The Queen of Portugal, with the Duchess of Braganza, arrived at Portsmouth from Havre, on their way to Lisbon. They re-embarked on the 18th, having in the meantime visited their majesties at Windsor.

10. The Emperors of Russia and Austria and the Crown Prince of Prussia had an interview at Munchen Gratz, in Bohemia. Rumour attributed various objects to this congress; but nothing was distinctly known.

11. At this date, 20,000 persons had perished from cholera in the city of Mexico, since the 5th of August.

18. In the spring of the year 1832, the president of the United States opposed his veto to a bill by which both houses of congress had authorized the renewal of the charter of the United States' Bank; and he now directed the government deposits to be withdrawn from that establishment.

19. The coroner's inquest found a verdict of "wilful murder" against twenty workmen in the Magpie mine, at Sheldon in Derbyshire, as principals, and against two other persons, as accessories before the fact, for having raised certain sulphuric fumes in the mine, by which three men, in the adjoining Red Soil mine, were suffocated.

22. The Queen of Portugal arrived at Lisbon, and was well received by the people.

24. The corporation of Leicester refuse to authorize the town clerk to deliver up certain accounts and documents required by the Commissioners for inquiring into the State of Municipal Corporations, and decline to submit to a personal examination before them. This example was afterwards followed by the corporations of Norwich and Maidstone, and by the Merchant Tailors' Company in London.

26. The Marquis Wellesley having been appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the Marquis of Anglesea, who had resigned on account of declining health, makes his public entry into Dublin.

27. Died, at Stapylton Grove, near Bristol, the Rajah Rammo-hun Roy. He was a Brahmin, born in the district of Bordouan, After studying at Benares, and travelling in Persia, he accepted employment under the East India Company, in which he attained the highest rank open to a native—that of a dewan, or revenue collector, at Bungpoor. Having made considerable attainments in language and literature, he was led to renounce and write against the religious system of India, while in his own person he maintained the simple manners of a Brahmin. He arrived in this country as a sort of ambassador from the King of Delhi; and his information is said to have materially influenced some of the provisions of the East India Company's Charter Bill.

29. Death of the King of Spain in his 49th year. The Queen Dowager assumes the regency under the will of the late King, by which she is appointed, assisted by a council, to act as regent, until the young Queen Isabella II. attains the age of eighteen.

— The Duke of Bourdeaux completed his thirteenth year, and, as the Kings of France attain their majority at this age, several Carlists of distinction resorted to Prague to tender him their homage.

October 2. After a severe conflict of three days with a tribe of barbarians, the French took the town of Boujeiah, which is said to possess the finest anchorage on the African coast.

3. The King of Holland accused of endeavouring to procrastinate the final settlement of the questions between him and Belgium, by neglecting to apply for the consent of the Germanic consideration to the territorial arrangement concerning Luxembourg.

10. The garrison of Lisbon commence offensive operations, which result in clearing the immediate neighbourhood of the Miguelite forces, who retreat upon and occupy Santarom.

15. The magistrates of Brancaster concluded their investigation of the circumstances attending the loss of the *Earl of Wemyss* smack on the 31st of August. Although culpable neglect seemed imputable to the captain, nothing transpired on which to found legal proceedings against him; but a Mr. Reeve was committed to prison on the charge of having feloniously taken and kept possession of property belonging to two of the ladies drowned. He was, however, subsequently admitted to bail by the Judges.

— The second and third bridges of the chain pier at Brighton gave way during a violent storm.

— The authority of the Queen Regent generally acknowledged in Spain, though some insurrectionary movements were made in the northern provinces in favour of Don Carlos, whose effects were confiscated in the *Madrid Gazette* of this day. The French government station 60,000 men along the Pyrenees to interfere, if needful, in behalf of the Queen.

17. Sir John Key declines to comply with a call to resign his gown as alderman of Langbourne Ward.

18. Captain Ross reached Hull on his return from his arctic expedition, after an absence of four years.

19. A Paper issued from the Colonial Office, describing the various legislative measures which yet remained to be taken, by the Colonies themselves, to carry into effect the provisions of the Slavery Abolition Bill. Being intended for the guidance of the local legislatures and authorities, it reduced the provisions of the Bill to clear and classified instructions, under the following heads:—The judicial and ministerial agency to be employed—The procedure to be observed by the special magistrates in the exercise of their jurisdiction—The divisions of the apprenticed labourers into their respective classes—The maintenance of the apprenticed labourers—The duties they are to perform, and the penalties for non-performance—The offences they may commit against the

State, and the punishment of such offences—The dissolution of apprenticeship by contract or purchase—The removal of prædial apprenticed labourers from one plantation to another—The apprenticeship of children—The alienation by sale, inheritance, or will, of the services of apprenticed labourers.

23. The Earl of Durham, at a public dinner at Gateshead, avowed himself the author of the first Reform Bill; but had no share in the preparation of the second, which he considered a much inferior measure.

24. Several decrees of a liberal tendency appear in the *Madrid Gazette*, attributed to the new Home Minister, M. Burgos. One proclaims a partial amnesty to the liberal exiles; another prescribes a system of internal government resembling that which prevails in France; and a third appoints a commission for revising the corn laws.

25. Numerous meetings held about this time to petition for the repeal, or resolve against the payment, of the assessed taxes. This day the mob rescued the property of a Mr. Savage of the Mechanics Institute Tavern, which had been seized for arrears of taxes.

26. The sheriffs proceeded in person to make a levy on the goods of householders in Oxford-street and Lisson Grove who had refused to pay the assessed taxes. It was only requisite to enforce the seizure in the case of one person, the others either paying the demand, or allowing others to pay for them.

27. The "Royalist Volunteers" disarmed, with some bloodshed, at Madrid and other places.

— A conspiracy having been discovered, organized under the direction of Colocotroni, to overthrow the government of King Otho, martial law is proclaimed throughout Greece.

November 2. The Miguelites attack and defeat the Queen's troops at Alcazar de Sal, and regain possession of the town which they had lost, October 25th.

— Some of the streets on the banks of the Thames were laid under water to the height of several feet, by an extraordinary rise of the tide in the river.

3. The city of Hamburg sustained considerable damage from the inundation caused by the high tide in the Elbe.

6. General Castagnon, in the Queen of Spain's service, warmly attacked near Tolosa by a numerous body of insurgents, and obliged, with Colonel El Pastor, to take shelter in St. Sebastian.

11. New differences between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, in consequence of the backwardness of the latter in paying the stipulated tributes.

13. Shock of an earthquake at Chichester.

— Prosecutions commenced by the Earl of Durham against the *Durham Advertiser* for originating, and the *Standard* and *John Bull* newspapers for copying a libellous paragraph.

15. Dreadful irruption of water into a colliery at Workington; but of the twenty-three workmen then in the pit, all, except four, were ultimately saved.

16. Mr. T. Woolcombe of Devonport sentenced to one month's imprisonment and a fine of 100*l.*, for sending a challenge to Sir E. Coddington.

18. Sir John Herschell embarks for the Cape of Good Hope for the purpose of making observations on the stars of the southern hemisphere.

20. The result of the late elections in France highly favourable to the existing government.

22. The *Gazette du Neckar*, the last liberal publication existing in Germany, suppressed by a decree of the Diet of Frankfurt.

26. Information up to this date, announces the pacification of Mexico by the defeat of the insurgent generals, Duran and Arista, and the capture of the latter with many officers and men.

28. A furious hurricane at Liverpool by which much injury was done to the town, docks, and shipping; and several lives were lost by the wreck of vessels and boats on the adjacent coast. The city of Limerick was also severely visited by the same storm.

December 1. The Spanish General, Rodill, with a military force, entered Portugal, in pursuit of Don Carlos, who escaped from Miranda on his approach.

2. The Anatomy Schools at Cambridge fired by the mob, the windows broken, and some of the skeletons, models, and preparations destroyed, in consequence of the discovery that the body of a pauper, instead of being interred, had been removed to the Schools.

— Intelligence that, in consequence of the defeat by General Saarsfield of the insurgents, headed by the Curate Merino, the disturbed districts, in the northern provinces of Spain, were in the course of being brought under the authority of the Queen, accompanied with the committal of great severities by her generals.

3. The Queen-Regent of Spain offers to Don Miguel her mediation for the adjustment of the differences between him and his brother.

4. Information that the Legislature of Jamaica had received the Slavery Abolition Bill in a conciliatory spirit; declaring that they had never advocated slavery in the abstract, but as connected with their rights of property. Grenada, immediately on its reception, took the necessary measures for giving effect to the provisions of the Bill. But the Legislatures of Barbadoes, Antigua, Dominica, and St. Vincent, were much dissatisfied with the amount of the compensatory grant, and with the principle regulating its distribution; and the latter colony reserved the right of claiming further compensation than the act provides.

7. Attempted arrest, at Lisbon, of Count Taipa, the author of certain remonstratory letters to Don Pedro. He found refuge on board an English ship of war, and the peers took up his case as an infraction of their privileges.

15. Incendiary fires in various parts of the country, particularly in the eastern counties.

23. The French Chambers were opened by the king in person. The Speech commenced by a general view of the prosperity of the country. It alluded to a new law of Customs, and announced an improvement in the state of the public finances, with every promise that it would continue to follow the ascending movement of the national prosperity. In briefly alluding to foreign affairs, a hope is expressed that, through the intimate union with Great Britain, a settlement of the affairs of Holland and Belgium would be effected without compromising the tranquillity of Europe; and an assurance is given that the government will continue to watch over the preservation of peace in Turkey.

LONDON BILL OF MORTALITY FOR 1833.

The following is a general bill of the christenings and burials within the city of London and bills of mortality, from December 11, 1832, to December 10, 1833:—

	Christened.	Buried.
In the 97 parishes within the walls	835	1,336
In the 17 parishes without the walls	4,556	4,753
In the 24 out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey, including the district churches belonging to the same	17,740	16,172
In the 10 parishes in the city and liberties of Westminster	3,959	4,316
Of the number buried were—		
Still-born	934	60 and under 70 years 2551
Under 2 years of age 6261	70 80	2043
2 and under 5 years 2805	80 90	802
5 10 1145	90 100	107
10 20 970	100 110	3
20 30 1700	110 120	1
30 40 2225	120 130	1
40 50 2615	130 140	1
50 60 2412	140 150	1

Decrease in the burials reported this year 2029.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. GREAT BRITAIN—Introduction	193
1. Commencement of the Year, and meeting of Parliament—Debate on the Address	194
2. Irish Affairs—Bill for the Suppression of Disturbances—Bill for the Trial of Offences—Church Reform Bill—Tithes—Grand Juries Bill—Juries Bill	198
3. Abolition of Colonial Slavery—New Act for the Government of India	203
4. New Charter to the Bank	205
5. Other Measures of the Session—the Factories Bill—Bills dropped or defeated—Party Contests—Motions for Reduction—Ministerial Changes—Agitation for Repeal of the House and Window Taxes—Stamp Duties	208
6. The Budget—Motions on Reforms in the Representation—the Established Church—National Education—the Corn Laws—Impressment—Flogging—Breach of Privilege—Sir Robert Peel—Foreign Affairs—Distress—Close of the Session—His Majesty's Speech—Cold Bath Fields Meeting—The Influenza—The Cholera—Corporation Inquiry—Reform of Scotch Burghs	211
France	214
Spain	216
Portugal	219
Holland and Belgium	222
Germany—Switzerland	223
Italy	224
Russia and Poland—Turkey	225
Greece	226
United States of America	228
South America	229
Chronicle of the principal Occurrences of the Year 1833	230
London Bill of Mortality	234

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WORKS

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE,

By CHARLES KNIGHT,

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On the 19th of November was published,
THE BRITISH ALMANAC.

THE BRITISH ALMANAC of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1834, contains the Calendar of Remarkable Days and Terms; list of Garden Plants in Flower, and Instructions for Gardening; Metereological Tables and Remarks; Astronomical Facts and Phenomena; Tables of the Sun, Moon, and Tides; with a Miscellaneous Register of Information connected with Government, Legislation, Commerce, and Education; and various useful Tables.

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2. That, commencing with December, *Two Numbers* of the work will be published *regularly every week, without Supplements*, so that sometimes Eight, and sometimes Ten Numbers will appear in each calendar month.

3. That on this day (1st of January, 1834), *Part XII.* will be published, price *Ninepence*, and the *Monthly Parts* regularly continued at that price.

4. That on September 1st, 1834, the *Second Volume*, containing Eight Ninepenny Parts, will be published, bound uniformly with Vol. I., at Seven Shillings and Sixpence;—and that the future Volumes will be completed every *eight months*.

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Page 57

Page 59

